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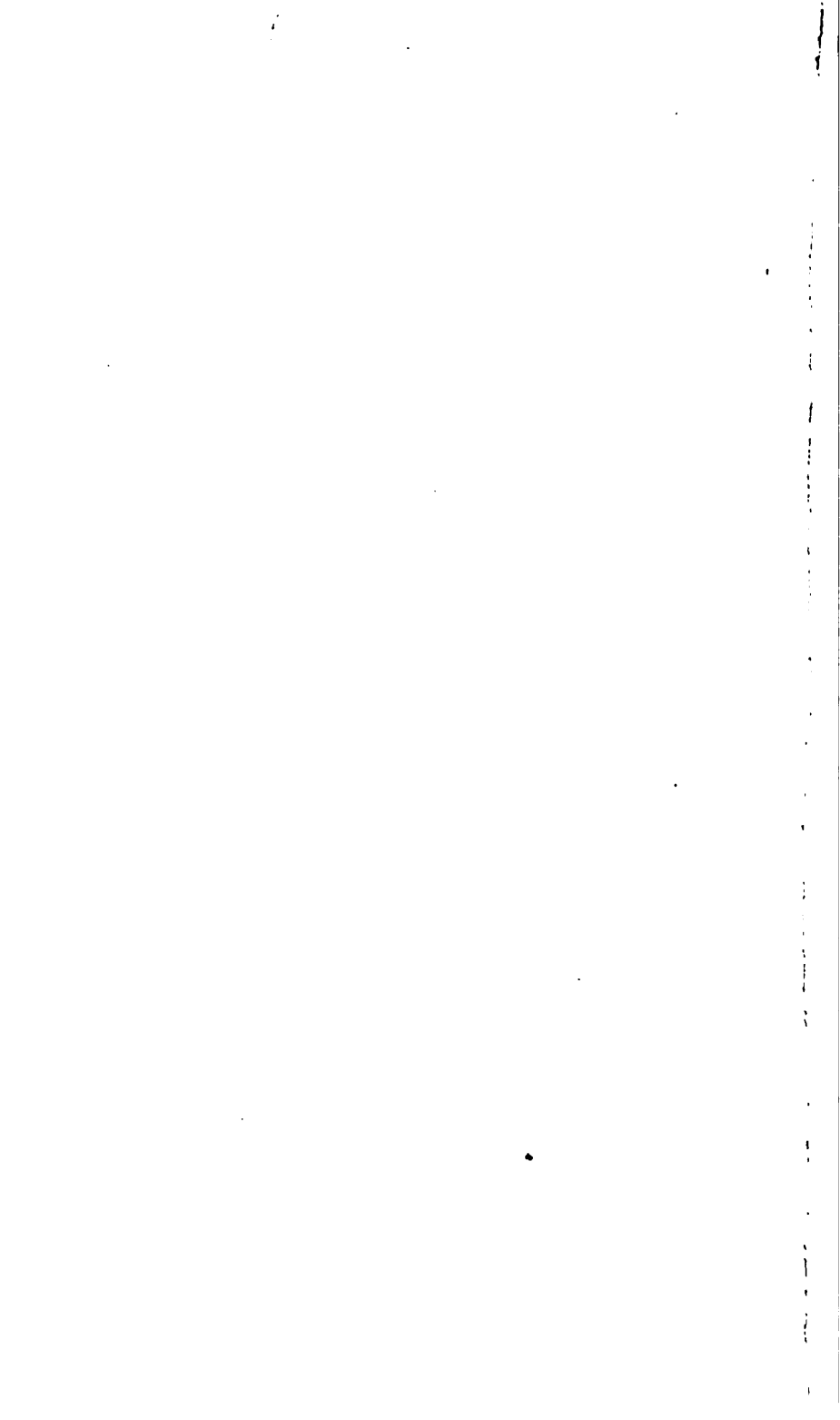
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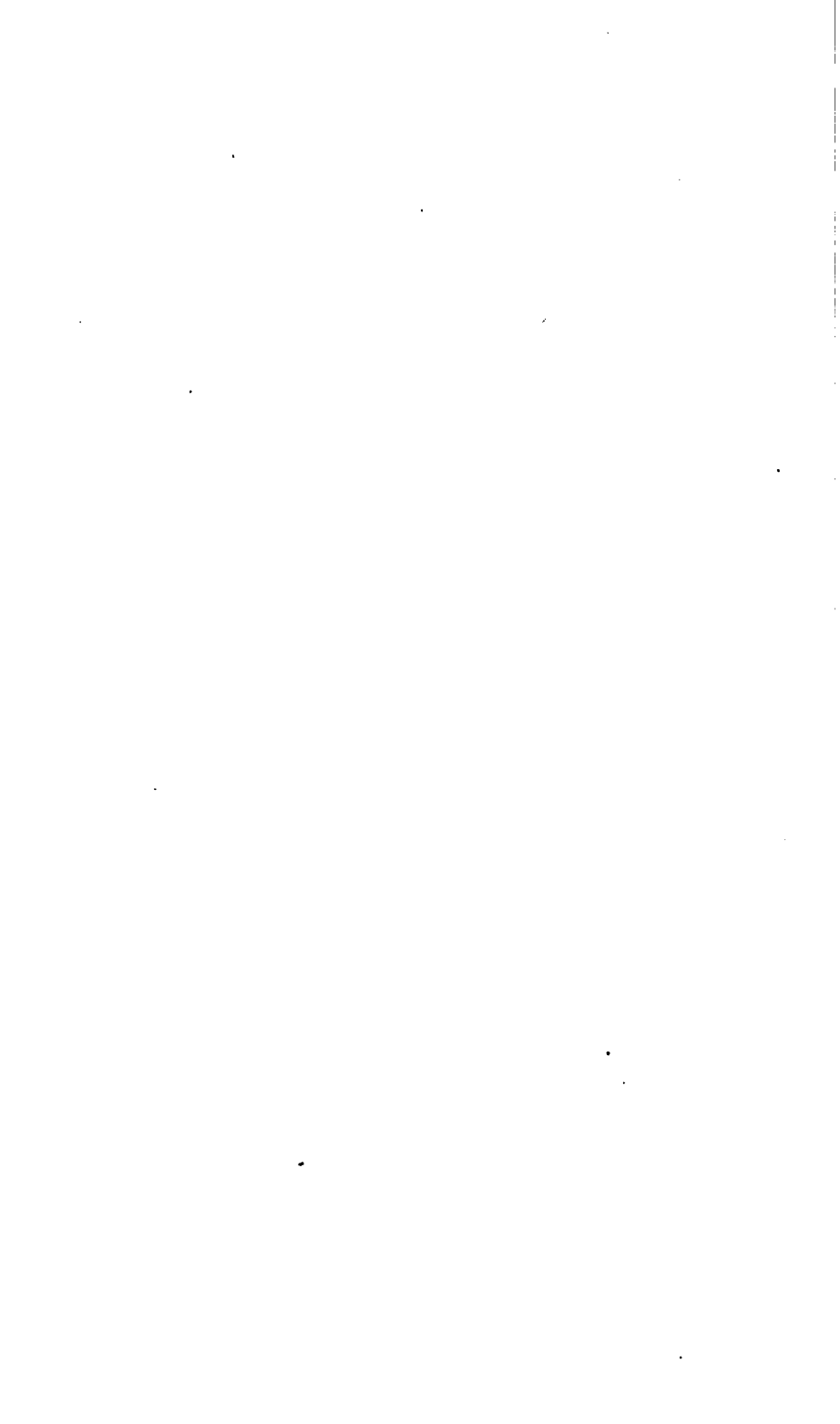
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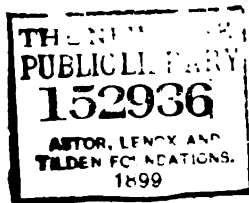
THE NEW
ANNUAL REGISTER,
OR
GENERAL REPOSITORY
OF
HISTORY,
POLITICS,
AND
LITERATURE,

For the YEAR 1818.



LONDON:
PRINTED FOR WILLIAM STOCKDALE,
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1819.



NOV 21 1899

P R E F A C E.

THE internal state of the British empire, in almost every point of view, presents the most interesting objects during the period which the present Volume embraces. The distress and consequent dissatisfaction in the manufacturing districts;—the financial arrangements, rendered more difficult from the state of those districts;—the circulation, thrown into an artificial form by the war;—the death of the queen;—and the marriages in the royal family are among the most interesting of these objects.

In the East Indies a most formidable and extensive combination against the British power was speedily and effectually crushed by the wisdom of the measures of the marquis of Hastings, aided by the valour of our officers and troops.

Abroad, the evacuation of France was a measure of great importance. Fortunately it has not been attended by any of those consequences, which at one time there seemed reason to apprehend would follow it: indeed, France is evidently settling into a regular, quiet, and prosperous state. The other European powers present little that is novel and interesting:—only very small portions of the German people are as yet rewarded for their patriotic exertions against the French by a free constitution, the boon which was promised them, and which they are most anxious to obtain.

At one period last year it was apprehended that hostilities would take place between the United States and Great Britain,

Britain, in consequence of the circumstances attending the execution of Arbuthnot;—but among the other good consequences of the dreadful, expensive, and sanguinary wars occasioned by the French revolution, it is not one of the least, that all the principal powers seem at last impressed with a salutary dread of war, which we trust will long preserve the blessings of peace over all the civilized world.

We cannot conclude this preface without adverting to the late period of the publication of this Volume. This has arisen from the calamitous and destructive fire at Messrs. Bensleys', as well as from other causes: arrangements, however, have been made, which will ensure the regular publication of the future Volumes early in the beginning of May of each year. The plan of the Volumes will also be in some degree altered;—the Parliamentary Debates will be shortened, and, on the other hand, the Chronicle will be extended: articles, however, of merely temporary interest will be very sparingly admitted into it. Those who are in the habit of carefully reading the newspapers, must know that in them are to be found a vast number and variety of short and fugitive articles, illustrative of natural history,—national character,—the progress of the arts and sciences, or relating to the advancement of domestic œconomy, &c.;—these will be selected with care, and, we trust, will not only increase the interest and utility of the Chronicle, but give a permanency to much important information, which would otherwise perish.

September 17, 1819.

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**BRITISH AND FOREIGN
HISTORY**

For the Year 1818.



BRITISH AND FOREIGN HISTORY

For the Year 1818.

CHAPTER I.

Introductory Remarks—Prince Regent's Speech—Debates on the Address—on the Bill for repealing the Habeas Corpus Suspension Act—on the Resumption of Cash Payments—Supply—Committee on the State of the Country.

ONE of the most direct, and certainly one of the strongest arguments in behalf of shortening the duration of parliaments, is drawn from the undoubted fact, that thus the members would more scrupulously endeavour to ascertain, and be more anxious to comply with, the wishes of their constituents. That this would be the case appears from the measures which are pursued by all parties, during the last session of a parliament; they are always more popular than those which are adopted and defended, while parliament is yet of recent origin.

The suspension of the habeas corpus act was certainly a strong measure to be carried into execution during the last session but one, of the accustomed duration of parliament; and there was great anxiety to ascertain in what manner ministers would contrive to

do away that impression, previously to its actual dissolution. If to this point we add several other topics, which it was known must be brought forward,—such as the justification which ministers would be able or disposed to make of their conduct in suspending the habeas corpus act—the expected resumption of cash payments by the bank of England—the general state of the finances of the country—the measures to be proposed in consequence of the reports of the committees on the poor laws—the state of education and of the prisons, &c.—and the mode in which the succession to the throne was to be provided for, by reason of the lamented death of the princess Charlotte,—we shall be fully convinced that the debates of the session of 1818 must be highly important and interesting, even independently of the spirit and animation

mation which the near approach of the representatives being sent back to their constituents would necessarily tend to infuse into them.

House of lords, Jan. 27.—This day being appointed for opening the session of parliament, the lords commissioners (the lord chancellor, the archbishop of Canterbury, the duke of Montrose, the earl of Harrowby, and the earl of Westmoreland) took their places at three o'clock; when the usher of the black rod (sir Thomas Tyrwhitt) was sent to the house of commons to demand the attendance of that house. The speaker accordingly, accompanied by about sixty members, forthwith appeared at the bar; when the prince regent's most gracious speech was read, of which the following is a copy:

—"My lords and gentlemen, We are commanded by his royal highness the prince regent to inform you, that it is with great concern that he is obliged to announce to you the continuance of his majesty's lamented indisposition.

"The prince regent is persuaded that you will deeply participate in the affliction with which his royal highness has been visited, by the calamitous and untimely death of his beloved and only child the princess Charlotte.

"Under this awful dispensation of Providence, it has been a soothing consolation to the prince regent's heart, to receive from all descriptions of his majesty's subjects the most cordial assurances, both of their just sense of the loss which they have sustained, and of their sympathy with his parental sorrow; and amidst his own sufferings, his royal highness has not

been unmindful of the effect which this sad event must have on the interests and future prospects of the kingdom.

"We are commanded to acquaint you, that the prince regent continues to receive from foreign powers the strongest assurances of their friendly disposition towards this country, and of their desire to maintain the general tranquillity.

"His royal highness has the satisfaction of being able to assure you, that the confidence which he has invariably felt in the stability of the great sources of our national prosperity has not been disappointed.

"The improvement which has taken place in the course of the last year in almost every branch of our domestic industry, and the present state of public credit, afford abundant proof that the difficulties under which the country was labouring were chiefly to be ascribed to temporary causes.

"So important a change could not fail to withdraw from the disaffected the principal means of which they had availed themselves, for the purpose of fomenting a spirit of discontent, which unhappily led to acts of insurrection and treason; and his royal highness entertains the most confident expectation that the state of peace and tranquillity to which the country is now restored, will be maintained against all attempts to disturb it, by the persevering vigilance of the magistracy, and by the help and by the loyalty and good sense of the people.

"Gentlemen of the house of commons,—The prince regent has directed the estimates for the current year to be laid before you.

"His royal highness recommends

mends to your continued attention the state of the public income and expenditure of the country; and he is most happy in being able to acquaint you, that since you were last assembled in parliament the revenue has been in a state of progressive improvement in its most important branches.

"My lords and gentlemen,—We are commanded by the prince regent to inform you, that he has concluded treaties with the courts of Spain and Portugal, on the important subject of the abolition of the slave-trade.

"His royal highness has directed that a copy of the former treaty should be immediately laid before you, and he will order a similar communication to be made of the latter treaty, as soon as the ratification of it shall have been exchanged.

"In these negotiations it has been his royal highness's endeavour, as far as circumstances would permit, to give effect to the recommendations contained in the joint addresses of the two houses of parliament, and his royal highness has a full reliance on your readiness to adopt such measures as may be necessary for fulfilling the engagements into which he has entered for that purpose.

"The prince regent has commanded us to direct your particular attention to the deficiency which has so long existed in the number of places of public worship belonging to the established church, when compared with the increased and increasing population of the country.

"His royal highness most earnestly recommends this important subject to your early consideration, deeply impressed, as he has

no doubt you are, with a just sense of the many blessings which this country, by the favour of divine Providence, has enjoyed, and with the conviction that the religious and moral habits of the people are the most sure and firm foundation of national prosperity."

Lord Holland, adverting to the habeas corpus suspension act, stated that it had been his intention to move for its repeal; but he had no wish of anticipating ministers, if they intended so to do. He was prepared with a bill for restoring the personal liberties of the subject: but if ministers repented of the outrage they had committed, and would repeal the measure, he should not press his bill. At the same time he hoped, that the standing orders would be suspended, so as to allow the bill to pass with all the facility possible.

The earl of Liverpool observed, that the intimation was rather irregular; but if the noble lord had waited a short time, he would have heard his noble friend say, that he meant tomorrow to move, that the standing orders be dispensed with, in order to introduce a bill for the repeal of the suspension act.

The earl of Aylesford rose to move the address. The noble earl spoke in so low a tone, that it was impossible to distinguish what he said below the bar. He appeared to reiterate the sympathy so generally felt throughout the country on the late melancholy occasion of the death of the princess Charlotte; congratulated the house on the continuance of tranquillity at home and abroad; and noticed the improved state of the revenue; alluded to the treat-

ties concluded with Spain and Portugal, for which his royal highness was entitled to great praise; approved of the recommendation respecting churches; and concluded with moving the address, which was, as usual, an echo of the speech.

Lord Selsea seconded the motion for the address. He agreed most cordially with the sentiments of the noble mover; expressed his regret on that part of the speech which respected the melancholy loss of the illustrious princess, whom the nation so generally deplored. He felt himself unequal to depict, in terms adequate to the occasion, the sorrow which filled his heart.—With respect to the commercial relations of the country, he could not sufficiently express his satisfaction at the prospect of tranquillity and increased trade, which was manifested. The noble lord proceeded in the most rapid manner to descant on the principal topics of the speech, and particularly rejoiced at the prospect of the total abolition of the slave trade—a measure which must give pleasure to every friend of humanity.

Earl Stanhope rose to make some observations on the address. He disclaimed connexion with all parties; but above all, he condemned a systematic spirit of opposition at any time, especially at the present moment, when more had been achieved by ministers than at any former period of the history of the country, for they had steered the vessel safe into port. The noble lord alluded to the state of France, and the situation of the government of that kingdom; he asked, if that monarch, who swayed the sceptre,

was secure on the throne, what danger could arise from liberating Bonaparte; but the detention of that person afforded the strongest grounds for supposing that the security of the French government existed alone in the occupation of the soil by the armies of the conquerors. He did not mean to dispute that, having forced on the people of France a dynasty, the choice, if they had been allowed to choose, could not have fallen on a better king than Louis XVIII. But conceiving that they should have been allowed to choose, they were suffering from the effect of conquest, and were paying the price of their sins. What was the consequence? the monarch was surrounded by weak and inefficient ministers. He wished the house to consider the character of the French people, whom the noble lord designated as the most abject of the human race. He alluded to rumours which had gone forth respecting the withdrawing of the allied troops. The opinion of the duke of Otranto (Fouche) was, that if the allied troops were withdrawn, the tranquillity of the world was at an end; and if that object were carried into effect, the consequence must be dreadful, and then all the blood and treasure which had been lavished by this country would have been shed in vain. The battle of Waterloo, which produced the present desirable state of things, would then have been fought in vain. With respect to the evacuation of France, the treaty provided, that France should not be evacuated until the contingents were all paid, and the fortresses in the Low Countries were in a proper state of defence. The noble lord entreated ministers to ponder

ponder well on the consequences of a change in the government of France: the first would be an irruption into Belgium; and, secondly, a request from France to give up the custody of Bonaparte. He hoped they would not be influenced by any narrow views of economy, in respect to the management of our own resources.—The noble lord then adverted to the question of reform, and stated his determination to canvass the subject fully at some future period.

The marquis of Lansdowne was of opinion that it would have been better to have separated the unfortunate subject alluded to in the speech, the loss of the princess Charlotte, from the other topics; but he was aware that precedent had been followed. The feelings of the country on the occasion had been expressed in a manner to reflect the highest credit on the character of the people. The expression of feeling they manifested evidently showed to the world the strong attachment of the nation to the house of Brunswick. The noble lord had intended to make some observations in respect of the suspension act, but that had been obviated by the notice given by the noble earl; but he could not avoid making some observations on the charges of conspiracies in the country; and he should wish to know where the conspiracy really existed. Had ministers produced a tittle of evidence to show any such conspiracy ever was on foot? In respect to the trials at Derby, where it was the duty of the attorney-general to show the connexion of the conspiracy, it was there proved that none existed with any other part of the country, with the ex-

ception of some intercourse with Nottingham, and which was actually put down by eighteen dragoons. Could it be gravely stated that the habeas corpus suspension act checked the insurrection? On the contrary, the law of England, duly administered by judge and jury, alone restored quiet and good order. The noble marquis entered his protest against the suspension bill, and expressed his satisfaction at the notice of repeal. With respect to the other topics, he did not wish to disturb the general unanimity; but recommended their lordships to turn their attention to the general condition of the country and its improvement.

The earl of Liverpool was not disposed to enter into detail as to the internal state of the country; but if the present had been the period for discussing measures adopted by ministers to preserve the public tranquillity, he should be prepared to maintain, that the measures resorted to were best calculated for preserving the lives and properties of the well-disposed subjects of the realm. The noble earl then defended the address in respect to the wording of that part particularly referring to the insurrections in the country. With respect to what had fallen from the noble earl (Stanhope), many of the topics were not necessary to be observed upon by him. Ministers were determined to fulfil the stipulations of the treaties, and to preserve the peace of the world. He would avoid entering into any detail in respect of the sovereign of France.—He was persuaded that all the sovereigns, parties to the treaty, were disposed to abide by the treaties; be-

yond that it would not be expected from him, considering his official situation, to say any thing.

The address was then agreed to.

House of commons. — The Speaker stated, that he had been in the house of lords, when the lord high chancellor of Great Britain, being one of the commissioners of his royal highness the prince regent, had delivered a speech to the two houses of parliament;—a copy of which being read,

Mr Wodehouse said, that in rising to move an address in answer to his royal highness's speech, he should ill discharge his duty, if he did not seize the earliest opportunity of expressing his regret at his majesty's continued indisposition, and his deepest sorrow at the extinction of our best hopes in the premature death of our beloved princess; hopes which the fair promise of her private virtues and attainments bade us entertain, that from a virtuous and happy alliance they would be matured upon the throne of this realm, and handed down to a long line of monarchs sprung from her. But these bright hopes were now destroyed; and it would be a mockery of real woe and true feeling, to attempt to describe the mild lustre of her opening bloom, or the grief of a father deprived of his beloved and only child. But he might say that parliament and the country sympathized with him; and that, as they had once been associated with him in his hopes, so were they now in his griefs. The sorrow exhibited by a great and generous people was well worthy of being placed among the great moral energies for which this country was so proudly and

eminently distinguished. The speech embraced a variety of topics, which it would not be necessary for him to enter at large into, as the house would no doubt, at subsequent periods, discuss them in detail. They had no doubt heard with satisfaction of the tranquillity which prevailed at home, and the happy state of our foreign relations; and also of the great improvement in the sources of our revenue. The picture was indeed highly coloured; but he had no doubt it would be found entirely true. He congratulated the house, that there no longer existed that languor in trade and manufactures, which at one time seemed to have settled into apathy; but now the scene was changed into a vigour and elasticity which he trusted was the prelude to a state of lasting prosperity. He hoped, too, that the time was now come when disaffection and discontent were banished from the land. The house would no doubt anxiously attend to the communication with respect to the increase of places of divine worship. He also congratulated the house on the treaties entered into with Spain and Portugal, for the abolition of the slave trade. Thus he trusted that this detested traffic would be destroyed by the glorious exertions of Great Britain—exertions which would cast on her a more transcendent lustre than all she had before acquired.—He then moved an address, which was, as usual, an echo of the speech.

The honourable W. Quin seconded the motion, and went over the different topics of the speech. There was nothing in the address, he

he thought, which could provoke discussion, or disturb the unanimity which should prevail in the house.

Lord Althorpe said, he was ready to agree with every word in the address; and would be sorry if any thing should fall from him which would cause any difference of opinion as to the address itself: but he could not agree that the present tranquil state of the country was at all attributable to the measures of precaution adopted last session. One subject he must take that opportunity of mentioning, because, as he did not mean to make any motion on it, that was the only regular time he could mention it; he alluded to the three prosecutions against Mr. Hone. On this point he nevertheless felt considerable difficulty, as he wished not to be thought as at all approving of these parodies.—All he knew of Hone was, that he had published them, had made an able defence, and had convinced three juries that it was not illegal to publish them.—The point he wished now to press against the attorney-general was, that after Hone had been acquitted by one jury, it was wrong to have tried him again, thus setting up his (the attorney-general's) opinion against the decision of a jury, the only tribunal competent to judge by law of what was a libel and what was not. If that defendant had been convicted on the third information, and acquitted on the two first, there was no one who heard him (Lord A.) but would be of opinion that his punishment would have been as severe as if he had been convicted of all three. He again begged to be understood

as entirely disapproving of these publications, as the evil arising from them was great; but he trusted this subject would not be lost sight of.

The attorney-general said, those who thought that the publications alluded to were innoxious, would no doubt think that this man ought not to have been prosecuted at all; but those who thought all of them had an evil and pernicious tendency, would agree in the propriety of all the prosecutions. This man had not been prosecuted out of malice; but it was his duty to bring him before a court of justice, believing as he did that all the parodies were libels; and he would have been prosecuted had he only published one of them instead of three. To have withdrawn the two last trials, would, in his judgement, have amounted to an admission that the institution of the first prosecution was wrong. He conceived then, and now, that he would have been guilty of a gross dereliction of duty, and would have betrayed fear to perform it, if he had not prosecuted every one of the cases against Mr. Hone.

Sir S. Romilly said, it was not his intention to object to the address, or to interrupt the unanimity of the house upon it; but it was usual for members to take the speech from the throne as the first opportunity of calling the attention of the house to all that appeared to them objectionable which had taken place since the last meeting of parliament; and therefore his noble friend was right in taking notice of these trials, as seeming to be part of a system which was introduced for the purpose of giving rise to the
suspension

suspension of our most valuable privileges. At the time they were so suspended, parliament was proceeding, in a great degree, in the dark; because, as it was then said, the reasons were not at that time fit to be disclosed. But now that the transactions at Manchester and Derby, in Scotland, and even in London, had been disclosed, they destroyed all the grounds on which they had proceeded last session. The house would recollect the manner in which the transactions at Manchester had been put prominently forward as grounds for the suspension of the habeas corpus act; that treasonable conspiracies of a most atrocious kind existed to burn the barracks and the manufactories, in order to increase their numbers, by throwing many out of work; and the report stated, that some of these men were actually in custody. At that time he said, if they were in custody, they ought to be brought to trial; but, instead of that, the attorney-general removed them by *certiorari* into the court of king's bench, in order to prevent their being brought to trial at the next assizes. They were, however, subsequently discharged without any evidence being offered against them. If government had had evidence against these men of their conspiring to burn barracks, &c. was that an offence to be passed over in silence; or were the men fit objects for the clemency of government? The proceedings in Scotland he should not now enter into, as they would be made the subject of a separate motion; but he should beg the house to bear in mind how much of the effect which had been produced on the

house, had been produced by an oath which the lord advocate had read in his place. The person who had been said to have administered it, had been proceeded against on three several indictments, that he might not escape; yet at last he had been acquitted, after an attempt to procure evidence unprecedented in the history of this country, or of that in which it took place. He should now refer to the proceedings at Derby. The result of the proceedings there he should not call in question. There could be no doubt that the persons who suffered, whether guilty of treason or no, were guilty of a capital crime: Brandreth had committed a murder, and those who aided and abetted it were in law equally guilty. But the proceedings on that trial, more than any other, pronounced a full condemnation on the suspension of the habeas corpus.—In the first place, the habeas corpus had been suspended five months, yet it did not prevent those crimes. It was evident, too, how much care was taken on those trials to conceal the truth—All the evidence was carefully confined to the 8th of June. The attorney-general, in his opening speech on those trials, had said, that he could prove that Brandreth had meetings with the conspirators previous to the 8th of June, and it was his duty to have given evidence respecting them. Yet no evidence respecting those previous meetings was given. There was from this circumstance a strong presumption; and in his conscience he believed, from the information he had received, that the whole of that insurrection was the work of the persons sent by the government—not indeed for that specific

specific purpose—but as emissaries of sedition from clubs that never had existed. To advert to the subject of the parodies alluded to, he recollected that the late attorney-general, in mentioning them, refused to read publications of so flagitious a nature in a British house of commons, and flung them in a sealed cover upon the table. The present attorney-general now adopted a different plan, and by his triple prosecution and triple defeat, gave these, very improperly, a publicity to thousands, who never otherwise would have heard of them. Whilst some curious persons would have given a guinea for one parody, the attorney-general determined to print an immense and new edition of all the parodies at less than their original price; and yet he had this evening stated, that his motive for prosecution was the prevention of the circulation of such works.—Thus, in the case of the atrocious delinquents at Manchester, he sought credit for advising an act of clemency, where it was his duty to have prosecuted the offenders to conviction; but in Hone's case, where clemency might, with so much credit to his politic foresight, have been extended, he pertinaciously sought a conviction, and brought down nothing but disgrace and defeat on his head. After having revived by the trials what had been suppressed some months before through Hone's apprehensions, it was not surprising, that, after two defeats, he should have prosecuted Hone upon the parody upon the *Athanasian Creed*, which, in the court of king's bench, had been already decided, in the case of another party tried for publishing these parodies, to be

of a less objectionable nature.—Would it have been weakness or neglect of duty in this case to have let the apocryphal parody pass unnoticed?—or is it every attorney-general's business to prosecute every libel or parody that is published? No, certainly. But the object of those prosecutions was too plain;—government felt sore at having their conduct and character exposed to public view, as impolitic statesmen and improvident treasurers of the public money, in a language familiar to all years and capacities. Yet this was not the only object in the view of either his majesty's ministers, or their defender, the right honourable gentleman. There was another motive for this pertinacious zeal, which prompted these three distinct and separate trials. It was intended to throw discredit on juries, had the latter prosecutions been successful: but happily for the country the turn has been in favour of juries.—Was it possible then, that this has been part of a design meditated, and almost matured by ministers, to take from us, piece by piece, our valuable constitution? Might not these acts be coupled with similar ones of the same administration, who had condescended to tamper with the magistracy throughout the country, and prescribed their line of conduct by circulars of an unconstitutional and unwarrantable nature—who had suspended the constitution of this country upon frivolous and unfounded representations—who had told the commons of England that they were not fit to be intrusted with the authentication of the existence of an alleged conspiracy against the government of this

this country—who had dared to commit men to prison without crime, and, after discharging them for want of evidence, taken securities from them to surrender themselves at any time they may be called upon? And was such an administration to receive an indemnity for conduct like this—for such repeated and causeless invasion of our best liberties?

The solicitor-general lamented that the house had been so far taken by surprise, by the observations which had fallen from the noble lord and the honourable baronet this evening. In the course of the observations which have fallen from the latter, he had completely confounded the cases of those persons charged with treason with the cases of those persons called Blanketeers. As to the trials at Derby, if the parties accused could have shown that in the meetings previous to the 8th of June they had been made the victims of artful and insidious persons, why did not their counsel prove it upon their trial, and avail themselves of the advantages resulting from such evidence? That which had given rise to this debate had surprised him more than all the rest, namely the prosecution of Hone for libel. Did the noble lord and the honourable baronet contend, that because there were three libels, one exceeding the others in atrocity and pernicious tendency, that none should be prosecuted, because the prosecution had the same tendency as a publication *de novo*? If so, then the laws respecting libels were all a farce, and it must come to this, that no libel, however atrocious or blasphemous, should ever be proceed-

ed against, lest it have the effect of disseminating its baneful influence once more throughout society. Although the third parody was the weakest case confessedly, still the court of king's bench had condemned the printer of it to four months imprisonment; whilst for another it had sentenced him to eight months confinement. It was absurd to say that by Hone's suppressing this publication, after a good sale of many days, the evil ceased; for after this, and before it, Carlisle and others had inundated the kingdom with editions on editions of the same at the lowest price; and who so justly deserved punishment as the fountain whence all the mischief had sprung—the wholesale dealer in seditious blasphemy?

The lord advocate of Scotland—"I beg leave, on the present occasion, to make a few observations, having been particularly alluded to by my honourable and learned friend opposite. I do not now mean to go into a review of the circumstances connected with the subject which he has introduced to the house—but, when the motion of the noble lord (A. Hamilton) is brought forward, I shall be prepared to show from the proceedings in the court, and the issue of the trial, that the charges insinuated by my honourable and learned friend are wholly unfounded. I will show, that the imputation of ignorance in drawing up the indictment is completely fallacious; and, from the issue of the trial, from the address of the judge to the prisoner, on his being dismissed from the bar—when the jury had returned a verdict, well known in the law of Scotland, as distinguished from a verdict of *Not Guilty*

Guilty—I mean a verdict of *Not Proven*—I will substantiate the fact, that the oath to which I referred was taken by certain persons engaged in a traitorous conspiracy at Glasgow. With respect to another allegation, of far more importance—namely, that I acted corruptly, or that I suffered corrupt practices to be resorted to, for the purpose of influencing evidence; instead of the statement of my honourable and learned friend being correct, I shall be able to prove, to the satisfaction of the house, that, so far from any thing corrupt having been done by me, or any other servant of the crown, on the occasion adverted to, we had, in fact, done nothing but what we could not have omitted doing, without being guilty of a great dereliction of our public duty.”

Lord Archibald Hamilton—“I am desirous of making one or two observations, in consequence of what has fallen from the honourable and learned lord. I have no intention at present of entering into the subject which has called forth his statement; but I beg leave to say, that I not only dissent from what he has advanced, but, when the proper time arrives, I will positively contradict what he has now asserted. The honourable and learned lord says, he is prepared to show, that all the charges and statements promulgated in the last session, with regard to a conspiracy or insurrection in Scotland, were well founded. Now, I really wish every individual to recollect what was the statement of the honourable and learned lord on that occasion. He stated to this house that there were hundreds of thousands of persons involved in those

criminal proceedings. If that be the case, how is it that the honourable and learned lord, and all his colleagues, had introduced but one trial? Why did they not select many individuals? The trial in question did indeed involve two persons, but it was substantially instituted against one. I shall not now go into a history of that transaction, although I have my decided opinion as to the conduct of the law officers of the crown in Scotland, which I will state and maintain at the proper period. But I will tell the honourable lord this, that he is very materially connected with that individual, against whom a motion of crimination ought to be proposed. I do not think I am called on to say more on this occasion. I may be allowed, however, to observe, that if ministers, in their proceedings, have not been actuated by a desire of pursuing a system of unjust accusation, and severe oppression, their conduct has clearly evinced the existence of feelings of sharpness and asperity, inconsistent with the declarations which they last session made to this house. I will not trespass further on the attention of the house—but I protest against appearing to acquiesce in one single point asserted by the honourable and learned lord with reference to the trial in question.”

Lord Folkestone said, that no man who respected those feelings which once actuated the great body of the people of England, could remain silent when he reflected on the unprecedented conduct of the servants of the crown during the recess of parliament. If there was a man in that house, or out of it, who had carefully read the proceedings of the late trial

trials in this country, and did not concur in the correct conclusions of his honourable and learned friend, as to the spirit and tendency of such a system, it was in vain for him, after such arguments as had been already advanced, to hope to convince him. Limited as even the information was which the country could glean from these prosecutions, who that attended to these trials but must be convinced that the treason proved at Derby was the treason of Mr. Oliver?—was the production of an agent of the government—agent of the government he would say, for who would deny that Mr. Oliver was the agent of lord Sidmouth? The feelings of those who did consign to punishment his victims he could not envy.—With respect to Mr Hone, he never could view that prosecution but in one of two lights—either a spirit of persecution against that individual, or a marked imbecility on the part of those who were labouring for a case, and who dreaded the responsibility that they themselves felt to attach to their own oppressions. What he had to complain of, what he thought parliament ought intensely to feel, was the state of degradation which those proceedings entailed upon the courts of justice and the administration of the law.—The scene that took place within these few days in the court of king's bench (alluding to the Blanketeers) gave a finish to the picture of that degradation. On a future occasion, it would no doubt come before the consideration of that house.—It was impossible for him to give his unqualified assent to the address which had been proposed as an echo to

the speech: he could see no ground for congratulation on the present improved feeling of the country.—If, said the noble lord, I wanted a salvo, I would refer to the paragraph respecting Spain; but I shall forbear from touching on that point, as the treaty itself will in a short time be submitted to the house. But what I object to in the whole tenor of this speech, is its miserable inadequacy to the wants and interests and wishes of the country—at a moment too, when the liberties of England lie prostrate at the feet of its ministers, and when the arbitrary powers with which they have invested themselves have been used in a way wholly unprecedented in any former period of its history. The speech from the throne ought to be a full exposition of the state of the nation. Has, to use a common but applicable expression, the wishy-washy communication which the house is now considering, any claim to the character of such an exposition? In place of being so, it actually contains nothing which might be said to afford intelligible information; it might mean that or the other thing; indeed for any purpose of informing us of the true state of the public interests, it might never have been made.—In regard to the heartfelt condolence which the house in common with the country feels, why was not the precedent in the case of the duke of Gloucester followed, and the expression of the public sympathy separated from the other concerns of the public? In the participation of the regret which that affliction called forth from an unanimous people, no man felt more sincerely the loss than

than himself. He wished to mark that feeling the more significantly, because in some transactions in which he had some years past taken an active part against a branch of the house of Brunswick, a right honourable gentleman (Mr Canning, not now in his place,) had represented him as an enemy to that house. But independently of his own personal anxiety, he was solicitous to dwell upon that spontaneous feeling of national sympathy, because it went at once to disprove and falsify those charges of disaffection to the house of Brunswick which were so loudly reiterated against the people during the last session. The scene of sorrow which the recent sad event produced deprived description of its power—it had seemed as if the country had been visited with the last great plague of Egypt, and that the eldest born in every house in the kingdom lay dead within its doors. If, therefore, there should exist in this country any enemies to any branch of the house of Brunswick—if any part of the community are discontented with their conduct, let that branch look to itself for the cause of the hostility.

Lord Castlereagh observed, that as numerous occasions would present themselves for future discussion, he rose rather at that time, unanimous as the whole house was in their feelings of deep regret and sorrow at the great loss it had sustained, to postpone, than to press the discussion of other topics. He could not, however, allow the observations of the honourable and learned gentleman (Sir S. Romilly) to divest the punishments of the law of that wholesome influence on the pub-

lic peace and example, for which alone they ever were inflicted; and to fulfil that object, he would undertake to disprove, as strongly as any fact not founded in truth could be disproved, that any undue attempt was made, to induce these men, by any agent of government, to the commission of their crimes. The learned gentleman on the other side appeared to suspect that his majesty's ministers had entered into a conspiracy against the liberties of the country. But he hoped that the house and the country did not partake of that suspicion, and that the general impression would concur with the fact that ministers, instead of wishing to invade or endanger the liberties of their country, had no other view in the measures they had proposed, but to preserve the true liberty and security of the British constitution. He had no doubt, indeed, that the house and the country would be convinced that his majesty's ministers had been actuated by prudential motives; this he trusted he should be able to show by the most satisfactory evidence. He should also, he trusted, be able to satisfy the house that the present improved state of the country was owing in a great measure to the operation of those very measures to which the gentlemen on the other side so strongly objected, as well as to the energy and general conduct of his majesty's ministers. This impression he could not, however, be so sanguine as to hope he could make upon the mind of the noble lord on the other side; but he had little apprehension, that from an official communication which he should soon have to make to the

the house, explanatory of the conduct of ministers, and of the grounds upon which it was deemed expedient to propose the repeal of the act for suspending the habeas corpus act, parliament and the public would be convinced that ministers had acted most conscientiously in the performance of a painful duty, and that in administering the powers intrusted to them, they had proceeded in conformity to the principles of mercy and justice, while they had not by any means shrunk from their duty, and succeeded in carrying the country through a period of great difficulty and danger. He did not wish that the country should lull itself into the belief that the danger was altogether at an end, but that it was considerably reduced was obvious; and that reduction was the effect of the measures which were so much condemned by the gentlemen on the other side. To those measures was mainly attributable the improving prosperity of the country, for there is perhaps no instance in history of so rapid a change from depression to prosperity, as had lately been witnessed in this country. On these grounds he felt it his duty to support the address, which he hoped would be unanimously adopted, as it did not call upon any party in the house to make any premature pledge, while it expressed the universal regret upon that melancholy calamity which had afflicted this country, as well as every country on earth which had heard of the event.

Mr. Bennet expressed his entire concurrence with the noble lord behind him, as to the conduct of his majesty's ministers, for he could assure the house, that he

was prepared to prove, upon the proper occasion, that notwithstanding those confident assertions by which ministers contrived to persuade some gentlemen to agree to their measures of restriction upon the liberty of the subject, the greater part, if not the whole of the disaffection which formed the ground work of their proposition, was created by emissaries employed and paid by ministers themselves.

Mr. Brougham declared his heartfelt concurrence in that part of the address which referred to an event upon which there was but one feeling throughout the empire. The unanimity which the noble secretary of state anticipated, was, he thought, not likely to be disturbed by the noble lord's reference to the history of the country since the first report of the committee upon which the habeas corpus act was suspended. On the contrary, the house must, he thought, derive considerable satisfaction from the statement of the noble lord, that it was the intention of ministers at length to produce some evidence of the grounds upon which that suspension was proposed. He was glad to learn that it was at last intended to submit this evidence to a committee, which should have the power of examining persons, as well as the documents prepared by his majesty's ministers; for thus an opportunity would be afforded of inquiring into, on the one hand, the communications which ministers might think proper to make, and, on the other, such evidence as the honourable member for Shrewsbury and others were enabled to bring forward. Therefore it was proposed to
 enter

enter into a full and complete inquiry, very different from that which took place last session, when upon prepared evidence, and in the want of evidence, parliament was induced to accede to an extraordinary, and, in his view, an unnecessary and uncalled-for measure. But he was glad to find that ministers were even now disposed to satisfy that house and the country that they had not proposed the suspension of the habeas corpus act without adequate cause. With respect to those parts of the address which did not refer to the melancholy event to which he had already alluded, he differed from his noble friend behind him, because he did not think the house was called upon to pledge itself to any thing but the consideration of the treaties with Spain and Portugal, and, therefore, he saw no reason for withholding his assent from the motion.

Lord Castlereagh rose to explain, and observed, that the learned gentleman was mistaken, if he supposed that it was intended by ministers to propose the constitution of any committee different in character from those which took place last session upon the subject.

Mr. Brougham expressed his regret if he had misunderstood the noble lord, for he could not apprehend that any satisfaction was likely to be felt by the house and the country, should the committee to be appointed be furnished only with a green bag full of documents prepared by ministers themselves.

Lord Cochrane thought the address extremely dissatisfactory, for it held out no promise even of economy or retrenchment. How

different was this composition from the speech of the American president, which had lately appeared in the public journals! In that speech, from the chief ruler of a nation which our ministers threatened and sought to destroy in the late war, there was a distinct recital of evidence to prove its growing and general improvement. In the speech before the house there was no doubt a confident assertion of national prosperity, but there was no specific instance of that prosperity even alluded to. The reason, however, was obvious. For no specific instance could be cited. That indeed was impossible amidst the misery that universally prevailed, while the revenue was notoriously deficient, while the workhouses were crowded with paupers, while the streets were thronged with starving seamen, and the poor's rate advanced beyond any former precedent. If indeed any evidence were adduced to establish the fact, that the country was in that state of prosperity which the speech alleged, ministers might have something to offer in their defence, or rather in proof of the energy and industry of that people whom their misconduct and extravagance had been unable to break down. But what had those ministers presented in atonement for their delinquency?—why, truly, a recommendation to build churches. This, however, was not a new expedient, for it was the practice of sinners in all ages to build churches. If, indeed, ministers had proposed to enlarge the jails or the alms-houses, where at least the inmates were saved from starving, or to do any thing for the solid benefit of the public, they

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might have some claim to praise. But their allegation of prosperity, and their proposition of improvement, really mocked the public understanding. It was obviously impossible that any country could go on in the state in which England was at present, with a falling revenue and a starving people—with a greater degree of misery among the population, than was to be found under any arbitrary government which the British ministers might desire to imitate. For in no nation in Europe, not even in Spain, Italy, or Portugal, could such mendicity and wretchedness be found as were at present daily witnessed in the public streets of this great metropolis. For the reasons he had mentioned, he could not hesitate to pronounce this address a direct insult to the feelings and to the understanding of the country.

The motion was unanimously agreed to, and a committee was appointed to draw up the address.

House of lords, Jan. 28.—Viscount Sidmouth presented a bill for repealing the habeas corpus suspension act, which was read the first time. His lordship then moved to suspend the standing orders (forbidding the passing a bill through more than one stage in the same day) with reference to this bill. Ordered. On the second reading of the bill, the preamble was read, which, after reciting the titles of the two acts, one suspending the habeas corpus till the first of July last, and the other continuing the suspension till the first of March next, stated that the continuance of the powers thus granted was no longer necessary.

Lord Holland said, that neither

in the trials that had taken place in the metropolis, at Derby, or in Scotland, had any necessity been proved to exist for the suspension of the act. There was no proof, in any of the cases that had occurred, of any insurrection, that did not appear to have been fomented by the agents or the spies of government. After alluding to the trials of Mr. Hone for blasphemous parodies, and giving it as his lordship's opinion that, had those parodies been directed against the opposition or reformers, no prosecution would have been instituted, the noble lord concluded with declaring, that he felt it to be his duty to deliver his opinion in condemnation of the measures which had been resorted to without any adequate reason, and upon asserted information which he was satisfied could not stand the test of real inquiry.

Viscount Sidmouth declared, that he was unconscious of any harsh or cruel exercise of the powers intrusted to ministers under this act. The responsibility of its execution rested, of course, chiefly with himself; and he could say that he had anxiously endeavoured to do his duty—that he had acted to the best of his judgment, leniently, but firmly—that he had in view only to prevent the threatened danger, and had not been the means of depriving individuals of liberty any further than as the necessity of the case required. The improvement in the condition of the lower classes, he was happy to say, rendered the further continuance of the act unnecessary; and although there was no precedent upon the records of parliament for repealing an act of this description, all of them

them having been suffered to expire, yet he was of opinion that, the necessity having ceased, the act ought not to be allowed to continue any longer; and therefore, although the period till its expiration was very short, he had determined to move its repeal. There were still persons at work, in the metropolis and elsewhere, endeavouring to excite disaffection; but there was nothing in their attempts that could not be put down by the vigour of the law, the vigilance of the government, and the loyalty and activity of the magistracy. The noble lord had alluded to the prosecutions of Mr. Hone. With regard to these, he rejected with indignation all imputation of base motives (for hypocrisy he considered to be a base motive); and placed the prosecutions upon the general feelings against parodies of that description.

The bill was then read a second time, the commitment negatived, and the bill ordered to be engrossed. The engrossed bill was brought into the house almost immediately. It was then read the third time, and passed; and ordered to be sent to the commons.

In the commons, the same day, lord Castlereagh, after an introductory speech, moved addresses of condolence to the queen, and to prince Leopold, on the loss which the royal family and the country had sustained in the death of the late princess Charlotte of Wales.

On the question being put for an address to the queen, Mr. Calcraft said, he should, though with pain, give his negative to the motion, and should at the

same time best discharge his duty by not assigning reasons for his conduct.

Mr. M. A. Taylor also expressed a similar determination, and was followed by other gentlemen. No numerical division took place on the subject; but it is remarkable that Mr. Speaker, when the cries of Aye and No had been repeated from all parts of the house, adopted that form of words which is expressive of doubt, and usually leads to a division; "And the Ayes, I think," said he (casting a glance over the house, and speaking hesitatingly)—"the Ayes, I think, have it."

The motion was then declared to be carried in the affirmative; and Mr. Disbrowe was appointed to carry it to the queen.

Jan. 29.—A message from the lords brought up the bill for repealing the act of last session for suspending the habeas corpus act.

Mr. Vansittart said, it was extremely desirable that this bill should be passed as speedily as possible. He should therefore move, that this bill be now read a first time, with a view to its being passed to-night, and sent back to the lords. He trusted that the house would agree to this mode of proceeding, because another opportunity would be afforded to members for discussing the propriety of continuing the suspension act to the present time.

Mr. Tierney wished to know the course of proceeding that was intended to be adopted.

Mr. Vansittart said, a communication respecting the internal state of the country would be made to the house, by royal authority, on Monday: and a notice, he believed, would be given,

that on a future day a committee would be moved for, to take that communication into consideration.

The bill was then read a first and second time.

Mr. Vansittart moved that the bill should be committed.

Lord Folkestone expressed his surprise that this bill should be hurried through the house before the usual hour of commencing public business; especially as many members would, no doubt, be very happy to give it their support. In his opinion, the present bill did not go far enough, as it ought to do away entirely all the consequences which had resulted from the suspension of the habeas corpus act. His great objection was, binding persons in recognisances without confronting them with their accuser, on oath; or showing that they had committed some act of guilt or delinquency. It appeared to him unjust and illegal to oblige these persons to quit their homes, and to appear from day to day in the court of king's bench, under recognisances which would not have been required of them but for the passing of the act which the present bill went to repeal. If he was correct in this, he conceived that the present bill did not go far enough, unless a clause were to be introduced into it to discharge these men from their recognisances. He should therefore move a clause to this effect in the committee.

The attorney-general said the object of the late bill was merely to suspend the habeas corpus act, without connection with, or reference to, any power which the magistrates might have to bind over persons in their own recog-

nisances; so that whether recognisances had been required from these persons by the magistrates, illegally or not, was a mere question of law, and had no reference whatever to the present bill. The power of demanding recognisances was discretionary in the magistrates, as in many cases he might accept a person's own security in preference to holding him to bail, or committing him to prison. As to the persons who had lately applied to the court of king's bench to be discharged from their recognisances, they had been told that they would be discharged from them; but some of them having said that they had legal objections against the recognisances, had not been discharged, in order that their right might not be barred to bring their objections in a legal shape before the court. Whether magistrates had or had not a power of demanding recognisances, was a question at law, and had nothing to do with the proceedings of that house.

Lord Castlereagh said, the act of last session did not give magistrates any additional power to take recognisances, but only to hold persons in custody under particular warrants: and thus matters of bail and recognisance were left according to the established law on those subjects. The noble lord's proposition had no connection with this bill, though it might be proper as a distinct and separate motion. This bill was only intended to restore the law of habeas corpus to its full operation, which the act of last session had suspended.

Mr. Brougham said, the recognisances taken in the cases alluded to were voluntary; the party

party detaining saying to the party detained, "If, you like to enter into these recognisances, do it, and go at liberty; if not, you must remain in custody till the first of March." Could any man then say that this power of requiring recognisances did not flow from the act? If it was a matter of compulsion, it did not flow from it. In every case but three the recognisances had been entered into voluntarily; and the case of those three, with regard to a London justice, he trusted would soon be brought before the house. Without this act, government would have no power to demand such recognisances.

The solicitor-general denied that assertion. Would not, in the case of a man arrested for high treason, without the suspension act having been in force, the magistrates, with consent of the secretary of state, have had the power to release that man on his entering into recognisances, if they had judged it necessary for him so to do? This act did not empower the secretary of state to commit, but to detain in custody; neither did it give him any power to demand recognisances besides what the law had before given to magistrates.

Sir W. Burroughs wished, with great submission, to observe, that the honourable and learned gentleman (the solicitor-general) had not answered his honourable and learned friend (Mr. Brougham). The secretary of state was armed with no power to demand recognisances; and in taking them in this case he had usurped a power which did not belong to him. When persons were arrested on a charge of high treason, no magis-

trate or authority, except the court of king's bench, had any cognisance. A magistrate had no power in such a case to take any recognisance or admit to bail. If an inferior magistrate had not a right to take bail, then he had not a right to take any recognisance.—It had been admitted that there was no serious ground for detaining any of the individuals; but did it serve any temporary purpose to take their recognisances?—It served a party purpose to government, it served their views, it kept up an alarm in the country.

Mr. Lockhart was of opinion, that in taking these recognisances ministers were acting in substance under the bill.

Sir Samuel Romilly thinking the suspension act had existed much too long, and that it would have been better if it had never existed at all, he should certainly not give any opposition to the repeal. They were passing the bill with great propriety, dispensing with all forms. They did so because it was a matter of extreme injury that the suspension should not be repealed immediately after it ceased to be necessary. Now how long had this extreme injury been allowed to continue? Was the suspension act necessary last night—last week—a month—or two months ago?—The fact is, that no necessity existed for the bill since the month of June last. He had not, since June, heard of any signs—he would not say of insurrection—but of dissatisfaction existing in any part of the country. In that month of June it was that the conduct of the missionaries employed by government was exposed. As soon as their conduct was brought under
B 3 notice,

notice, these persons were discontinued in their employments, and since that time they had heard of no discontent—no dissatisfaction—no conspiracies.

Mr. Bragge Bathurst said, the honourable and learned gentleman (Sir S. Romilly) had viewed it as a self-evident proposition, that if the bill had continued in force only to the first of December, parliament would not have been assembled for the purpose of obtaining its continuance; but he protested against any such admission.—In alluding to persons in the employment of government, he presumed the honourable and learned gentleman meant the person of the name of Oliver. If he alluded to that person, he could only say that his conduct was such that it would bear the strictest investigation. He believed he had done no mischief in any sense of the word, but on the contrary great service. He was not an accomplice, but a person accidentally introduced to a knowledge of circumstances, which, as was his duty, he communicated to the government.

Sir Samuel Romilly wished to set the right honourable gentleman right. He had taken it for granted that he alluded to the employment of Oliver. But he supposed government employed several instruments of the same kind. It was stated in the last report of the secret committee of the lords, that persons had promoted treasons, who were sent to detect them. He did not allude particularly to the miserable individual whose name had been mentioned by the right honourable gentleman.

The bill then went through a

committee, and the report was brought up and taken into consideration.

The chancellor of the exchequer then moved the third reading.

Lord Folkestone believed that this was the proper time to propose his clause for vacating the recognisances. This clause was not to prevent the parties from obtaining a remedy in a court of law—it was only to relieve them from the recognisances, even supposing them legal. He then moved a clause to that effect.

Lord Castlereagh said, as there were a variety of facts stated in this clause, of which the house could have no knowledge, the house could not with propriety legislate on them at present.

Mr. Tierney.—The house were bound to adopt the clause on a principle of humanity.

Lord Folkestone said, the clause contained no statement of facts, except of what were perfectly notorious.

The attorney-general said, that it was only the plea which the persons in question had set up, that they had objections in point of law against the recognisances, which had prevented him from moving that the recognisances be discharged. Notice had been sent to these persons that their attendance would not be required, though he believed some of them had left their homes before the notice reached them. Some of them had applied to him (the attorney-general), and he had given them to understand that their attendance was not then required, and would not be required—and he thought he had given them to understand, that their recognisances would be discharged.

Sir

Sir S. Romilly said, that as it seemed to be the attorney-general's intention to discharge the recognisances of these persons, perhaps his noble friend would have no objection to withdraw the motion.

Lord Folkestone, on that understanding, withdrew his clause; the attorney-general having repeated, that they would have been all discharged from their recognisances, had they not thought they had a legal remedy, which it was not his wish to prejudice.

The bill was then read a third time, and passed; and was sent by message to the lords.

Lord Folkestone said, he had a petition, to which he wished to call the attention of the house, from one of the persons confined under the late act. The petition was from one Francis Ward, a lace-maker at Nottingham; and stated that on the tenth of June some police officers came to search his house. He asked them for their authority, when one of them, named Lawson, held up a paper. Ward asked him to read it; but his answer was, that the law would not allow him to read it, except before a magistrate. He did not oppose the officers through fear of their finding any thing against him on searching his house—the man who did unto others as he would wish them to do unto him, (a rule laid down by no less a personage than Jesus Christ,) could not have much to fear. After the officers had peeped into a canister and searched a thimble, they went away. He then applied for a copy of the warrant under which his house was searched, to alderman Sayer, who ordered him into custody. He was

again brought before the alderman, who refused his request for a copy of the warrant. The petitioner also complained of his having been confined at Leicester on a charge of frame-breaking, of which he was innocent. The petition concluded by praying redress.

It was ordered to be printed.

Lord Folkestone presented another petition from some of Ward's neighbours, bearing testimony to his good character and conduct, and praying the house to grant him redress. This petition was also ordered to be printed; and his lordship gave notice that he would on that day week move for a committee, to which these petitions should be referred.

Mr. Grenfell said, that for the satisfaction of the country at large, and especially for the information of the commercial world, he felt it necessary to put a question to the right honourable gentleman opposite, upon a subject of great importance—he meant with regard to the resumption of cash payments by the bank. The act for restraining the bank from payments in cash was, it would be recollected, to expire on the fifth of July next; and although from the promises and declarations of ministers, as well as of those immediately connected with the bank, both in the last and preceding session when the present act was passed, an assurance was held out that cash payments would be resumed at the period alluded to, the fact now was, that considerable doubts prevailed upon the subject, and particularly among the monied interest. Under those circumstances he thought it proper to ask, whether any thing had

occurred, or was likely to occur, that might prevent the bank from resuming its payments in cash on the fifth of July next? There was another point also upon which he took leave to request some information from the right honourable gentleman, and which was certainly connected with that to which he had just referred. It would be recollected that government had had two loans from the bank, one for six millions at four per cent., and another for three millions without interest. So long as those loans existed, the bank enjoyed considerable advantages; for the aggregate of the public balances deposited in its hands must be productive of very considerable profits. The house might, indeed, form some judgement of those profits from this fact, that the amount of public deposits in the bank at any period within the last twelve years was no less than eleven millions. The bank then had consequently in its possession two millions more of the public money than the amount of its loans to the public. Thus the bank had a great advantage while those loans continued; and therefore, for the public benefit he wished to know whether the chancellor of the exchequer proposed to make any, and what arrangement, with respect to those loans.

The chancellor of the exchequer had no reluctance whatever to answer the questions of the honourable gentleman. He felt great satisfaction in stating, in answer to his first question, that the bank had made the most ample provision for resuming their cash payments on the fifth of July next, and there was nothing in the internal state of the country, or in our

external relations, which could at all operate to prevent their doing so; but he (the chancellor of the exchequer) was aware, and the house was also aware, or ought to be, that there was a report of certain financial measures about to be adopted by foreign courts, which might render it necessary for him to come to parliament for its opinion as to the policy of resuming cash payments at the period at present fixed. In his opinion, the necessity of continuing the restrictions for a longer or shorter period beyond that time, would depend entirely on the continuance of the financial measures by foreign states, to which he had alluded. With respect to the second question put by the honourable gentleman, as to the loan of 6,000,000*l.*, for which the public paid the bank an interest of 4 per cent. he should have a proposition to make to the house for providing for that sum. As to the other loan which was advanced without interest, that would still remain, as it was a bargain extremely beneficial to the public.

Mr. Tierney was utterly at a loss how to understand the right honourable gentleman's speech: no person could possibly have contradicted himself more completely than the right honourable gentleman had done in the few words which he had uttered. First, the right honourable gentleman said, the bank had made ample preparation for resuming their cash payments, and were most anxious to call in their notes. He (Mr. Tierney) had indeed formed a different opinion of their intentions; since it appeared to him that, instead of diminishing, they had lately increased their issue
of

of small notes.—Next, the right honourable gentleman said, that the internal state of the country, and our external relations, were also favourable to the resumption of cash payments—but, said the right honourable gentleman, there is something in agitation in a foreign court, which may render the continuation of the restriction still necessary. It appeared to him (Mr. Tierney) that there were certain persons in this country who were anxious to continue the restrictions.—They had looked at home in search of a reason for so doing, but without success. They did not, however, yet despair, but had now turned their attention to foreign countries in hopes of being more fortunate. If the right honourable gentleman had studied to give his honourable friend an answer calculated to mislead, he could not have succeeded better than he had done.—The answer of the right honourable gentleman would not fail to have the effect of setting speculation afloat; all the monied men concerned in the public funds would now be anxiously watching the winds and expecting the arrival of foreign mails, and the evils to which his honourable friend had alluded would increase tenfold. It would have been much better that the right honourable gentleman had declined giving an answer altogether. In July last, when he (Mr. T.) expressed his doubts as to the bank resuming their payments in cash at the time when named, he was told he was wrong, and wilfully so, as the bank were then in a great measure prepared. How did it now turn out?—why, that the right honourable gentleman, who was chancellor of the

exchequer of the empire, had not a single distinct idea on the subject.

House of lords, Jan. 31.—Yesterday, at five minutes past three o'clock, the royal assent was given by commission, to the bill for the repeal of the act of last session, entitled An act for the repeal of the habeas corpus act. The commissioners were the lord chancellor, the earl of Shaftesbury, and lord Melville. The lords adjourned to Monday.

House of commons, Jan. 31.—Mr. Bennet moved that there should be laid before the house a return of the number of persons, male and female, now under sentence of death in Newgate, distinguishing their ages, the dates of their sentences, and the crimes of which they were convicted. He was induced to make this motion in consequence of there being at this moment sixty-five or sixty-six persons under sentence of death in the jail in question, and from his having understood from his majesty's ministers, during the last session, that an arrangement would be made for reporting the persons convicted in one session before the other commenced. The situation of the unhappy persons to whom he alluded was truly miserable, and their treatment more than inhuman. They were confined together in cells nine feet five inches long by seven feet wide, and in these places they were shut up sixteen hours out of the four-and-twenty. They were all mixed together indiscriminately, the young with the old, and thus the young had the opportunity of learning nothing but the trade of preying upon their fellow creatures. He could not help thinking that the house had a right to expect

expect that his majesty's ministers would have attended to their pledge. If there was not room sufficient in the jail for the accommodation of its inmates, application should be made to parliament on the subject. He did not want to interfere with what might be considered the province of the city of London; but if they did not think proper to bring the matter forward, he should feel it his duty to do so. He desired to be distinctly understood, as not meaning, by his present observations, to cast the least reflection on Mr Brown, the present jailor of Newgate, who, he verily believed, had done more for the amelioration of the situation of his prisoners than had been done since the time of Mr. Howard.

After some observations by alderman Atkins, the motion was then put and carried.

Mr. Curwen begged to know whether any steps had been taken to secure those persons from loss who might chance to have bank of England tokens (which had been of so much use to the public) in their possession after the period appointed by the bank for their recall; and whether they would not be received in payment by the receivers of taxes?

The chancellor of the exchequer said, that the question of the honourable gentleman was not easy to answer. The receivers of taxes would no doubt receive the bank tokens so long as the bank would receive them, but he was not prepared to say they would do more. He understood there had been some communication from the bank of England on the subject to the country bankers, with a view to facilitating the exchange of the tokens for other money.

Mr. Curwen said, that so as means were taken to secure the public from loss he was satisfied.

The chancellor of the exchequer moved the order of the day for the house resolving into a committee of supply. He desired it might be understood that the object he had now in view was merely to adopt the usual form of taking into consideration that part of his majesty's speech which referred to the supplies for the year. It was always customary to refer this subject to a committee of supply, the day succeeding that on which the speech itself had been taken into consideration. He had adopted the earliest opportunity of pursuing this course. If it were intended to enter into any discussion, it would perhaps be fitter to defer the question till Monday.

Mr. Shaw said, he merely rose for the purpose of referring to the circumstance, that in the speech to which the right honourable gentleman had alluded there was not one word said of economy or retrenchment. There was not the same regard even to appearances, that was observable at the opening of the preceding session. On the contrary, it seemed to be the intention of his majesty's government to raise the income of the country to the expenses, rather than to reduce the expenses to the income. It was important, especially as that period approached when they were to meet their constituents, and when they would be called upon to describe what the state of the country was, that it should be understood to what class they belonged—whether to that class which had assisted in adding to the intolerable taxation of the people, and to the lavish expenditure

penditure of ministers, or to that class which endeavoured to lessen the burthens of the people, and to oppose a further extension of extravagance.

The chancellor of the exchequer thought, after the pledge he had given to bring the state of the finances of the country before the house in a substantial shape, that he might have spared his observations. The house would, no doubt, be as much alive to œconomy, and pay as great a regard to the public interests at the present season as at any former period.

Mr. Brougham could not agree with the right honourable gentleman, that his honourable friend's observations were uncalled for. It was true that they were to have a committee of finance; but when they recollected how much they had benefited from that committee before, he was not disposed to place much reliance upon its exertions. In the speech which had been delivered from the throne, as his honourable friend had justly stated, there was no allusion whatever to retrenchment or œconomy. All they had to do, therefore, was to avail themselves of the experience of last year, when œconomy and retrenchment were recommended by his majesty; and comparing that with the present year, where there was no recommendation, form a conclusion as to what their expectations might fairly be. He trusted that the house and the country would keep a watchful eye upon those gentlemen (his majesty's ministers), and that they would, by a strenuous effort, during the few weeks which yet remained to them, endeavour to reduce the intolerable burthens under which the people groaned.

The house then resolved into the committee.

House of lords, Feb. 3.—Lord Sidmouth moved the appointment of a committee; which was opposed by the earl of Carnarvon and the marquis of Lansdowne, on the ground that it would be a mere mockery to confine the inquiry to the papers furnished by ministers themselves; that information of a very different character was requisite; and that the committee should not only be appointed in a manner different from what it had been heretofore, but that it should have latitude of inquiry, and a power of examining witnesses, or calling for evidence, far beyond the mere reference to papers furnished by themselves. The secret committees of last session, their lordships observed, had made their report upon *ex-parte* evidence—and upon *ex-parte* evidence ministers might get what report they pleased.

The papers were then referred to a committee of secrecy—to consist of seven lords, to be chosen by ballot.

In the commons the same day, on the motion of lord Castlereagh, the finance committee of last session was revived.

On the motion of Mr. Grenfell, who urged the impolicy of continuing the restriction on cash payments, various returns respecting the affairs of the bank were ordered.

Mr. Vansittart said, that as to the restriction, he had alluded to it on a former night as a measure merely probable. If, however, it should so turn out that recourse to this measure should be found necessary, he should then take the opportunity of giving his opinion more in detail.

Lord

Lord Castlereagh presented several papers, purporting to be communications from the prince regent respecting the internal state of the country; these papers he proposed should be referred to a committee, to be appointed on Thursday the fifth instant.

Mr. Vansittart, in answer to a question from Mr. Brougham, stated that all the papers connected with the property tax had been destroyed.

Mr. W. Smith moved for an account of the sums received at the crown office from Mr. Hone for copies of the informations filed against him, together with the authority on which they were demanded, and the uses to which they were applied. In considering the recent prosecutions instituted against Mr. Hone, he could not help admiring the intrepidity, sagacity, and skill, with which he had conducted his own defence. He had since had an opportunity of conversing with him in private; and he must declare, that he discovered nothing that could tend to give him an unfavourable impression of his character, nothing unbecoming the manners of a gentleman. As for the parodies published by Mr. Hone, his opinion perfectly coincided with that of the public in general, that they were highly censurable; and it was not the least honourable part of Mr. Hone's conduct, that, immediately on finding that such was the public impression respecting them, he used every means to prevent the circulation. But those parodies, however censurable, were not a fit subject to be animadverted on in a court of justice. It appeared to him that the free operation of public opinion was the only adequate

and proper check to their popularity.

The attorney-general opposed the motion, as Mr. Hone had paid no fees but such as had been paid in similar cases since the year 1693. He would not object, if a proper ground was laid for it, to a motion for a general return of the fees.

After some remarks by sir F. Burdett, lord Castlereagh, Mr. Bathurst, and lord Folkestone, Mr. Smith withdrew his motion, to renew it in a different shape.

Feb. 4.—Lord Folkestone made some observations on recent alterations in the mode of proceeding in the house, as to the manner of publishing the votes. The change was in some respects convenient; but he saw objections as to the not printing of petitions, unless the printing of them was ordered by vote. The printing of those petitions certainly tended to delay the publication of the votes; yet it was possible that it might be injurious to the people, and therefore he regretted its tendency in that way. The printing of the votes of the house was the only regular way in which their proceedings were made public to the country at large. He should do no more than mention the circumstance, hoping that the house would never be inattentive to petitioners.

The house then went into a committee of supply; in which, on the motion of sir G. Warrender, 20,000 seamen were voted for the present year; 611,000*l.* for pay; 520,000*l.* for victuals, &c. and a sum for wear and tear.

On the motion of Mr. Vansittart, an issue of exchequer bills to the amount of 25,000,000*l.* was voted; to pay off outstanding bills. Mr. V. observed, that it had been said

said that on the fifth of January 1818 they would be at sixty millions; but he was happy to say they were three millions and a half less than that: they amounted only to fifty-six millions and a half, and a small sum more. On the other hand, it was to be considered that the funded debt had decreased nineteen millions.

Mr. S. Bourne moved for the revival of the committee on the poor laws, with the addition of two new members, to replace the deceased Mr. Hall and Mr. Rose.

Mr. Curwen condemned the existing system of poor laws, as tending to break down the spirit of the people, by making them look to the poor-rates as a relief and refuge.

Lord Castlereagh observed, that great good had already been done by the committee; and much benefit might result from further discussion and inquiry, by ascertaining principles, and suggesting improvements, which would be acted upon in the several parishes, although no legislative act should pass on the subject. The committee was re-appointed.

Sir F. Burdett presented petitions from Bath and other places, for parliamentary reform.

Lord Binning brought in a bill to establish lunatic asylums in Scotland; and Mr. W. Wynn, a bill to regulate election polls.

Mr. W. Smith made his promised motion, for an account of all fees taken by the clerks of the crown-office for office copies of informations on *ex officio* prosecutions for libel, from the persons under prosecution, or their agents, from the first of January 1816 to the first of January 1817; specifying the rate at which the charge

was made, the total sum in each particular case, and to whose use it was applied. Motion agreed to.

House of lords, Feb. 5.—The following peers were appointed members of the secret committee:—The lord chancellor, earl of Harrowby, duke of Montrose, earl of Liverpool, marquis Camden, marquis of Lansdowne, earl Fitzwilliam, earl of Powis, viscount Sidmouth, lords Grenville and Redesdale.

House of commons, Feb. 5.—Lord Castlereagh said, he rose, pursuant to his notice, to move for the appointment of a committee, to take into consideration the papers which he had laid before the house by order of the prince regent. In moving for that committee, it would not be necessary for him to say any thing which might excite a difference of opinion; as all would agree in the propriety of instituting an inquiry into the state of the country since the last prorogation of parliament; and, in his opinion, that inquiry had better be made by a committee of the house, than that it should take place before the house itself. As to the form of the committee, he should pursue the usual precedents. A learned gentleman had asked him last night, whether he meant to move that the committee should have power to send for persons and papers, and records; and he must now admit that he had been misled by the question, having disclaimed any intention of giving the committee such powers. But finding that it had been the inviolable rule, since the Revolution, for the house to grant to committees this power, he now intended to allow them to this committee.

He

He had no hesitation in saying, that in the present state of the country a bill of indemnity was necessary; but he did not think it should of necessity come recommended by the committee. He thought, however, that the committee was the most parliamentary mode for explaining the conduct of government. Whenever that question should come before the house, he was prepared to argue it on its own grounds; but he would not enter into it now, as much of the information ministers had to lay before the committee it would not be proper for the public to be made acquainted with. The power used by ministers for the public safety could therefore only be explained with propriety in the committee. On this account he should be ready, whenever the question of indemnity should be before the house, to argue it on abstract grounds. This committee was necessary for the information of parliament as to what had been done for the security of the country, and how ministers had acted for the liberty of the people. For his own part, he thought the great mass of danger which had threatened the country for the last year had passed over; but yet he would not have the house believe that there were not now dangerous men working, as far as they could, against the liberties of the country. He then moved, that the secret information communicated to the house by the crown should be referred to a secret committee.

Mr. Tierney had no possible objection to referring the papers to an open committee; but, in the present instance, when the speech from the throne announced no-

thing but the most profound external and internal peace, it was singular that they should receive such a communication as this, unaccompanied by any message. They had not even been asked for their advice, as in all such instances formerly; and therefore he believed this to be the prelude to some legislative provision or other, such as the renewal of the suspension of the habeas corpus act. The noble lord had brought down a bag, which was called "the bag on the internal state of the country." Now he (Mr. T.) thought the proper committee to which that bag ought to be referred, was the committee on the poor laws. With this bag, as he had said before, no message was brought; but he was at no loss to understand the motive for that; he believed there was something at the bottom of this, of which the house was not aware. Now he thought the motive of all this was, that ministers had made out a *prima facie* case against themselves in the opinion of the country, by their conduct for the last six months; and they now wished to make out another case in favour of themselves. The noble lord had in his candour said, that a bill of indemnity would be necessary for ministers. He gave him full credit for that candour, and he believed that a bill of indemnity would be very acceptable to them. That bill would be founded on the report of a committee to be appointed by ministers themselves. Every one knew how such committees last year had been balloted for, and therefore this was the coarsest juggle that ever was attempted. Instead of taking the principals or leaders of

of the disaffected into custody, under the authority of the suspension act, the home secretary had sent a sort of drag-net into several counties, and swept away numbers of persons from their families. A bill of indemnity was therefore perhaps necessary for him, although he did not believe he would have done so, had he acted with sufficient deliberation, and had not this been a cabinet measure, intended to excite unnecessary alarm in the country. He conscientiously believed, that whatever bad spirit might have prevailed in the country, there was no necessity for suspending the habeas corpus act. His opinion also was, that the powers vested in ministers had been exercised with undue rigour. A right honourable gentleman opposite (Bathurst) had said on a former night, that ministers could not, with safety to the country, have taken off the suspension act a day sooner than they did. Now he wished to pin him down to that; for, if he did not make that out, a heavy responsibility and a charge of a most serious nature must lie against government. Another thing, which quite disgusted the country, was the defence made for those infernal scoundrels (it was a harsh phrase, but he could use no other,) who had been sent down by government into the different parts of the country. But the right honourable gentleman had said he would undertake to exonerate government from all such transactions. Yet as no one was now on his trial, but government, it ought to have some other committee to decide on its conduct than a secret committee appointed by it-

self. In the formation of secret committees, it was the uniform practice of government to send round to its friends a certain number of names, which were by them put into a glass on the table, and thus a committee favourable to government was always drawn. If the committee had nothing to do but to report what was in the bag, he did not see why one gentleman could not do it as well as another. But he had no doubt it would also be expected by the right honourable gentleman, that the committee should report, that government was the most merciful, kind, and gentle administration that had ever existed; but above all, that a bill of indemnity was necessary for it. That bill was to screen those who had in a manner filed a bill of indictment against themselves. A bag had been brought down, as much as to say—"There's my bag; touch it who dares; my character is in that bag, and no one shall meddle with it but such as I choose." He thought he had said enough to convince the house that the motion, in its present form, should not be agreed to.

Mr. Bathurst said, as to the committee which the right honourable gentleman affected to consider as a new measure, the right honourable gentleman had himself recommended a similar course in 1801. But how could the house or the country say that this was necessary or not, until the contents of the papers should be known? It would be seen, that although there were no persons of rank or property disturbing the state of the country, yet there were many in the lower orders who were actively employed in such

such endeavours. The right honourable gentleman had said, that the leaders had not been taken up under the suspension act. Now he would assert, that the heads of them had been apprehended. Let the right honourable gentleman apply to the magistracy, and then he would find that most of the apprehensions which took place were at the desire of those magistrates, in consequence of information on oath given before them. As to the existence of insurrection in Derbyshire, there never was a case more completely made out to the satisfaction of the country. Would any man say that the intention of insurrection did not extend beyond that part of the country? He believed that it did, and that it was only prevented from spreading by the suspension of the habeas corpus act. If it had not been for that, there would have been a simultaneous movement in various parts of the country, in order to overturn the constitution, although their leaders were taken into custody. He repeated, that Oliver did by accident, and not by any crime of his own, become acquainted with conspiracies, of which he informed the government, and was by it desired to continue in the confidence of the conspirators; but that he instigated or fomented them, he did absolutely deny. It would be necessary for the house to be made acquainted with the existing state of the country, as to the spirit still kept up in it, not with a view to revive any extraordinary powers in government, because much was to be left to the vigilance of the magistracy.

Mr. Tierney explained. From

the evidence on the Derby trials, he was satisfied there was not a tittle of necessity for the suspension act.

The honourable F. Douglas protested against this formation of a committee, as disgraceful to the house. If the noble lord wished for a committee, not to examine, but to applaud his measures, let him appoint one at once himself:

"Then let him give his little senate laws,
And sit attentive to his own applause."

But let him not attempt to give such a committee an appearance of impartiality. He did not find fault with the trials at Derby; but they afforded the strongest proofs of the little necessity for the suspension act. There it broke into open insurrection, but was not put a stop to by the suspension act, or even by a movement of the military: an overseer of the Buttery iron-works scolded away half the people. It was not the practices of Oliver in London that were complained of, but his proceedings in Yorkshire.

Sir S. Romilly contended that this proceeding was altogether unprecedented. Papers were never sent down to the house by the crown without a motion, unless for the purpose of founding some legislative provision on them. It had been supposed that some precautionary measures were to be proposed; but that could not be the case, when the speech declared the country to be in a state of internal peace. This then could not be the motive for referring those papers to a committee; the reason of it must be, that the committee should recommend a bill of indemnity for his majesty's ministers; which, no doubt, was

most

most necessary, considering the view the country had taken of their conduct. A very heavy responsibility attached to ministers for not calling parliament together, in order to have ascertained whether the suspension of our liberties should have been continued so long. With respect to the trials at Derby, it was imputed to the counsel for the crown, that they kept back evidence which would have shown that all the disturbances in the country were excited by persons sent by the government, certainly not with that intention. How then could any one say that these trials were perfectly satisfactory to the country? or how could any one say that those disturbances were quelled by the suspension act? They were put down by the usual and ordinary forms of the law. He blamed government for sending down persons into counties they were not connected with, as ministers not of good but of evil, to be watching the poor at their looms and workshops, exciting them to insurrection, by saying that men of rank would join them. Inquiry into all these things was necessary, in order to make some compensation to their constituents for the suspension of their liberties. It was only in times of disturbance that the habeas corpus act was of any use to the people; and this would be drawn into a precedent to deprive our posterity of their liberties at the very time they stood most in need of them. He would vote for inquiry; but he hoped some gentleman would move for a very different sort of inquiry than that proposed by government. The only and real

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ground for these papers was merely to pass a bill of indemnity.

Mr. C. Wynne owed it to himself to say, that the suspension of the habeas corpus act was called for last year, and that its necessity was proved by the result of the evidence on the state trials; and that it was to the suspension act the present tranquil state of the country was to be attributed. From the evidence on the trials at Derby, it was clear that the conspirators were fed constantly with the hopes of co-operation from other parts of the kingdom. Were not the king's troops fired on by armed bodies of men? With respect to the conduct of the crown officers on the trials, he was satisfied that they had done their duty. He was convinced that if the insurgents had not been prevented from carrying their design into effect by the suspension act, much evil might have ensued; and if the spies and informers had been allowed to permit the delinquents to pursue their mischievous views, then their testimony would have been discredited: therefore it was, in his opinion, much better to put a stop to their progress. The honourable gentleman contended, that the mode of obtaining a committee by ballot was preferable to any other.

Sir W. Burroughs denied that any necessity for the measure of suspension really existed, and he referred to the reports on the subject in respect to the evidence as to the Spa-fields plot. The conspirators were, a broken apothecary, a decayed farmer, two cobblers, and a bully belonging to a

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brothel:

brothel : it was also proved on the trial of Watson, that no conspiracy existed or co-operated with the counties. Ministers saw they had no chance but by shifting the scene to Manchester, after the trial of Watson. How then would they answer to the public for discharging those men who had been imprisoned without any trial whatever, after charging them with going deliberately to work to overturn the government—thus committing an overt act of high treason? In his judgement this was one of the most violent proceedings that parliament had ever recorded, and he entreated the house to pause before they put such powers into the hands of ministers, by giving them the privilege of the ballot.

Mr. Ellison centended, that no one could believe otherwise than that Brandreth had had a gross falsehood imposed on him, respecting Oliver, at the time of his examination. That we were in danger he had no doubt; but, thank God, we had subdued it. He could state, from his own experience as a magistrate, that there had been emissaries going about the country, to excite the people to outrages. He protested against that sort of blasphemous and seditious trash with which we were inundated, and the object of which was to demoralize the country.

Mr. Saville considered the credit arising from the improved state of the country as not due to ministers, but to the hints of the necessity of retrenchment which they had, during the last session, received from many independent members of parliament. It was the great boast of the coun-

try, and the best answer to bold reformers, that such recommendations were sure to have an operative influence on the executive government. He claimed no credit for the good opinion either of ministers, or for that of those who might be their successors. His pride was to be an independent man; not indifferent to the good opinion of society, or to that of the *vox populi*. There were many ways in which a member of parliament might evince his independence. He should consider every man so, who did not change from one side of the house to the other for his own benefit. He had sat in the house eleven years, and he could boldly say that he had never got any thing for any vote he had ever given. He said thus much for himself, because he understood it had been stated by a person connected with the treasury, that his reason for opposing ministers last session was, that a diplomatic friend of his had not been employed.

Mr. Forbes said, if any blame lay upon ministers relative to the exercise of the extraordinary powers with which the house had invested them, it was, in his judgement, for not applying them to the great causes of the evil—those persons who, at the anniversary dinners of elections, and on other public occasions, endeavoured to endanger, by their seditious harangues, the public tranquillity. If such had been the course pursued, he was confident it would have met the approbation of the sober part of that house and of the country.

The question was put, and carried, that the papers on the table be referred to a committee; as was also the question, that the committee

committee be one of secrecy, and that it consist of 21 members.

On the question that the members be chosen by way of ballot ;

Mr. Brougham did not wish to protract the debate, but merely to say why he could not give his consent to the mode of election by ballot. The noble lord would thus bring the house into a difficulty which they could not get out of— if the noble lord were to be balloted, and a certain number were to be of opinion that the noble lord was not the fittest person to sit on the committee to decide on his own particular case, (particularly as to any action brought against him by those individuals, which, for any thing that might be known, might already be entered on the record) he desired to know how the sense of the house could be taken on a name after the ballot had been gone through?

Mr. Canning was equally anxi-

ous not to protract the debate : but he saw no difficulty, as the name of the noble lord would not be found in the list that would be put on the table, unless by a majority of the house ; and how a minority could turn round the division of a majority, was what he could not comprehend. When he recollected that committees of this kind had been appointed in the same way on every occasion, he thought the argument was conclusive, that if one mode was more calculated than another to enter an individual's consent to an individual name, with the greatest delicacy to his feelings, the ballot was the best or only way in which he could do it.

After a few words from Mr. Brougham and Mr. Tierney, in explanation, the house divided— For the motion 102—Against it 29—Majority in favour of the ballot 73.

CHAPTER II.

Committee of Secrecy—Debates on the State Trials in Scotland—Instructions to the Secret Committee—Abuses in Scotch Burghs—Asizes in the Northern Counties—Petition of Ward—Report of the Committee of Secrecy—Criminal Law—Indemnity Bill—Army Estimates.

HOUSE of commons, Feb. 6. —The house having gone into a committee of ways and means, Mr. Vansittart proposed the annual grant of 3,000,000/. for land and malt duties, and also an issue of exchequer bills, conformable to the vote of the committee of supply. A conversation of some length took place between Mr. Tierney, Mr. Vansittart, and lord Castlereagh, as

to the repayment of the 6,000,000/. loan from the bank, and the resumption of cash payments. It was stated by ministers that the loan would be paid in money, and not in exchequer bills; and the pending foreign loans constituted the only difficulty that could by possibility retard the resumption of cash payments. It was distinctly intimated, that the treaty of 1814 afforded no guarantee to

British subjects investing property in the French funds. The resolutions were then agreed to.

Mr. Brogden reported the names of the committee of secrecy: lord Milton, lord G. Cavendish, lord Castlereagh, lord Lascelles, right hon. C. B. Bathurst, hon. W. Lambe, sir A. Piggot, Mr. C. W. Wynne, sir W. Scott, sir John Nicholl, the attorney general, the solicitor general, Mr. Canning, hon. C. Yorke, Mr. W. Egerton, Mr. Wilberforce, Mr. Bootle Wilbraham, Mr. W. Dundas, sir R. Peel, sir W. Curtis, adm. Frank.

Sir M. W. Ridley said that lord G. Cavendish was unavoidably absent, and proposed the substitution of Mr. Tierney.

To this lord Castlereagh answered, that such a nomination would be inconsistent with a proceeding by ballot.

Mr. Brougham objected to lord Castlereagh sitting in judgement on himself and his colleagues.—Here the speaker inquired what was the question before the house.

Lord Castlereagh said it was, That the committee should meet to-morrow; which, after some observations from Mr. Wilberforce, Mr. Canning, and others, was carried in the affirmative.

Feb. 9.—Mr. Phillips presented a petition from certain merchants, manufacturers, and others, inhabitants of Manchester and Salford, praying that the house would order a strict inquiry into the conduct not only of the lower classes, but also of the magistrates of those places, with regard to the rumoured conspiracies of March last.

The house having gone into a committee, lord Castlereagh explained at great length the stipulations of the treaties recently en-

tered into with Spain for the abolition of the slave-trade, and stated that a treaty for the same purpose had been concluded with Portugal, but that the ratifications had not yet been exchanged. He then justified the giving 400,000*l.* to Spain for her consent to the abolition, and said that five times that sum had been offered by the Spanish merchants for permission to continue the trade. He concluded with moving a resolution that the house would make the necessary provisions for carrying the treaty into effect.

In the course of the debate on this subject, sir G. Heathcote protested against the grant of 400,000*l.* to Spain in the present distressed state of the country; and sir O. Moseley objected to it on the same ground, adding, that the money would be employed against the Spanish colonies: so that, whilst we were emancipating the blacks by thousands, we should be enslaving the whites by millions.

Mr. Wilberforce, sir J. Mackintosh, Mr. Bennet, sir W. Burroughs, and others, supported the resolution; which, on a division, was carried by 56 to 4. The house being then resumed, the Spanish treaty was referred to the committee of supply.

Feb. 10.—Lord A. Hamilton, in rising pursuant to his notice, felt that the subject which he had undertaken to bring forward was one of the most important that had ever come before the house.—It was the more important, as it referred to the conduct of the law officers of the crown in Scotland, and the court of justiciary in that country. This very statement might create a double prejudice against his bringing forward such

such a subject. It made the question appear to be a legal one, which might induce a belief that it would have been more properly taken up by a professional man, as merely a professional case, though it might have been in much abler hands. The other point likely to create a prejudice against him, was his appearing to call upon the house to interfere with the proceedings of courts of justice, a subject on which the deepest and the best founded jealousy had always existed; but this he was not thinking of doing in the remotest manner. He wished merely to take cognisance of what appeared on their own records. The case which he should submit to the house would involve something approaching to subornation to perjury, with the intended object of producing an illegal conviction. His motion should be for a copy of the records of those proceedings. He should have little more to submit than what those records would show. For how could the proceedings of a law court be better explained than by its own records? He should now revert to what had passed in the house on a former occasion, when the lord-advocate stated the population of the country about Glasgow to be so contaminated, that 300 or 400 individuals were implicated in an oath, which in an uncalled-for manner he submitted to the house. He (lord A. Hamilton) did not deny that a seditious disposition might have existed; but was it possible not to believe that the statement of the learned lord had been most extravagant, from what had since transpired, and from his own conduct? If there was a duty which

should be performed more scrupulously than another, it should be, that every person brought to the tribunal of his country should have a fair, just, and impartial trial:—it was this which, he now complained, the individual tried in Scotland had not. In saying this, he disclaimed any concern with the guilt or innocence of the person in question. Whether guilty or innocent, he was equally entitled to a fair trial. But the learned lord's exaggerated statement in the house had been most likely to prejudice and influence the minds not only of persons here, but of those who would serve on the jury in Scotland. The system adopted by government,—of introducing spies and informers at meetings on all occasions,—had also led to considerable mischief. From their past records, he would now state what the officers of the crown in Scotland had done, and that, instead of executing their duty fairly, they had endeavoured to convict the only person put on his trial, on what he would have little hesitation to call subornation to perjury. In doing this he meant no personalities. He only wished to look at the conduct of those officers in their public character, and did not mean to say that either the learned lord or any of his colleagues had wished to induce the committal of perjury. He should now explain one thing to those who were not accustomed to the manner in which trials were carried on in Scotland. The commencement of a trial differed widely from the same proceeding in England. It began by what was called the purgation of witnesses. The court asked every

witness three questions: first—“Have you any malice or ill-will against the pannel at the bar?”—If the witness answers Yes, the court has still the power to consider on what ground he rests his answer, and whether it disqualifies his testimony from being received. The second question was—“Has any body taught or instructed you what to say as a witness?” He was not asked whether he had been taught to speak true or false, but whether he had received any instructions at all. If he had, then it was to be apprehended the court would, on that account, set him aside. The third question was—“Have you received any reward, or promise of reward, for giving evidence?” It was not said for giving false evidence, but Has a reward been promised you for giving evidence at all? If the witness could not answer that question, then he would stand disqualified.—He should now proceed to the evidence, as offered in court, to make out his charge. When John Campbell was called as a witness, the counsel for the pannel objected to him, on the ground that they had not been permitted to have access to him, having been refused leave by the lord-advocate, to whom they had applied. The objection, however, was over-ruled, on the ground that the application for leave ought to have been made to the court, and not to the lord-advocate. The lord-advocate had refused to grant permission, because he said he thought it his duty to prevent all access to the witness on the part of the pannel, for fear of tampering. The learned lord had said so, when the evidence of that

witness, from the moment he had been in the hands of the officers of the crown, exhibited a continual tissue of proofs of the most palpable tampering. How could the learned lord give that as his reason, when he must have known at the very time that the officers of the crown had had continual access to Campbell, for the purpose of tampering with him? On the third oath being put to him, Whether he had received any reward or any promise of reward for giving evidence, to the surprise of the whole court he answered, “that he had.” On that answer he should ground his present motion; and it would be for the house to judge of the tampering used, and of the propriety of producing a witness so tampered with, to convict illegally the pannel at the bar. It was not usual in the trials of Scotland to take down the whole of the evidence; but in this instance it was done, and principally on account of Campbell’s answer. He should read various passages from this to the house, to prove the correctness of what he had advanced. The noble lord then read several parts of the evidence, to the following effect:—After Campbell had been taken, and brought to jail, he was left alone with Mr. Salmon, the procurator-fiscal, who told him—“John, you perhaps did not know that I knew so much of your affair, and that you took the oath at Lanark.”—Campbell denied having taken the oath, when Mr. Salmon showed him some manuscript notes, and said “John, I assure you that I have six men who will swear that you took the oath, and you will be hanged as sure as you are alive.”

Was

Was that a threat to be made to a man who was afterwards to be brought forward as a witness? On another occasion Salmon said, "It will do you no good to persist in denying; but if you follow the other course, it may do you much good." Campbell asked how? and was answered by Salmon, that the lord-advocate was at Glasgow, and would come under any obligation to him that he pleased. Campbell was then removed to Edinburgh, and a new scene opened. A Mr. Home Drummond came to him, and told him that his name was in the list of witnesses, and that the time was arrived when he must say whether he would be one or not. Campbell then said that he must change his name if he appeared as a witness, and that he could not afterwards live at Glasgow. Mr. Drummond answered, "We have been thinking of a plan to write to lord Sidmouth, and get you in the excise." And this was said to a man who was liable to be tried, with six witnesses ready to swear against him, and who was certain of being hanged! He was afterwards left alone several times with Mr. Home Drummond, who asked him "what he wanted to have?" and told him, that "if he would give such evidence as would please the lord-advocate, he should neither be tried nor called upon as a witness." He was not prepared to say that the whole of this most unfair proceeding was the work of Mr. Home Drummond or of the lord-advocate; but till it was disclaimed by the learned lord, it must be considered as his own. It was possible that the lord-advocate would say, All this is true:

but Mr. Home Drummond did it, and tampered with Campbell, without my having any thing to do with it. In that case, all he (lord Archibald Hamilton) wanted, was to find the guilty person, and it would be for the house to ascertain the degree of his guilt. —The next time Mr. Drummond saw Campbell, he told him, "We don't know what to do for you; we all wish to favour you;" and a few days after he told him, that that would be the last time he should be asked. Campbell then inquired if lord Sidmouth had been written to? and Mr. Drummond replied that he had not, as Campbell had been understood to have refused the offer. The next examination was in presence of sir William Rae, the sheriff of Edinburgh. When the deposition was taken before this magistrate, on its being stated under what circumstances the deposition was made, he refused to have it signed, on the ground that, if what the witness stated respecting the offers made to him were true, the deposition would be a perjury. Thus, if it had not been for sir William Rae, who had acted most conscientiously according to his duty, the perjury would have been committed. The noble lord then read various other parts of the record, of less interest, as they related chiefly to the treatment which Campbell received during his confinement; his having been furnished with shoes by order of captain Sibbald, the governor of the gaol; his wife being sent for from Glasgow, &c. He made use of the record, not merely as the authority for his statement, but as containing the very statement on which he wished

ed to found his case. He recollected that the attorney-general, not long ago, in the course of a debate respecting any intercourse between the law officers of the crown and witnesses, used this expression: "God forbid that I should interfere with any witness!" Unfortunately the present case served to show that this did not seem to be the system pursued by the law officers of the crown in Scotland. The system acted on there was that of employing spies and tampering with witnesses. If any of those spies denounced an individual, that individual was instantly arrested—carried to gaol—to a secret gaol; even magistrates were prevented from having access to him. Then the evidences to be produced on the trial of this individual were tampered with. He would ask, what was the chance of an individual escaping who was arrested and brought to trial in this way?—The other great point of his charge was, that the acts amounted to subornation of perjury. He would ask, if the result of the trial had been the conviction of M^cKinlay, upon the evidence of Campbell thus tutored for the occasion, and if the conviction had been followed up by execution or transportation, and it had then come out what the practices of Mr. Home Drummond had been, and how that conviction had been procured, what could be thought of the state of the country? M^cKinlay was put to the bar, charged with an attempt to overturn or bring into contempt the laws and government of the country. But he would ask, whether the proceedings adopted by those who had put M^cKinlay up-

on his trial were not calculated much more palpably and violently to overturn the laws, and bring into contempt the administration of justice?—There was only one other point on which he would trouble the house; and that related to the nature of the evidence which he would ask to have produced. His motion would be for a copy of the record of the trial; because that was evidence of the very highest kind as to the facts, and therefore he supposed it was that by which the law officers of the crown in Scotland would wish to be tried, for it might be said to be of their own manufacture. He held it to be undeniable, that the lord-advocate really did mean to call Campbell as a witness upon the trial. There was a passage in professor Hume's Treatise upon the criminal law of Scotland, which clearly proved, that to call such a witness was an offence for which a magistrate was indictable. It was quite clear, that to use the testimony of such a witness would be to support a cause by perjury; for before the testimony of the man could be received, he must have sworn that he was a competent witness; a statement which he could not, without perjury, make upon his oath, after the offers which were made to him. In conclusion, he wished it to be distinctly understood, that in what he had said, or in the course of conduct which in respect of this matter he felt it his duty to pursue, he was not actuated by any feelings of personal animosity against the learned lord, or any of the other most respectable persons whose names were implicated in the transaction. He proceeded entirely upon public

public grounds, and acted from motives of public duty. He concluded by moving, "That there be laid before the house copies of such parts of the records entered upon the journals of the high court of justiciary in Scotland as contained the indictment, evidence, verdict, and judgement of the court, in the proceedings on the trial of Andrew M'Kinlay on the 19th day of July 1817."

The lord-advocate of Scotland said, that he would begin by endeavouring to set himself right with the house as to the charge made against him, of having, in the last session, made an exaggerated statement of the situation of Scotland. The statement which he had made was in effect, that, in a certain part of Scotland, an oath had been administered to many hundred persons, by which they were bound together to effect treasonable objects. It was charged against him, that such a statement was, even if true, unnecessary, and uncalled-for. To enable the house to judge of the justice of this charge, he would refer to the occasion on which the statement was made. The occasion was the debate upon the report of the secret committee of the house. In that report the state of Scotland was expressly alluded to, and Glasgow was particularly mentioned; and yet it was objected, that the statement was uncalled-for! So far from this, he felt that if he had omitted to state what so materially served to furnish the house with an important fact relative to the situation of the country, he should have been guilty of a gross breach of duty. So much for that charge against him. With respect to the

proceedings in the case of M'Kinlay, although he would enter fully into all the material circumstances, yet he would not trouble the house with the details of all the evidence led in the case. The charge against M'Kinlay was for administering an unlawful oath to several persons at secret meetings; the issue of the trial was a verdict of *not proven*. He spoke in the hearing of several honourable and learned gentlemen on the other side of the house who were conversant with the laws of Scotland, and knew the distinction which those laws made between a verdict of *not guilty* and a verdict of *not proven*. The distinction was this—that where the evidence was strong enough to satisfy the jury that there was *corpus delicti*—that there was guilt on the part of the prisoner, but such as was not sufficiently brought home to him to warrant a conviction—the verdict was *not proven*. On the other hand, where it did not appear from the evidence that there was *corpus delicti*, and where nothing criminal came out in which the prisoner was implicated, the verdict was *not guilty*.—Therefore, by the verdict in M'Kinlay's case, the administration of the oath was proved, but not proved sufficiently. At least, therefore, it turned out, that the oath which he last year read to the house was no imposition, but had really been administered in the way which he then thought it his duty to state. As to the principal part of the charge preferred by the noble lord, namely, the communication of the lord-advocate with witnesses, he begged to state the reasons why the lord-advocate of Scotland was, by the nature of his duties,

duties, placed in a different situation with respect to witnesses, from that in which the attorney-general of England stood. That difference of situation arose from the circumstance of Scotland being under a separate government, without any resident administration; and consequently the duties of the lord-advocate involved an attention to the internal state of the country, and a superintendence of its police. The lord-advocate was almost daily applied to by magistrates for advice on subjects relative to the preservation of the public peace; and the person to whom his majesty's ministers look for information on the internal state of Scotland, is the king's advocate. In this respect, then, there was a great distinction between the duties of the lord-advocate as compared with those of the attorney-general. In short, the king's advocate in Scotland should take every measure relative to the state of Scotland which it was competent for the secretary of state to take in England; which if the attorney-general were to do, he would be usurping the secretary of state's powers. With respect to the institution of the criminal prosecutions in Scotland, the lord-advocate was in fact the grand jury there. Proceedings there in criminal cases were commenced by what is called a precognition; a process taken before the sheriff, his depute, or the procurator-fiscal. When a precognition was taken, it was transmitted directly to the lord-advocate, who was to pass his opinion on the propriety of the proceedings under it; and if upon examining it he saw that the witnesses had not been properly examined, or that the necessary wit-

nesses had not been examined, he was to direct that the proceedings should be amended or renewed. These were part of the duties of the lord-advocate. The object of what he had done in the present instance was his examining witnesses under confinement. That such a proceeding was justifiable, he would prove from good precedents in good times. In 1738, under lord-president Forbes (and there was a similar instance under the lord-president Dundas), convictions took place on confessions taken in a public gaol by the lord-advocate and the other law officers. This showed that at least there was nothing unusual in sending gentlemen to take the examination of witnesses, provided that examination was not improperly conducted. The lord-advocate had a peculiar interest in attending to the proceedings on the precognitions, for if they were not properly conducted he was liable to prosecution. It was settled in the time of the lord-president Dundas, that if the lord-advocate proceeded in any criminal prosecution on improper grounds, and without proper evidence, he should be personally liable for any injury suffered by the person subjected to the prosecution. With respect to what had been done in the present case, he would not separate his own acts or responsibility from those of Mr. Home Drummond. That gentleman, who filled the office which he held with such distinguished ability, had in the case of Campbell been obliged to perform a very irksome duty in collecting information from that person; a duty which he (the lord-advocate) regretted to be obliged to depute or assign to any individual;

dual ; but still it was a duty which could not have been omitted. The prisoners were apprehended at Glasgow, on the opinion of several most respectable persons at Glasgow. One and all of the persons so apprehended gave the information on which the indictment against M^cKinlay had been laid ; and for having brought him to trial on such grounds, he (the lord-advocate) was responsible before the court. All the persons arrested referred to Campbell, as the man who could give most important information. In order to obtain that information, on which the necessary measures for the preservation of the public peace must be founded, he immediately felt it his duty to direct Mr. Home Drummond to go to the Castle, and ascertain from Campbell whether he would be induced to give the important information, in consideration of a promise of pardon ? When this was done, there was no idea whatever of using Campbell as a witness. Mr. Drummond had no authority to offer to Campbell any situation whatever, with the view of inducing him to give information ; and he was authorized to deny that Mr. Drummond ever made any such offer. In stating Mr. Drummond's account of what passed between him and Campbell, he was aware that it was opposing the statement of Mr. Drummond, not upon oath, to that of Campbell upon oath ; but he was willing that it should rest on the statement of Mr. Drummond against the oath of Campbell. As to the deposition read by the noble lord, whose motion was before the house, it was plain that Campbell had made it to disqualify himself from appearing as a

witness. Campbell had a plain interest in this disqualification ; for thereby, first, it might tend to the acquittal of M^cKinlay ; secondly, it would prevent any of that danger with which at one time he said his life was threatened. The great charge was, that he should have possessed himself of what was likely to be the sum of Campbell's evidence. If to do so were a crime, he would ask an honourable and learned gentleman opposite to say whether he and two of his friends were not acquainted with the evidence which was to be given by Campbell ? He held in his hand a statement of the proceedings on the trial which proved this, in which Mr. Jeffrey, the counsel for the prisoner, said he should be able step by step to corroborate the whole evidence of Campbell. Now he would wish the hon. and learned gentleman opposite to say, whether he and his friends had not rewarded Campbell for furnishing them with that evidence ?—Campbell, when asked for information, said that he dared not give it, because, if he did, his life would be endangered. On this a safe passage to the continent was offered to him, to secure his life against the danger of giving information ; and this offer was no sooner made, than he said, that if it were fulfilled he would not only give information, but evidence upon the trial. Previous to making this offer, he had consulted with the law officers of the crown on the propriety of making it ; and they were unanimously of opinion that it was their duty to protect Campbell against the danger of giving information or evidence, and to protect him in that way which he thought would be most available. The prisoner soon

soon after expressed much apprehension on account of his wife, who was then near her time of confinement, and applied for some money to relieve her. This, and every other application for money, was positively refused; but that which humanity dictated was done, and the prisoner's wife was ordered to be conveyed to Edinburgh; and this was done openly, for the magistrates of Glasgow were directed to take a place for her in a stage coach. With respect to the promises made to Campbell, whether they were legal or not, they were made on a principle of strict duty. If he had thought them illegal, the very last thing which he would have done would have been to send for sir William Rae, and to have made the promises in his presence, when they might have been made with the utmost secrecy, so as never to rise in judgement against him. When the thing could have been done secretly, is it conceivable that, if there was any notion of illegality in the proceeding, he should have chosen a way to place it on the records of the court? (The learned lord then read, from a report of the trial, an account of what took place before the sheriff, sir William Rae.) It appeared that the sheriff burned the first deposition. This shows that the sheriff, at least, did not think the offer of protection illegal; for, if he did, the very last act which he ought to have done was to burn the deposition. Two promises of protection were made to Campbell; the one to give him the means of going to the continent; the other, to give him the means of going to some of the colonies. In the first deposition the first promise

was made. If it was illegal, the second was equally so; and the deposition taken under the second promise, and recorded, was as illegal as that taken under the first, which was destroyed. So much for the facts. Now for the point of law. The noble lord truly stated, that when the initiatory question was put to the witness—"Do you bear any malice to the prisoner?" if the answer was in the affirmative, the court would proceed to inquire what was the nature of the malice, and whether it was such as would affect the evidence of the witness. The case was the same with the second initiatory question—"Have you been told what to say?" The third question was—"Has any reward been offered to you for bearing testimony in this case?" And if the answer was in the affirmative, then it was to be ascertained whether the nature of the reward was such as to affect the testimony of the witness. In the present case, the question arose on this third point:—if the principle contended for on the other side were true, no *socius criminis* could ever be admitted as a witness. And yet nothing was more clearly established than that the evidence of *socius criminis*, who came forward as a witness under a gift of pardon, was good evidence. He referred to a passage in the Treatise of Burnet, page 416, and to the case of Home, v. ———, 8th December 1799, in which it was decided, that "a promise of a certain reward to a witness, if he would speak out, does not amount to a disqualification of the witness." The noble lord had been completely misinformed as to the law of Scotland on this subject. In lord Melville's

ville's trial, a question arose on the admissibility of the testimony of Mr. Trotter, on the ground of its being given under promise of reward, and the opinion of the twelve judges was taken upon it. The third part of that opinion distinctly stated that no promise of reward for speaking "the full truth" amounted to a disqualification of a witness. This was not merely the law of Scotland; it was one of the great principles of the constitutional law of the country. But the noble lord contended, that the prosecutor ought not to examine before-hand any witness at all. He would disprove this by an unexceptionable authority—no less than the authority of this house in the case of lord Melville, where Mr. Trotter was called before the committee of managers, and questioned touching the evidence which he was likely to give on the trial. These were authorities which he hoped the house would think amply justified his conduct in the case of Campbell, and which more than justified it, by pointing out to him that conduct as his duty. One part of the deposition of Campbell was read by the noble lord, in which it was expressly stated, that "nothing had been said to him to instruct him in the evidence which he should give on the trial." On the whole, therefore, he trusted that he had made out to the satisfaction of the house, that the private examination was no objection to the witness, and if no objection to the witness, that there was no illegality on the part of those who advised or conducted that examination.—The learned lord then referred to the declaration made by Campbell, "that he had been

treated by all the counsel for the crown, but especially by the lord-advocate, with the utmost kindness and humanity." The noble lord (A. Hamilton) had stated, that the object was to keep the private examination secret. Secret! Was the taking of the deposition before sir William Rae, the sheriff, like a wish to keep it secret? On the contrary, did it not manifest an intention that to give it publicity was the sole object of having it before the sheriff, because he felt that by doing it so, and by having the whole entered upon the records in the crown office, he permanently fixed the responsibility of the whole transaction upon himself, in order that, if there were blame, it might be attached to the proper person? It had been said, too, that Campbell was brought forward by him for the purpose of hanging M'Kinlay. The disproof of this was in the circumstance, that Campbell was not called upon as a witness until that stage of the trial when M'Kinlay was out of jeopardy. On the whole, therefore, he thought no ground was made out for the present motion. In addition to all other reasons against it, by bringing the question before parliament, the relief to which the person professing to be aggrieved was entitled before a court of justice was interfered with. He therefore trusted that the house would now follow the precedent established in its decision in 1794, on the motion to produce the records of the trial of Palmer and others, where, although above twenty objections to the trial were made, the house decided that the records should not be produced.

Mr. J. P. Grant admitted that the

the learned lord was justified in exonerating himself from blame ; but having been one of the counsel on the trial of M^rKinlay, he should not be doing his duty if he did not contend that the case was one not of a mere personal nature, but involved the most important question, as touching the liberty of the subject and the law of Scotland. The charge preferred against the law officers of the crown in Scotland was twofold :— 1st, That of tampering with the witnesses to influence their testimony :—2d, That of calling upon a witness, who, before his testimony could be received, must answer a certain question in the negative, which they knew he could not answer in the negative without perjury. He did not mean to say these charges were proved ; but these were the charges. They are made on authority which must be received in this house ; they were recorded in the judiciary court, and were uncontroverted by any thing except the statement of the learned lord. It was therefore but fair to the learned lord—it was but fair to the house—it was but fair to the administration of public justice in the country, that the motion should be agreed to, and that so the house might be enabled to examine into the truth of these charges. It was the duty of the house to ascertain its truth. He (Campbell) had taken pains to furnish the house with the particular circumstances, and the names of the gentlemen present ; and if his story were not true, he would put it to any person to say where he had ever seen a single case in which perjury might be so clearly established ? Months had now elapsed since the trial, and

circumstances were imputed to the learned gentleman which it could not be supposed would have remained an hour uncontradicted. The learned lord had nothing to do but to try the man for perjury, and, by having him convicted, to rescue his character, as well as that of the whole profession to which he had the honour to belong. The learned lord had stated himself to be the grand jury of Scotland ; he might, therefore, have indicted the witness, and established the perjury. At least, he might have rescued the profession from the stigma which the want of prosecution had affixed on it, and which the learned lord and his coadjutors had allowed to remain as a memorial of shame for so many months. Now what was the deposition of this man ? that he had been desired by the sheriff *to make his breast clean* ; for the advocate depute promised, that he would come under any obligation, in the presence of Drummond, in Glasgow. Afterwards, in the castle of Edinburgh, Drummond said, that M^rKinlay had been served with an indictment ; that his (Campbell's) name was in the list of witnesses ; now was his time to determine whether he would be a witness. Could any man doubt of the import of this intimation ? The witness said, he wished to get into the excise, and that he thought of writing to lord Sidmouth ; to which Mr. Drummond promised he would put him on a plan to get into the excise. Now the house would recollect, that this man was in danger of his life. Would getting him into the excise preserve his life ? At the second interview Mr. Drummond asked the witness what he wanted to have ? To which

which the witness gave no answer:—and then comes the most painful part of the record; for it says, that if the witness would give such information as would please the lord-advocate, he should not be examined as a witness, nor tried himself. Thus, said Mr. G. he concludes his tampering with no obscure hint of the means taken to pervert the ends of justice. To talk to a man in jeopardy of his danger, and the means whereby he might escape, was a strong proof of the abuse of justice. He did not mean to say that Mr. Drummond was guilty; but there were assertions against that gentleman which required contradiction. The witness, in his deposition, went on to state that the solicitor-general, the procurator-fiscal, the sheriff-substitute, and a clerk, were present;—now, could not those persons contradict this testimony? were not they all witnesses to the conversation, the result of which was, that for giving his evidence he should be carried to a foreign country, Prussia, out of the reach of danger? In the particular line of business in which he was engaged, encouragement was given by the government of Prussia, and that was the reason he wished to go there. In his deposition he distinctly states that he received money, and this, too, in the presence of the gaoler (Sibbald) and another person. The learned lord had said, the written paper was committed to the flames, thus admitting that they had done nothing but what would bear the light. With respect to the accusation of his noble friend, it was this; that as this gentleman, Mr. Home Drummond, was the deputy of the learned lord, he was

responsible for the offers he held out to the witness, as relating to the promises of reward for giving his testimony. He differed from the learned lord as to the law of Scotland. If the witness had received any reward or promise for giving his testimony, his evidence could not be received. The sheriff said he could not be a witness of any thing that had been done towards him; so the court decided, and so the learned lord decides, and withdraws him. On what grounds could the learned lord do this, unless he discredited the witness, or that it was against the law? Adverting to Burnet's book, which had been alluded to, he disclaimed its being good authority; nor was the case to which the learned lord referred; but if the learned lord would state that it was the law of Scotland, that he (Campbell) should be a witness, although he received reward, he would then contradict him on the best authority, that of five eminent counsel of Edinburgh, whose names he would not mention, or they would be perfectly satisfactory to the house. They had given their opinion to this effect, and also that Burnet was very incorrect. However, as gentlemen wished to know their names, he would read them. They were Messieurs G. Cranstoun, J. Moncrieff, J. A. Murray, H. Cockburn, and Andrew Rutherford. All these gentlemen would have disdained to set their names to any opinion not founded on the laws; and he was desirous that it should be examined how much such an opinion bore on the present question. Was such a witness to be put in the box, when it was known before-hand he could not serve the cause, or that

that before serving it he must commit perjury? The honourable gentleman referred to the case of Titus Oates, in which Pollexfen and serjeant Maynard, two eminent lawyers of that time, were at issue on subornation of perjury in a witness, who had been victualled and otherwise well treated and protected, to induce him to give evidence. Old serjeant Maynard on that occasion said, "If that is your course of proceeding, brother, you have found out a better way of upholding subornation of perjury than the very devil himself." This was the first time he had ever heard it asserted that it was allowable to tamper with witnesses; and if the house did not take proper steps on it, there would not be a petty trafficker in the law, or a pettifogging attorney in the kingdom, but what would think himself justified by its decision in carrying on the practice. He therefore felt in his conscience, that if the house did not enter into this investigation, they would do the greatest disservice to the country that could be imagined. Public justice was not a thing to be played or trifled with, as all our liberties depended on its impartial administration, and, above every thing, on the sacredness of the testimony of witnesses. There had been a question put to him which he must answer before he sat down. It was true that Campbell had contrived to send to one of his learned friends a detailed statement in writing of what had afterwards appeared as his deposition, and the way he adopted was certainly ingenious enough, for he had inclosed it in a roll of tobacco. At the consultation held upon it, there was only one of the

gentlemen who believed the thing could possibly be true. They thought it to be a story made up, when, as the phrase is, the witness was breaking down; but they determined to reject his eligibility as a witness.

Mr. Colquhoun (lord-register) contended, that the charges against the learned lord were unfounded; and contrasted the contradictions in the testimony of the witness. If the record was laid before the house, it would falsify itself from beginning to end. Mr. Drummond had made the offer of sending him out of the country, because his life was considered to be in danger; and yet, while the witness, in this part of his deposition, was stating this fact, he, in the next, asserts that Mr. Drummond had promised to get him an exciseman's place. In short, there were scanty ingredients of truth poured into a case overflowing with falsehoods. The learned gentleman here expressed his astonishment, that out of the five counsel introduced as great Scotch law authorities, four should have been employed in defence of the prisoner. Their opinions, in point of law, were not sufficient to overturn, respectable as they were, the *dictum* of the law courts of the kingdom. With respect to the conduct of the defence, the learned counsel proposed to call sir W. Rae and other witnesses, which the court over-ruled. So much for the knowledge of the forms of law. But, in truth, the proceedings on the part of the prosecution were conducted fairly and openly. By producing the record, it would lead to the crimination of men who could not defend themselves in this place. After the trial,

trial, the counsel for the prisoner expressed themselves perfectly satisfied with the conduct of the learned lord; in which the learned gentleman then joined, though now he thinks the conduct of the learned lord so reprehensible.

Mr. W. Wynne said, a similar case to this occurred with respect to a witness on the trials for high treason in Lancashire, in the year 1793, where he swore one thing on his examination, and another on the trials, so that the counsel for the crown were obliged to fold up their briefs, and give up the trial. Yet inquiry was made into these cases, which showed that there were good grounds for those trials. In this case, also, there was good ground for inquiry. He should have thought that the learned lord, when he took the depositions of witnesses, would have had the precaution which every justice of the peace in this country has, namely, to have a clerk present while witnesses were examined. It had been said, that the house could not inquire into a case of this kind, without interfering with the course of justice. If that were the case, the house could not correct any abuse, or inquire into the conduct of any member of the government.

Lord Castlereagh thought the house would see that there was no ground either for inquiry or for the production of the record. He contended that the opinion of the bench, and the whole course of the proceedings, showed that a secret conspiracy, bound together with oaths, had existed in Glasgow, which justified the lord-advocate in bringing on the trial. Campbell's evidence had been considered by the court and counsel

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on both sides as unworthy of every kind of credit; yet now, the argument on the other side of the house was, that Campbell's evidence was admissible by the house, in order to found inquiry. As to prosecuting Campbell for perjury, the only point was that respecting the offer of an office to him, and that was said to have taken place under circumstances which precluded the lord-advocate from bringing forward such a prosecution against him. What could have induced sir W. Rae to destroy the depositions he knew not; but would they put such a man as Mr. Drummond on his trial at the bar of the house, on the evidence of such a man as Campbell? He trusted the house would see there was no ground for inquiry, considering the frequency in these times of getting up such cases as this. He therefore gave the motion a direct negative.

Sir S. Romilly said, the house was calling for this record in order to see what proceeding might afterwards be necessary to be instituted. Lord Gillies had said, that it would be extremely proper to have this subject further investigated; and where could that investigation better take place than before the house? For his part, he saw nothing so incredible in the testimony of this witness from beginning to end of it. The learned lord had never denied that Mr. Home Drummond had offered Campbell money, and a situation in the excise; nor had he ever said that a prosecution could not have been instituted against Campbell for perjury, on account of the want of two witnesses. He did not believe the noble lord would find one man in the country who

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could

could consider this as a case got up to serve a purpose. The lord-advocate of Scotland had the whole legal jury of the country in himself, and therefore it was his duty to see that nothing but the purest evidence should be brought against a person charged with a criminal offence. He was more especially bound to this, because the law of Scotland was more strict with respect to the purity of witnesses than that of England. The noble lord (Castlereagh) had asked, would the house call on Mr. Drummond to make his defence against such a witness as Campbell? He would call on Mr. Drummond, or the noble lord, or the first man in the country, to answer a charge made against him on oath. The noble lord was unfit for legal investigation, if he disputed that proposition. He contended, that an unfair method had been taken to procure this man's testimony.

Mr. J. P. Grant denied that he had concurred in any compliment to the lord-advocate for his conduct on the trial; and Mr. Jeffrey had told him, that what he said was meant as a compliment only to the court; but he had been materially misrepresented, in the report of what he said, in the public prints.

Mr. V. Fitzgerald defended the conduct of the lord-advocate, and opposed the motion.

The lord-advocate said, the gentlemen who were of counsel for M^cKinlay had obtained the authorized short-hand writer's notes to correct their own speeches, and by that kept back the publication of the trial until the end of January.

Mr. J. P. Grant said, the short-hand writer's notes were so incor-

rect, as to require a great deal of trouble, on the part of the counsel for M^cKinlay, to amend them.

The attorney-general said, he saw in Campbell's testimony the mind of a most artful man, who was capable of raising, on a small foundation of truth, a great fabric of falsehood. With respect to this charge against the learned lord, if any witness had assured him he could not give his evidence, because his own life, and that of his wife, would be in danger if he did, he (the attorney-general) would have assured him of protection; but that would not have been tampering with a witness. He denied (although he was no Scotch lawyer) that a general promise of protection would disqualify a witness. He opposed the production of this record.

Mr. Kirkman Finlay said, he would ask, in reference to Mr. Home Drummond's conversations with Campbell, Was it usual to ask a person whether he would choose to be examined or not? That Mr. Home Drummond had a right to afford him protection he would admit; but a removal to some place abroad seemed to him to be something more than mere protection, and to be therefore unwarrantable. For the sake of inquiry, he must vote for the production of the record. He would explain his reasons. He agreed with the learned lord-advocate, that the state of the country had been alarming and dangerous; but, agreeing with him in this opinion, he would ask how it happened, that there had been no trial for two months after this period of alarm and danger, and no conviction at all had been obtained?

Lord

Lord A. Hamilton replied. He never before that night heard that Campbell's evidence was considered false; and he did not think that a vote of the house would clear the characters of the learned lord and his coadjutor in the opinion of their countrymen.

The house then divided—For the motion of lord Archibald Hamilton, 71—Against it, 136—Majority 65.

Feb. 11.—Mr. Babington adverted to the loss which the lower orders might experience from the bank tokens not being exchanged in proper time.

Mr. Vansittart saw no necessity for the interference of government; and in the two years allowed for exchanging them, it was highly probable that but very few of them would not find their way back to the bank.

The house having gone into a committee of supply, lord Castlereagh moved a grant of 400,000*l.* to Spain, under the treaty for abolishing the slave-trade.

Mr. Lyttleton complained that Spain had, without the usual notice of six months, prohibited our cottons, and laid a duty of 110*per cent.* on our iron manufactures.

Lord Castlereagh observed, that our cottons had been altogether prohibited prior to 1792, so that in this respect Spain had only reverted to her old system. Nothing that could have been done was omitted on the part of the British government to induce that of Spain to adopt a more liberal commercial system; but unfortunately Spain was much less forward than other countries in adopting those truths which were now

happily established, and which proved that the true interest of every country was to throw wide open its ports to the unrestrained commerce of other countries. The same unfortunate prejudices formerly restrained commerce between this country and the sister island, and between Britain and other countries.

After some discussion, in the course of which lord Castlereagh stated that the sum of 400,000*l.* was to be given entire to the Spanish government, to which those who had claims for compensation were to apply, the resolution was agreed to, and the house was resumed.

Lord Castlereagh laid on the table copies of the treaty with Portugal for abolishing the slave trade.

Mr. Fazakerley rose, pursuant to his motion, to move that instructions be given to the secret committee now sitting, directing an inquiry to be made whether measures had been taken to bring to justice the persons concerned in exciting riots in different parts of the country. The employment of persons who had excited riots had been mentioned in various petitions presented to the house—had been proved by some facts which came out during the trials of persons concerned in those riots, and was expressly noticed in the report of the secret committee of the 20th of June last. As he had not himself sufficient local information of the circumstances under which those riots had been excited, he would satisfy himself with founding his motion on that passage of the report which he had mentioned. The jails had been

filled with state prisoners under novel circumstances, and the proceedings of government had afforded the contrast of the strongest and the weakest measures, during which the unfortunate persons had been confined with more than usual severity; and the very last step had been a letter of paternal admonition for the good management of the young man who was discharged. When the jails had been crowded in this manner by the exertions of spies and informers, was it fair or just that nothing should be brought against the persons detained? Was it decent, or any thing like an impartial administration of justice, when there did not appear to be the slightest trace of suspicion against those persons? He wished, however, to guard against expressing any opinion generally with regard to the employment of spies, though it was most unfortunate that public vices could only be detected by private treachery. But while such persons were employed, the greatest caution should be exercised before the information they furnished was acted upon. He should trouble the house no further; the whole object of his motion was merely to ask that those persons who had exceeded their instructions should be detected and brought to justice. He should therefore move,—"That it be an instruction to the committee of secrecy, to inquire whether any and what measures had been taken to detect and bring to justice those persons described in the report of the 8th June, who may, by their language and conduct, have encouraged those designs of which it was in-

tended they should only be the instruments of detection."

Mr. C. Bathurst said, the honourable member seemed to be under a mistake, with respect to the object of his motion, for committees were already armed with all the necessary powers for examining into the matter committed to them. With regard to the position of the honourable member, that government was bound to detect and bring to justice such persons as were concerned in the disturbances which had taken place, there could be but one opinion; but if it be inferred from thence, that the government was bound to prosecute those persons from whom they had received informations, the conclusion was most erroneous; for it assumed that which was not the fact, that these persons were the authors of all the disturbances which had occurred. He would admit that the conduct of those persons whose assistance was so necessary in cases of revolt or sedition, was calculated to encourage the disaffection which it was intended to put down, for they must of course have seemed to approve of that which was going forward, in order that they might be better able to know and communicate what was ultimately intended. It was therefore the duty of government to protect such men. If it could be proved that the persons alluded to were the first cause of the disaffection, it would then become another question, for ministers would not give any sanction or encouragement to such persons. But those who were anxious to take every opportunity of vilifying ministers, had, the moment they understood that

that Mr. Oliver was concerned with the conspirators, and that he was acting under the orders of government for the purpose of giving information, taken the opportunity of throwing the whole blame on them. The right honourable gentleman then stated, that Oliver had not been known to government until after he had been concerned in the secret meetings on his own account, and that then he was made use of merely for the purpose of conveying information of what was going on. With respect to the character of this man, the government never knew any thing that was bad until they understood him to be connected with such meetings; and when he was to act at all for the crown, it was merely to give information. The house would bear him out in the statement, that nothing was more usual than for such persons, when they were detected, to turn round upon those who gave information against them, and endeavour to fasten the guilt upon them. If, for argument's sake, a general rising was fixed on for the 10th of June, and that it was put off till the 20th, at the instigation of Oliver, was it not plain, that though his conduct might, in some degree, have encouraged them, yet that they must have digested their plans of insurrection before he joined them? If even, only comparatively, a small number had assembled in a secret manner for seditious purposes, the government would be justified in acting as they had done; but he should, perhaps, remove the grounds of some objections when he stated, that not one individual had been arrested upon the information of

Oliver; nor was it upon his information that any measure upon which the *habeas corpus* had been suspended was founded. There could not, therefore, be any connection established between that measure and the information of the individual alluded to. The right honourable gentleman then continued to show that Oliver had not any knowledge of the persons tried in London; that Brandreth had once said, that Oliver was with him on a particular day; but when reminded by a person present that he must be mistaken, as Oliver was in Yorkshire on that day, he never persisted in his assertion, nor did he ever repeat it afterwards. Under these circumstances, he saw no reason why government should punish a person who only did what was right in procuring the information required of him. He concluded by opposing the motion.

Lord Milton said, that if he were ever to accept the office of a spy, he would not wish to have a better employer than the right honourable gentleman who had just sat down; for he was certain that he would be defended in what he should do, and the right honourable gentleman would take all the blame upon himself. He could not but remark, that the statement made by the right honourable gentleman with respect to Oliver was calculated to mislead the house.

Mr. C. Bathurst rose to order. He hoped the noble lord did not mean to impute to him that he wished to mislead the house.

Lord Milton proceeded. He maintained that the right honourable gentleman had failed to make out a defence in what he

had stated respecting Oliver: He referred the house to a report of the house of lords, in which it was stated, that dissatisfaction was confined principally to the midland and northern districts. How then did it happen, that a connection was opened between them and London? Perhaps the London delegate might be able to answer the question. It was he who was sent down by the secretary of state, who established the link; and in this he was borne out by the circumstance that all the magistrates in the places where any secret meetings were held were diligently employed in endeavouring to secure the London delegate, from whom they supposed all the mischief proceeded. It was said that none were arrested against whom Oliver appeared as a witness. Such might have been the case; but surely it would be too much to say, that many were not taken up and imprisoned in consequence of information immediately derived from him. He wished the house to attend to one particular part of the right honourable gentleman's (Mr. B.'s) speech. He stated that no rising had taken place at Nottingham, where Oliver had been, but that a rising had taken place at those places where he had not been, namely, the west-riding of Yorkshire, Derby, and Birmingham.

Mr. B. Bathurst said he did not deny that Mr. Oliver was in those parts of the country where a rising took place, but he was not there at the time when such an event occurred.

Lord Milton would say no more upon that subject. The right honourable gentleman could recollect from two to eight o'clock.

The house would not do their duty unless they enabled the committee to enter into a full, substantial, and efficient inquiry into the conduct both of the persons employed in the mission, and of those by whom they were employed. It was a little too much that the people of England should have been subjected to a system of espionage, without giving an opportunity of inquiry into conduct which called for most serious investigation. It was a little too much to perceive the conduct of spies treated with so little disesteem in the house, instead of viewing it with the indignation it so justly merited.

M. C. Grant, jun. opposed the motion. There was never any instance of disaffection openly appearing in the country, in which the opposition did not charge the existing government with being concerned in the excitement of it. The meeting which was proposed on the 10th of March, but postponed to the 30th of the same month, could have no reference to the subsequent interference of Oliver, for he had not been through the country until some time after the periods mentioned. Oliver was present at Derby when Brandreth and the others were tried there. Their cause was conducted by an able man (Mr. Deaman). Would he have omitted, when it was in his power, the production of Oliver, if he thought it could be of service in their defence? If it could be made out before the jury upon these trials that the prisoners were led on and excited by an emissary of government; they would, there was no doubt, have brought in a verdict of acquittal. At least they would have recommended

mended the unfortunate men to mercy.

Mr. Bennet trusted that he should establish a case sufficient to induce the house to comply with the motion, or otherwise prove that the committee must be considered as one of the grossest juggles that ever was played off upon the public. Last year the government drew a bill of indictment against the country on the part of the crown. That indictment was examined in a committee of both houses, and strong measures taken upon it. Strict inquiry was made into the cause of the king. The people now complained. They complained that spies and informers had excited those disturbances upon which so much alarm was grounded. They desired that a committee should inquire into their case. Was no inquiry to be made into the cause of the people? He would not give a general opinion upon the employment of spies; it required a cautious hand to direct such dangerous agents. They who had been employed in such a character performed acts which could not be thought of without pain. Since the year 1812, Lancashire had been the scene of their exertions. They were selling the blood of their fellow-subjects at a high rate, exciting alarm, and stirring up persecution against unfortunate men, who were obliged to live upon six shillings a week, frequently upon less. There was a captain Raine (we believe) who formed one of this party. He published a book upon the subject of spies; and this person, a captain of militia, was instructed how to proceed by an officer high in rank, whose name he would not

mention. A number of his men were enlisted into the party, who were bound to each other by secret oaths in that country. They took an oath of devoting to destruction the body of any person who should come forward as a witness against his companions. In words too horrible and blasphemous to mention, they also devoted their souls, with a view to the same object of preserving secrecy. All this was done for the purpose of discovery. The right hon. gentleman opposite (Mr. Bathurst) had pronounced a panegyric of Oliver. Why did he not also pronounce the panegyric of Castles? He would have done it if necessary. If occasion required, the paid, the clothed, the infamous witness, Castles, would have been praised. That bigamist, that bully to a brothel, that forger of notes, that spy, was clothed by the magistrates of the police, that he might be able to appear in court under the appearance of a decent person. Oliver was represented as a man of good morals. He could not tell where the right honourable gentleman (Mr. Bathurst) obtained his information, but he could assure the house that Oliver, so far from being unsullied in the object of his career, commenced it like the worthy Mr. Castles, by a fraud upon women; he married two wives. If put into the box as a witness against him, he (Mr. Bennet) should be also ready to prove, that this *moral* gentleman owed to the mercy of others the life which he then enjoyed. On the 24th of April last Oliver was introduced by Pendrill to a person named Mitchell, at Liverpool. Pendrill had gone there for the purpose of

proceeding to America. He was also introduced to a man named Jones, and they agreed that a meeting of the friends of reform should be held. The meeting was proposed by Oliver himself. Oliver represented himself at that time as intending to take a journey to Derby, Nottingham, and Shields, for the purpose of circulating reform petitions. He pressed them to send a delegate to London from Birmingham. He went from thence to Leeds, and from Leeds to Manchester. There he endeavoured to stimulate respectable persons to call meetings. He represented himself as concerned in all the disturbances that had occurred for some years. In that of 1791 and 1795, in the business of Colonel Despard, and that he had been also instrumental in aiding the escape of Thistlewood and young Watson. From Manchester he went again to Liverpool, where he was joined by his companion Mitchell, who was arrested while in company with him. A meeting, however, took place afterwards. As they were proceeding to this meeting, Oliver said he objected to the system of petitioning, and said that they could not do much without resorting to physical force. A person present said, "I know nothing about that." The meeting was not held on this day. It was put off until the 5th of May, and the adjournment was proposed by Oliver. When the day arrived, some delegates made their appearance, who appeared to be in the greatest misery. Oliver was requested to take the chair. He declined it at first, but afterwards complied. He commenced by saying, that there was no use in petitioning ;

that the people of London were waiting for the movements of those in the country, and that nothing would do but physical force. He asked what arms they had in the different districts, and then pulling out some cards, called upon those present to write down upon them the number of men that each could bring forward, and to sign his name to it. They refused to comply, but Oliver himself then wrote down the numbers as they dictated to him. This he believed in his conscience to be the foundation of that part of the report of the secret committee, in which it is stated that delegates from the different districts furnished a regular account of the quota of men each of them could send. All this could be proved, if necessary, upon oath. He could produce a letter, written by Oliver to his friend Pendrill, of the most base, false, and deceitful kind ; to the man who had been his friend, who had liberated him from prison, and supplied him with money in his distress. Oliver afterwards visited Mitchell in Cold-bath-fields prison, and, after betraying him, acted the villain so far as to ask him to write to his friends in the country to prevail upon them to appeal to arms. Mitchell refused to have any further communication with him, and said, that he believed him to be a traitor. It was after this he went to Nottingham. He should prove that he was there, and also at Derby, though it was denied by the right honourable gentleman opposite. He might not have been exactly in the barn where some of the meetings were held ; but that he had been at Derby there could be no doubt, from the documents
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he should produce. It was stated in the paper, that when Oliver was asked what were the means intended to be made use of, he answered, Physical force. He also said, that Leeds and Birmingham were prepared, but that Derby was quiet; 6000 men could be raised in London, and Wooller would print the proclamation. And this was the man, who, according to the assertion of the right honourable gentleman (Mr. B.), had done nothing to stir up the people to acts of disorder. He had appeared at Nottingham in the character of a London delegate. He told the people to stand by their country, and urged them on in the strongest terms to riot and insurrection. He (Mr. Bennet) would tell the right honourable gentleman, that notwithstanding his assertion to the contrary, Oliver had seen Brandreth. He could furnish a witness....He could furnish a witness, he would repeat, though he would not mention the name, who would make affidavit to that effect. That at the 'Three Salmons' public house, Brandreth and he had met with Oliver, who said that Wooller would print the proclamations; that London was now determined upon a rising, but would not act in concert with the country, previous to sending trusty persons to see that all was right there. Brandreth, upon that occasion, said, that he had attended a meeting at Nottingham, where he had seen Oliver, when the latter had observed, that it was necessary to secure Nottingham as a rallying point; that he would remain at Nottingham with pleasure, but that it was necessary to support his friends in Yorkshire, who were in arms for the same

cause. These facts had been stated by Brandreth to his solicitor. The 8th or 9th of June had been marked out for the day of the insurrection. Oliver then went back to Birmingham, having previously stated that sir F. Burdett and major Cartwright were apprised of their plans, and that many officers would take part with the people. The plot had been made to ensnare the people into the commission of overt acts of insurrection. Oliver wrote letter after letter, and even sent an agent to Birmingham to quicken into action any who might happen to be disaffected. But he had been informed that the people of Birmingham would meddle with nothing of the kind.—One most important fact could not be too strongly impressed upon the house; that from the day Oliver ceased to be a missionary and a tourist, the public tranquillity had been completely restored. None in that house had ever known, in their own case, a wife and children clamorous for bread! Such cases, however, but too frequently occurred, and the passions they naturally excited might easily be conceived. Of such cases advantage had undoubtedly been taken to work upon. No ground had existed for alarm, till Oliver had made his appearance, who had attempted to raise one part of the country against the other. The wonder was, that the people had not had recourse to that physical force that had been held out to them. Thousands in London (without going the same length as Mr. Colquhoun) were thrown loose upon society, and procured the means of subsistence by preying upon the community. The case

case was the same, though not to the same extent, in other large towns. He hoped the house would save the people from a system so odious: he was ready to establish these statements upon the oaths of credible witnesses.

Mr. Wilberforce had formed an opinion of the conduct of Oliver; though, if the statements of the hon. gentleman who spoke last were correct, he should ascribe more effect to it than he had done before. He recollected upon a former occasion, that when a diplomatic conversation had taken place between lord Malmesbury and De la Croix, in which lord Malmesbury appeared to have greatly the advantage, Mr. Fox had said, he should like to know what M. de la Croix would say to it. So upon the present occasion, he (Mr. Wilberforce) would like to know what would be said by Mr. Oliver. Could the allegations be proved against that individual, he ought certainly to be brought to justice; and he was disposed to think he must have acted in a different manner from the instructions he had received. Some of his honourable friends who had condemned the use of spies and informers upon the present occasion, had not passed against them a general sentence of condemnation. But it was impossible to assume such a character without falsehood. Those were crooked ways, and the system itself should be wholly exploded. Oliver made a very different impression on his feelings, when in the committee, than at present. The inquiry was likely only to involve them in fresh difficulties.

The solicitor-general said, that it must be evident, upon the face

of the report, that a plan of simultaneous insurrection had existed long before the name of Oliver was attempted to be incorporated with any scheme of the kind. Not one syllable from Oliver was received but as an accomplice; and this he could safely say, that during the trials at Westminster, he never had asked the jury to believe Oliver in the character of a spy. What then was the case which the honourable gentleman had made out? The narrative came from polluted sources; and with respect to the foundation of the motion, it received no support from the allegations of the secret committee. It was never meant to bring forward Oliver as a witness. As to Brandreth, he had been preparing pikes for a considerable time: if he was the first apprehended, it was because he was deemed the most culpable of the leaders of disaffection known openly to the state.

Sir S. Romilly said that the question was, whether the house would dare to face their constituents without complying with the motion of his honourable friend by going into a committee. The house had not long to live, and he conjured them to consider the strides they were taking against the liberties of the people at large. The doctrine was now maintained, that ministers had nothing to do but pounce upon a man in the plenitude of their power, and he was no longer to be credited by themselves or a court of law. Let the house reflect on the fearful power they were about to concede to the executive arm by countenancing such a doctrine as this. Ministers had only to commit a man, and his evidence was in

in consequence attempted to be polluted. He could not help commenting on the statement of his honourable and learned friend (the solicitor-general) with respect to Brandreth, who did not appear to have been concerned in any plans of disaffection till the 8th of last June. When his honourable and learned friend seemed to lay so much stress on the circumstance of the prisoners at Derby not saying that Oliver had betrayed them, when they were brought out for death, he wished to ask him in turn, whether he believed such a declaration could have saved them? It was asking them, in fact, whether they believed that a greater culprit had led them into their scrapes. As to spies, he hoped it was needless for him to state, that he altogether concurred in deprecating them, and that he never could consent to a system of employing private treachery for the detection of public treason. His honourable friend declared he should like to hear what Oliver had to say; so should he. He would again ask, how they could consistently vote against their going into an inquiry. He concluded with voting for the committee.

Mr. Canning said, if he had recognised in the honourable and learned gentleman a right to regulate the order of debates, he should not have persisted in claiming the attention of the house before the explanation, so extraordinarily called for, had been given; he used the term—so extraordinarily called for—not with reference to the honourable and learned member's speech, but to the colloquial and irregular mode in which he demanded a reply. His

(sir S. Romilly's) practice, both here and elsewhere, might have taught him, that there might be two reasons for not giving an explanation—either that the meaning had originally been most clearly expressed, or that the misrepresentation had been so wilful and gross, that it might be very safely left to the audience to weigh its merits. From the honourable and learned gentleman who last addressed the house, they would be led to conclude, that the proposition was, that an inquiry should be instituted, not only as to the stated but the proved misconduct of spies employed by government. He had not even stopped at this misrepresentation; for, whether distrusting the facts detailed by his honourable friend behind him (Mr. Bennet) or the force of his reasoning upon them, or invited by a hoped, attempted, but unachieved triumph over his honourable and learned friend the solicitor-general, he had thought fit to put in a plea in bar, and to call upon the house to consider whether it dared to put a negative upon a question before it. The time for that topic was fortunately not yet arrived: to whatever millennium some persons might look forward, when parliament should be overawed and intimidated from without, it was not yet come. All this, however, was but surplusage to the real matter in discussion. The motion was, that the committee of secrecy shall be directed to inquire, whether any, and what proceedings have been instituted against persons described in the second report. Who were those persons? The honourable mover had interrupted one speaker, to state, that he

he did not refer to Oliver and the trials at Derby, but to Castles and the trials in London. The motion meant nothing, if it did not apply to Oliver. It might however be said, that it was intended to have a retrospective as well as a prospective application;—but how would its condition be at all improved by the assertion? There was now no pretence that Castles was employed by government; he was taken with the rest who were charged with treason, and having turned king's evidence, the house of commons was called upon to vote an inquiry. What steps had been taken to prosecute him? Did any man upon earth ever hear of a motion so novel or so absurd? Was it not the notorious practice of all courts of justice to admit accomplices as witnesses? and why, in this sanctioned, hallowed, and dignified crime of treason, was a different rule to prevail to that which governed the vulgar offences of murder or robbery? But why had the name of Castles been thrust in at all? The reason was obvious, because the learned solicitor-general having given so complete an answer to the case of Oliver, the honourable mover in his distress had resorted to the subterfuge of applying his proposition to Castles. The present was the first instance he recollected of a motion, a concurrence in which would be equally inconvenient to both its supporters and opponents. It was impossible to tell what earthly or transcendent interests might be involved; but if they were, to what body would wise men confide them? to those of whom they had recently recorded their opinion that they were in-

competent to the functions already delegated to them. They selected the most vital inquiry on which morality, religion, unity, community, happiness, tranquillity, and all sorts of blessings depended, and they placed it in the hands of this proscribed committee: utterly incompetent, in their opinion, to discharge the functions already assigned to them, they were to be burdened with fresh labours, and matters of still greater solemnity. How inconsistent is this! Surely the ingenuous mind of the honourable mover, when made sensible of the absurdity into which he had been led, would be the first to discover, before the end of the debate, that, instead of appearing in his own true colours, as an independent and enlightened man, he had played the part of a familiar domestic animal, employed only to feel the pulse of parliament. It was clear that governments cannot go on if they refuse information of such plots as may be formed against their security. It was equally clear that, in order to come at this information, they must have recourse to some means, be they good or bad, fair or otherwise. It had been insinuated, that ministers had procured the suspension for purposes of their own, by exhibiting the country in a state of danger and disaffection. This disaffection was brought forward in grave reports of alleged danger, and upon these reports they came forward to parliament for the powers required. But it could be satisfactorily proved, that government, instead of outstripping the informations they had received, rather lagged behind. He presumed that none would differ from him in thinking,
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that of all the varied sources of information local information is best entitled to credit. Supposing then a justice of the peace should write thus:—"I cannot conclude without calling to your recollection, that all this is not the consequence of distress, want of employment, scarcity, or dearness of provision, but is the offspring of a revolutionary spirit, and nothing short of a complete change in the government of the country is in contemplation of their leaders." Coming as it did from agitated districts, and not only from a justice, but from a master of justices, from the lord lieutenant of the west riding of York, could government refuse it credit? Would they not deserve impeachment if they did? Nothing was more common than when threatened danger was once past, to look back upon it with contempt. According to the doctrine of gentlemen opposite, a simple traitor was a person entitled to much forbearance, and perhaps respect; if once he turned his back on his fellow traitors, he became altogether execrable. No individual having the feelings of humanity, or the principles of moral correctness, could set a man on to seduce persons into courses of sedition. But when it was, "Will you avail yourself of this man's information, or let the state go to wreck?" he felt here as little hesitation as in the other alternative. He had, however, to state, that not one individual had for one hour been deprived of his liberty on the testimony less exceptionable than his own, and with which he was connected only as the index. He had shown it was impossible to give any definitive effect to this

motion, yet this impossible task they would throw into hands which the movers thought most unfit to execute it.

Sir Samuel Romilly, in explanation, said he was astonished how the right honourable gentleman could have understood him to have said, that the house would not dare to reject the motion. He had used the word dare, but it was in this way:—In allusion to this expression, and as a general election was soon expected, he had said that he could not conceive how gentlemen could resist this motion, and dare to meet their constituents.

Mr. Tierney said, that among the many advantages which the right honourable gentleman had over him, he had the advantage of having had two hours the start of him. He would pass unnoticed the rhetoric respecting the millennium, &c. except one word in allusion to the expression "that the house would not dare." He remembered the right honourable gentleman's words which were taken down in 1807, "We will appeal to the people." His honourable friend the mover had put this plain construction on the report—that the violent language of spies had encouraged treasonable practices. This appeared to him to call for serious investigation. To whom could he propose to refer this investigation but to the committee, who knew the grounds of the former report? The right honourable gentleman had said, there was no crime imputed in the report. He was persuaded that no lawyer could concur with him. If the officers of the crown did justice to the people as well as the government, they would

would have prosecuted them too before this time. The government durst not touch a hair of Oliver's head. The house was called upon to do all in their power to quiet the disgust that pervaded the country against spies. If they refused this motion, they proved that they were not alive to the liberties of the people. He did not himself deny the existence of a disaffected spirit to a certain extent; but he considered it as springing from a distress which he hoped was now removed, and that it had been inflamed by the acts of the agents employed by government. Not one man among the disaffected was of a higher rank in society than that of a weaver, and the far greater part of them were paupers, excepting always the moral Mr. Oliver and Co. If there had been evil machinations before Oliver arrived, it was clear to his mind, that his arrival caused them to terminate in an explosion. If he had not excited the disaffection, he had turned it into the only course in which it was likely to prove mischievous.

Mr. Canning and lord Castle-reagh explained, and Mr. Fazakerley replied.

The house then divided, Ayes 53—Noes 111. Majority 58.

Feb. 13.—Lord A. Hamilton rose to make his promised motion relative to the abuses in Scotch burghs, and began by disclaiming any connection between the subject of it and the question of parliamentary reform. His motion would be for the act and warrant by which a new election of magistrates had been granted by government to the burgh of Montrose, and an alteration made in

the old constitution of that burgh. The learned lord-advocate had lately declared, that the people of Scotland were satisfied with things as they were. Those who had observed what had passed in that country for the last six months, who had observed how that country had teemed with resolutions from the different burghs, stating the grievances which they wished redressed, would find some difficulty in believing the learned lord's assertion. He was convinced that neither the noble lord opposite, nor any other member of his majesty's government, if he could be made perfectly acquainted with what was passing in the Scotch burghs, would voluntarily continue the system of fraud that existed there. He need mention only one fact to show the state of things in those burghs—namely, that the inhabitants of a burgh in Scotland, who had no voice in the appointment of the magistrates of that burgh, and no control over their conduct, were nevertheless liable for whatever debts they might, in their magisterial capacity, contract. Another abuse was, the self-election of the magistrates; a practice contrary to all reason, sense, and justice; and one than which the imagination of man could not contrive a mode better calculated to produce the most abject state of subjection and servility. In many burghs of Scotland, the magistrates, if they chose, were self-elected in perpetuity. In most, the affair was so managed that it amounted to the same thing. In other burghs, the magistrates were not bound to reside, and, in fact, did not reside. All these were abuses of the most discreditable and injurious nature.

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It was not his wish or intention to excite any unpleasant feelings on the subject. He by no means meant any hostility to the learned lord or the honourable gentleman opposite. He should be very sorry if any thing he did should be injurious to the country, which he was anxious to serve; but, in his conscience, he believed that in no way could he more effectually benefit it, than by using his humble efforts to effect the destruction of the system of self-election of magistrates, and to establish the liability of the burghs to strict and accurate accounts. What had occurred was this—In the course of last year, the period was passed by at which, by the set of the burgh of Montrose, the magistrates of that burgh ought to have been elected. There existing no power of subsequent election, application was made, through the lord-advocate, to government, to grant what was called a poll election. A new set was framed for the burgh, certainly of an improved character; but that which he complained of was, that that which had been done was not done legally. He had been endeavouring to obtain information on the subject from professional men at the bar of Scotland, and he could not find any ground of justification for the measure which had been resorted to. Did the learned lord and the honourable gentleman opposite conceive it was a legal proceeding? Would they advise the same to be done to other burghs under similar circumstances? What had been done amounted to nothing more or less than this—that the crown took on itself to alter the constitution of a burgh in such a way as materially

to alter the representation in that house. Was the noble lord of opinion, that as often as any burgh in Scotland fell into a situation similar to that in which Montrose had been placed, that burgh might be revived by an act of government? It was no argument in favour of the proceeding to say, that the new set granted to Montrose was superior to the old one. If the crown, on its own specific authority, could give a constitution better and more enlarged than that which originally existed, it might, if it chose, give one worse and more contracted. It was his object to bring the question to such an issue, as might enable him to call the attention of the house to a more extensive consideration of the subject after Easter. What he called in question was, the power of the crown to alter the constitution of these burghs. Supposing that parliament should take into consideration the gross state of the Scotch burghs, and should effect an amelioration of that state, what cause would Scotland have to rejoice in the measure, if the moment afterwards ministers might abrogate all that had been done? There was another point to which he wished to advert. The learned lord knew very well that there was a society in Scotland called the Convention of Burghs. This convention had actually altered the constitution of several of the burghs. Now, if it had the right to do so, and if his majesty's government had also the right to do so, he begged to know to which of these authorities the burghs must submit as supreme—if not concurrent, which they must consider as subordinate? At this

this moment many of the burghs of Scotland were so overwhelmed with debt, that no clear revenue remained for their expenses, and the burgesses felt considerable alarm for their property. He believed, that according to the best authority on this point, the burgesses were liable for the debts of the burgh. The burghs were involved in the greatest financial difficulties, and were threatened with dissolution. If no political interests were concerned, he was sure that the state of degradation and abuse into which they were fallen would excite the sympathy of all parties in the house. But he would not now enlarge on the subject—he would rather say too little than too much on this subject, as his object was to carry his point, and not to provoke any animosity, which, in some degree, might injure the cause.—The noble lord concluded with moving, that there be laid before the house, a copy of the act and warrant of his majesty in council, in September 1817, authorizing the guild brethren and inhabitant burgesses of the burgh of Montrose to elect fit persons to serve as magistrates and town council in that burgh, and ordering an alteration of the former constitution of the said burgh, in electing the magistrates and town council in all time coming.

Ld. Castlereagh said, the speech of the noble lord had been marked with every degree of candour; and he was very anxious as candidly to state the grounds on which he saw objections to producing the document for which the noble lord had moved. It was very true, the noble lord had stated that it was not his wish

to connect the particular reform which he wished with any general reform in the representation—he had rather in view an improvement in the administrative than the representative character of the burghs; but though he had not opened the general question of parliamentary reform, he could not separate the subject from it. The reform which he wished would lead to an extensive change in the burgh elections of Scotland, and, therefore, would carry reform into the representation of that part of the country. He would contend that there were not very strong grounds for the production of the document, even on the more limited ground of improvement in the administration of the Scotch burghs. There might be defects in that administration, as there were defects in every institution; but in so far as ministers, from being charged with the peace of the country, were acquainted with the state of the country, he could say that there was no part of the country where the population was in a sounder state than in the burghs of Scotland. Order and decorum marked the national character of Scotchmen, and no where was that order and decorum more conspicuous than in the royal burghs of Scotland. There seemed, however, a defect in the law of Scotland with respect to the burghs—they had no power to take cognisance of their pecuniary concerns, nor to enter into the subject of the administration of the funds. But this evil would be obviated by the bill, of which notice had been given. With respect to assuming a right of taxation, he really could not conceive, that

that in any of the burghs the magistrates and town council would think of setting up any such arbitrary right of assessing their fellow citizens, or that there could be any difficulty in resisting an attempt of such a nature. It was vain to think of separating the question of reform, from giving to the burgesses the faculty of electing their magistrates; the noble lord could not state any practical utility in the projected change, except with a view to a reform in the representation. The documents moved for could throw no light on the general question of reform. As to the question of the legality of what had been done, he thought the house were not likely to be good judges on such a subject. Whether the charter was or was not legal according to the law of Scotland, was rather a question for the decision of a court of law, than for the decision of that house. Now, there was no individual of Montrose affected by the change who had not his legal remedy, and who might not in a court of law question the legality of the election of magistrates under the new charter. The question might also be brought forward in the convention of burghs; that convention might refuse admission to the delegate from Montrose, and then the question whether that delegate had a right of admission or not might be agitated. But the noble lord had argued that, though the present arrangement for the burgh of Montrose was good in itself, ministers might afterwards make other arrangements of a very different character, to favour particular political views. But

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here it appeared that the act had grown out of the circumstance of the suspension of all the powers of the burgh. The relief was generally solicited; there was not one complaining party; and therefore it was unfair to consider an act, called for under such circumstances, the beginning of an arbitrary system of interference with the constitution of the burghs. It was enough to show, that in the present case the crown had not wantonly invaded the corporate rights of the burgh. As to the question whether the crown was authorized to act in this manner, it might come before the house in a much more suitable way than by the present motion. It was not impossible that the election of the member for the class of burghs to which Montrose belonged, might be questioned by the unsuccessful candidate, and a committee of the house, acting on their oaths, under the Grenville act, might have to dispose of it.

Mr. Abercromby contended this question was completely separated from that of parliamentary reform. He did not consider that by his vote on the present motion he was committing himself on the question of parliamentary reform. He did not see how it could be considered as connected with parliamentary reform, except in so far as any question which had reference to the persons who returned members to parliament could be considered a question of parliamentary reform. Had the crown in this case only exercised those powers which were necessary to give activity to the administration of the burgh, which

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was suspended by the non-election of magistrates, at the proper time, then no complaint could have been made; but, not content with this, the crown had completely altered the set of the burgh. The alteration was, no doubt, very beneficial in this instance; but a precedent was established for a very different exercise of power in future. The noble lord had told them the question might be discussed with more propriety elsewhere. But it was not likely that any of the inhabitants of Montrose, who were all pleased with the alteration, would call it in question in a court of law. A committee, under the Grenville act, might decide on the merits of a particular election, but could not with propriety decide the general question. There could not, in fact, be a subject more fit for the interference of the house than the present. He could have wished that his noble friend's motion had been more complete—that he had also moved for the old set of the burgh, that the house might see the extent of the alterations made by the crown in this case. If the crown had exercised a power which did not belong to it, this was a fit subject for parliamentary interference. In the course of the present year, five or six burghs would be in the same state as that in which the burgh of Montrose had been. As having some connection with Scotland, he was glad to hear from the noble lord a language respecting that country so different from that which he had heard from him before. All was now smooth and tranquil; there were no secret committees, and

it was all owing to the excellent magistrates of the burghs of Scotland that things went on so smoothly.

The lord-advocate contended, that no person in that house had ever charged Scotland with being generally disaffected; it was only Glasgow and its neighbourhood to which the charge of taking illegal oaths applied. The noble lord (lord A. Hamilton) had said, the magistrates and council of the burghs possessed an unlimited power of taxing the property of persons residing in the burgh. The noble lord had forgot, that in the declaration of grievances, at the revolution, to levy money without the consent of parliament was declared contrary to law. He would ask the noble lord, if in any of those burghs which he declared to be in a state of utter insolvency, a single suit had ever been brought forward against any one of the inhabitants for payment of the debts of the community. From the revolution downwards, with one single exception in appearance, which he should explain, no case had occurred of burgesses being liable for debts contracted by their magistrates. He knew that opinions had been given that the inhabitants were liable for the debts of the burgh by counsel; but though these opinions had been given years ago, no suit had ever been commenced on them. He could tell the noble lord that the magistrates of burghs had attempted to levy petty customs for the defrayment of public debt; in Aberdeen, for instance; but the question was ultimately decided, on appeal to the house of lords, that
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the magistrates of burghs had no such power to levy customs. The noble lord had referred to a case decided by the barons of exchequer, but he mistook it. By an old Scotch statute, it was alleged that the barons of exchequer were impowered to audit the accounts of royal burghs; but in the case in question the barons refused to sustain their jurisdiction. This was, however, merely a question of audit. There was hardly a year in which applications were not made to the legislature by burghs, for a power of levying money to pay debt: surely, if an act of the town council was sufficient authority, they would not have been so ill advised as to apply to parliament. The noble lord had stated, that the inhabitants of the Scots burghs were placed in a state of the greatest servility; but the power in magistrates and other office-bearers of appointing their successors, was not worse than the power of holding their places for life. In a great many parts of England the magistrates of burghs were appointed for life. The noble lord would find the power exercised by the crown in the case of the burgh of Montrose was virtually recognised in the Declaration of Grievances. The complaint in that declaration against king James was not for altering the constitution of burghs, but for having done so of his own authority, "without judgement, surrender, or consent." In the case of the burgh of Stirling, in 1782, a similar warrant had been granted. Counsel had been heard in that case before the new constitution was granted, and afterwards, though the affairs of that burgh came be-

fore the court of session three times, and before five or six committees of elections in the house of commons, it had never been objected that the warrant in the case of that burgh was void and null. In 1789 or 1790, there was a motion respecting the state of the Scots burghs, and in the report of that committee the modes were discussed in which alterations could be legally made by course of time, by the burghs themselves, and by the act of the crown. The case of Stirling was referred to, and the right of altering the set, as was done in 1781 or 1782, was not questioned. That alteration in Stirling was precisely the same as that in the burgh of Montrose. There was, therefore, no ground for the allegation that this exertion of the prerogative of the crown was illegal. He had been asked by the noble lord, whether he intended to propose the same alteration in every burgh, which, by neglect, might be disfranchised? He should answer, No. Every case must stand on its own merits. The same constitution could not possibly be applied to all the burghs, because electors, with the same qualifications, could not be had in all of them, unless all the exclusive privileges, which had existed for ages, should be abolished. It was said that the question did not touch on parliamentary reform. This was true, if the question were confined to the consideration of the particular case; but if, in defiance of the act of Union, it was intended to introduce a new system of election in all the burghs, it would have the same effect as a sweeping measure of parliamentary reform.—The gentlemen opposite imagined there

there was an inconsistency in his argument; but he contended that the power which the crown had enjoyed before the Union was continued to it by that act. His assertion in the last session, that the people of Scotland were satisfied with the constitution of their burghs, he would repeat. He did not mean that they were unanimous. The Scots were not famous for unanimity, as it was always supposed that an argument was a favourite amusement with that ancient people. But he had no doubt the majority were satisfied, though great pains had been taken to excite a ferment. In four-fifths of the burghs there had been no meeting, and in the others the meetings had taken place among those subordinate corporate bodies, who wished to have the privilege of choosing their own deacons. He was convinced there would be a general feeling of alarm, if a general change were apprehended.

Sir James Mackintosh said, he should not enter into the question of parliamentary reform, nor that of dry law, which was connected with the present motion, because the present was an unfit time to discuss the one, and the house of commons was an improper tribunal to decide on the other. He thought the motion of his noble friend had been hardly dealt with, in being considered a motion subservient to parliamentary reform. It was strange that a motion which called in question the legality of a change in any one burgh, should be viewed as leading to universal change. This seemed a paradox which the learned lord had chosen for the purpose of displaying his ingenui-

ty; but in supporting it he had forgotten his arguments. The learned lord had used an argument connected with the question of parliamentary reform, which he could not help noticing. He had said, that it was strange that those who should blame the Scots burghs did not blame the close burghs in England. There were some close burghs, and some in which there were rights of popular election, but in Scotland there were none of the latter description; so that whosoever supported the English constitution could not like the Scottish. In England, though the system might be in some respects improved, there was a variety of modes of election, which had been falsely blamed, as producing an inadequate representation; but which, on the whole, produced a representation more complete than any mode which should proceed on the basis of uniformity. But in Scotland there was the most perfect uniformity on an oligarchical principle. He contended that any uniform representation was bad. Universal suffrage was, indeed, the worst of all, if not a monstrous inconsistency with all forms of human society. It never existed in this country, and if it had, he should have thought its abolition the best plan of reform. But in Scotland there was a uniformity of the opposite kind. There was no popular election, or pretence to popular election. So that Scotland, though it by the union enjoyed the protection of the free constitution of England, did not in the nobler sense participate in it. It was a gross fallacy, therefore, to compare the state of the representation in Scotland to that of

of England. He did not wish to speak to the dry legal question; but legal questions affecting the constitution, and particularly the rights of election, were peculiarly subjects for the consideration of that house. The question now was not, whether or not the crown possessed the power of reviving a burgh, the charter of which had been lost by intermission of elections, but whether it possessed the power of altering the constitution of it? This was a question over which great doubt hung. He did not mean to give an opinion on it. The right rested on a single case, that of Stirling; which had never been decided on in a court of law or in parliament. In such a case it was the duty of the house to require information, and he should therefore vote for the motion.

Mr. J. P. Grant said, he should not give any opinion on the points of law discussed by the learned lords; but if the crown had by law the power, in case of the suspension of the functions of a corporation by accident, which might frequently happen, he submitted whether it would not be proper to suggest some regulations on that subject. He thought the ministers themselves, if they saw that such cases were likely to be frequent, would themselves be apt to come to parliament, to request its opinion on such a subject. The motion only went to the production of a document; and as to, he knew not what horror, which the noble lord entertained, of he knew not what plan, which was connected with the motion, it was altogether unfounded. As to the quietness of the people under the present system, he had very different information from that of

the learned lord. Numerous applications had been made to the court of session to set aside the late elections, with a view to obtain disfranchisement, or to get poll elections. He thought the question should be brought before parliament, as he did not see how it could properly be taken cognizance of in a court of law.

Sir R. Fergusson supported the motion. No one who looked at the deplorable state of the representation in Scotland could agree in the eulogies which had been pronounced on it. The people were not in a state of fermentation, but of great anxiety for a better system, of which they had a good example in the new constitution of Montrose.—He then read the parting address of the late magistrates of Aberdeen, who declared their decided opinion that a new constitution was necessary, for the sake both of the magistrates and people. This address was written by gentlemen who had been in the uniform habit of supporting his majesty's ministers. The hope of a change in the constitution of the burghs had been fostered by the commissioners at Montrose, one of whom, the sheriff of Perthshire, praised the liberal constitution which the paternal government of the country had given them, and adduced it as a proof that the ministers were willing to effect reform when reform was necessary. He hoped his majesty's ministers would act up to the liberal ideas which were thus praised by their warmest adherents.

Lord Archibald Hamilton replied. He observed, that the learned lord, while he said that the burghesses were not liable for

the debts of the burghs, he had not said against what other persons the creditors could recover. That declaration would, he had no doubt, urge the burgh creditors to be more speedy in pressing forward their claims, and bring the affairs of some burghs the sooner to a crisis.—The question was certainly worthy of being settled, whether the crown had a legal power to make alterations in the constitutions of burghs? for if it might be done, the influence of the crown was so great, that it might get an application made for any alteration which its ministers conceived to be convenient. He recommended no specific motion on the subject; but he wished to bring, by the production of the documents he moved for, the subject before the house. Lord A. Hamilton then read a statement of the condition of Aberdeen, to prove the mismanagement of the burgh funds. Aberdeen had been one of the richest corporations in Scotland; its funds were now dissipated, and it was 230,000*l.* in debt. They had, during a few years, borrowed 57,000*l.* to pay the interest of their debt. The magistrates were *ex officio* managers of the charities in the neighbourhood, and they had borrowed their funds, even to the poor's funds, of every kirk session which would lend them. They had debts as high as 25,000*l.* and as low as 2*l.* He appealed to an honourable member present if this was not substantially correct. Similar facts, to a greater or less extent, might be adduced in the case of half the royal burghs in Scotland, as he could prove before a committee of the house.

Mr. Farquhar observed, that the

affairs of the burgh had lately experienced considerable improvement. So far from being in the state which the noble lord represented, they had actually paid four-and-a-half per cent. on their debt, and were now in a condition to pay five per cent. In addition to this they had a sinking fund sufficient to discharge the principal. They had expended nothing beyond their means, having at this moment in their possession a surplus of about 60,000*l.* or 70,000*l.* Undoubtedly they experienced difficulties, but they had surmounted them; so that, upon any fair view of the case, there was nothing to call for inquiry.

Mr. Forbes stated, in confirmation of what had fallen from the last speaker, that the burgh was involved in some difficulties by the purchase of a large quantity of ground which for some years they could not let out on building leases, but lately they had made a considerable number of feus. Even under their difficulties they were only 1400*l.* short of the whole interest on the sum due. There were generally two sides to a question, and he believed that the noble lord had only got hold of one. For the last few years the affairs of the burgh had been in a progressive state of improvement.

Mr. W. Smith said, it appeared, after the explanation of the honourable gentleman, that the revenues of the town of Aberdeen were 1400*l.* short of the sum necessary to pay the interest of their debt. He was himself for forty years a burgher of Aberdeen, and he could state, that when the burghesses did complain of mismanagement,

nagement, they did not connect the question of expense with parliamentary reform: the noble lord was therefore under no necessity of meeting the two questions as he had thought proper to do.

Mr. Forbes, in explanation, observed, that the deficiency arose from the circumstance of a large portion of the property of the town having lain in an inactive unproductive state till lately, when, as he had already mentioned, a great change for the better had taken place.

Mr. Douglas informed the house that their embarrassments were so far removed as to leave a sinking fund of 300*l.* a-year, after the payment of their debts.

The motion was then put, and negatived without a division.

Feb. 16.—Lord Stanley presented a petition from a place in Lancashire, praying for the repeal of the corn bill, for a parliamentary reform, and for the dismissal of the ministers; a petition from persons at Bolton-le-Moors, praying for regulations as to the hours of working in the cotton-manufactories; and a counter petition from the manufacturers, which represented that parliamentary interference with the management of their trade was wholly unnecessary.

Mr. Phillips strongly supported the latter, as the petitioners conceived themselves grossly calumniated by statements which had been made by different persons, regarding the labour and the health of persons employed by them, and by propositions to interfere with them in the conduct of their own business.

The chimney-sweeping regulation bill went through a commit-

tee, and the blank as to the period of abolishing the employment of climbing boys was filled up with "the 1st May, 1819."

Feb. 17.—Mr. M. A. Taylor dwelt at great length on the inconveniences experienced in the four northern counties from the assizes being held only once a-year. He also adverted to the severe pressure upon the twelve judges, from the accumulation of business in the courts of Westminster-hall, and the lengthened sessions at the Old Bailey. As a remedy for the latter grievance, he suggested the appointment of two more justices to attend the Old Bailey and the assizes. As to the northern counties, he understood the crown had already the power of issuing a commission for the holding of assizes there twice a-year; and he should therefore conclude with moving an address to the prince regent for issuing such a commission.

A conversation of some length occurred, in the course of which the attorney-general and lord Castlereagh expressed their reluctance to come at once to the conclusion proposed by Mr. Taylor, but were not indisposed to an inquiry upon the subject. He consequently withdrew his motion, giving notice that he should to-morrow move for the suggested inquiry.

Petitions were presented from James Leach and Benj. Scholes, complaining of the hardship of their imprisonment under the habeas corpus suspension bill.

Lord Folkestone moved that the different petitions from the sufferers under the habeas corpus suspension act should be entered as read; which being done, he

proceeded to show that it was the duty of the house to institute an inquiry into the conduct of ministers, under the powers intrusted to them by that act. During the last 120 years the habeas corpus had been suspended nine or ten times, but there was only one instance of an act of indemnity; and that was a precedent formed by the very same men who were now about to propose such a measure as a matter of course. They had grossly exaggerated the dangers of the country; and had done what even the suspension act did not warrant, by violating all the forms of law as to the apprehension, confinement, and discharge of numerous individuals. The noble lord adverted to the case of Francis Ward and others, and observed, that ministers had selected no victim whose fate and sufferings could excite the attention or call forth the indignation of the country; that his majesty's ministers were all aware of the security they derived from the low rank of their prisoners. They seized upon them because they wanted victims of some kind to justify their measures, and it was not safe to lay hold of others who would not have submitted so quietly to their fate, or have accepted of their discharge on such conditions, who could neither have been imprisoned nor turned out of prison without creating some noise. His lordship concluded with moving, "that a committee be appointed to inquire into the truth of the allegations in the petition of Francis Ward, and report thereon to the house."

Lord Castlereagh said, that if the preceding speaker had in the course of his speech confined him-

self, as he did in his motion, to the case of Francis Ward, he should not have objected to it; but the noble lord had departed from the grounds of his motion, and urged the necessity of a general investigation. He would contend that there was no instance in our history of the habeas corpus having been suspended without its being followed by an act of indemnity. He denied that his noble friend, the secretary for the home department, had been guilty either of cruelty or injustice: he denied that he had given his warrant for commitment without the evidence of credible witnesses, taken on oath: he denied that he had committed one individual on the testimony of the person (Oliver) so much alluded to by the other side of the house: he denied that a single arrest took place without not only having the depositions of credible witnesses, but the authority of the law officers of the crown. But it was altogether a false view of the bill in contemplation, to consider it as a bill for the protection of the ministers of the crown: it was for the protection of individuals who had come forward to give information of the utmost importance to the security of the country, and without such protection no information could be had, as none would venture to offer it at the risk of his own safety. With respect to the hardships of imprisonment, of which so much had been said, this was no question to be entertained by the house without great irregularity: for those individuals who thought themselves aggrieved, had always their remedy at hand; the ordinary courts of law were open

open to them, and there was nothing to preclude them from bringing their action. The suspension of the habeas corpus only prevented trial during the operation of that measure.—The noble lord then entered into the particulars of Ward's petition, and contended that they were a series of falsehoods and misrepresentations; and as to his pretensions to a religious and moral character, he was prepared to show that this petitioner had been engaged in the most atrocious crimes. In 1816, two persons were convicted and executed at Leicester and Nottingham, who made a full confession of their crimes a short time previous to their execution. Their confessions were taken by the magistrate, and forwarded by Mr. Munday to his majesty's ministers. The confessions he would now read, suppressing all the names alluded to in them, except the name of Francis Ward. The first was the confession of Josiah Mitchell, who was executed at Leicester for a felony committed at Loughborough. In his confession he stated: "B. shot A.—C. B. told me, that Francis Ward had mentioned the thing to him on Saturday evening, and said there would be a deal of money in it; the workmen had offered to give one hundred pounds for the machinery. Several of us met at the Navigation Inn, and formed our plans. I received from 3 to 4*l.* from Ward, for acts I performed. Ward gave me 10*l.* for the part I took in destroying the works at Woodpeck-lane, in Nottingham. Our committee met in the Duke of York in Nottingham. Francis Ward was the treasurer. Ward belonged also to the Lough-

borough committee. Ward employed me to shoot a man who had refused to turn out, and offered 4*l.* as my reward." The noble lord requested that the house would not consider this as incredible; assassination was a crime bargained for, and set at a regular price, like a piece of stockings, or any other work. More than one jury had convicted on evidence which showed that 4*l.* was often the price for shooting a man. The confession went on: "Ward offered 10*l.* for shooting some of Kendal's men. He offered 10*l.* for shooting another master manufacturer; and 5*l.* for shooting one of his men for working. He offered a large sum for murdering the judge at the last assize. We met at the Jolly Bacchus, and when none agreed to do this, F. Ward took out a golden guinea, and said he was determined it must be done." The second confession was that of T. Savage, who was executed a few weeks after Mitchell. It corroborated the former confession. The noble lord trusted the house would now see the course of proceeding they were called upon to adopt; he trusted they must now be aware of the true character of petitions of this sort, and that they would not, on *ex parte* statements, go into the proposed inquiry; for the consequence of such an inquiry would be, either that ministers must submit to all the charges brought against them, or abandon those who had given evidence on the faith of concealment to the vindictive attacks of those whom they had detected.

Mr. J. Smith (of Nottingham) bore testimony to the correctness of

of what lord C. had stated as to Ward's conduct; but could not on that account refuse inquiry into the cases of the other petitioners.

Sir F. Burdett said, the moral character of Ward had nothing to do with the present question, which was, whether he had been justly charged with treason, whether he had been legally committed, and legally treated under that commitment. The question was, who broke the law? The prisoners answered, The noble lord and his friends; but assertion would not satisfy the country, and the gaoler of Gloucester himself solicited investigation: the offenders, if such they were, were anxious for trial, even at the risk of their lives. But, said the noble lord, it is a great mistake to suppose that ministers want an indemnity; what they wish is, to cover their friends, Oliver, his fellow spies, and accomplice informers; in short, the bill of indemnity was admitted on the other side to be for the protection of those secret and infamous sources of private accusation, whose purpose was to destroy the happiness and reputation of every honest man. Was it possible that at this time of day such an avowal should be made—that in England it should be professed that innocent men should be solitarily confined, cruelly tortured, and unjustly accused, and should never have an opportunity of discovering to whom they were indebted for all these deprivations and sufferings?

Mr. Wilberforce thought the character of Ward had much to do with the merits of the motion; and it appeared that several of the other petitions contained pal-

pable falsehoods. All the ancient free constitutions had the means of providing against imminent danger, by lodging, for a time, extraordinary power somewhere; and surely some alteration in the ordinary mode of proceeding was required, when the people of England had resorted to assassination as a trade, as was the case with the Luddites, and when the life even of a judge, venerable for his age, and admirable for his learning, had been threatened, if not attempted, while the perpetrators were to be rewarded by money raised in subscriptions of 5s. each.

Sir Samuel Romilly contended, in refutation of lord Castlereagh's allegation, that, if an act of indemnity were passed, the petitioners would, as by that of 1801, be left without any remedy at law for all their unjust sufferings. There were in all eleven petitions. If two or three might be incorrect in their statements, were the rest to be passed by unheeded? Even the character of Ward, however bad, did not justify the severity of treatment he had met with under arbitrary confinement. What, too, could be a greater mockery and insult, than the parading these men from town to town in open day-light, and loaded with chains; and what possible objects could be answered by such a wretched triumph, except to convince some miserable minds that some extraordinary plot existed against the state? As to the dictatorships of the ancient republics, did they not, he would ask his honourable friend Mr. Wilberforce, end in a perpetual dictatorship—in a tyranny never to be shaken off? And, for his own part,

part, he believed most firmly, before God, that these continual and unjustifiable suspensions of the habeas corpus would (unless the house of commons should do its duty, which it had not hitherto done) end in the complete ruin of our liberties.

Mr. Bathurst, Mr. H. Sumner, and the attorney-general, opposed the motion; which was supported by Mr. Bennet and Mr. Phillips.

Mr. Lambe wished an inquiry to take place in open committee.

On a division, the motion was negatived by 167 to 58.

February 18.—Mr. alderman Wood, with a view to the justification of the conduct of the city magistrates, moved for a select committee to inquire into the state of the prisons in the city of London.

After some observations from Mr. Bennet, sir W. Curtis, and Mr. Warre, the motion was agreed to.

A petition from Gloucester was presented against the use of climbing boys in sweeping chimneys.

Lord Milton was of opinion that Mr. Bennet's bill on this subject went too far at present; there being many chimneys which could not be swept but by boys. The better way would be, to give a bounty on the use of machines, and to lay a tax on the use of climbing boys, which would afford time for altering the chimneys, and effect, at length, the total discontinuance of climbing boys.

Mr. Bennet and Mr. Littleton thought that the two years already given were sufficient for altering the chimneys alluded to, which were exactly those that were the most dangerous to the boys.

Mr. G. Bankes moved for leave to bring in a bill for making the buying of game penal as well as the selling of it.

Mr. Curwen and Mr. Warre opposed the motion, and contended that the whole system of the game laws should be altered.

Sir C. Burrell was in favour of the motion; which, on a division, was carried by 60 to 28.

A committee was appointed to inquire into the propriety of holding assizes twice a-year in the northern counties.

House of lords, Feb. 19. The house having gone into a committee on the 30 millions exchequer bills bill, lord Grosvenor expressed his surprise and regret at this immense issue of paper in a time of peace, and deprecated the maintaining of a standing army of 100,000 men, when the revenue did not, by many millions, cover the expenditure. He saw no reason for our now keeping an army in France.

The earl of Liverpool said, when the proper time came, he would be ready to show that the view which the noble lord took of our financial situation was erroneous. As to the issue of exchequer bills, it should be recollected that the interest on them was little more than 2 per cent. Every possible effort had been made, and still was making, to reduce our establishments to the lowest scale; but the purposes of economy would not be promoted by withdrawing our troops from a country where no expense was incurred. With regard to the revenue, he assured the noble earl that it more than covered the expenditure.

In answer to some observations from

from lord Lauderdale, lord Liverpool explained that, in the assertion just made, he included the sinking fund as part of the revenue.

Lord King observed, that it now appeared that the sinking fund was only nominal, and did not discharge a shilling of the national debt.

Lord Liverpool conceived this idea of the noble lord to be erroneous; and was fully of opinion that we had a real and efficient sinking fund, notwithstanding that he had included it in the revenue.

The bill then went through the committee, as did the malt duty bill.

Lord Carnarvon at great length contended, that the petitions of Drummond, Knight, Mitchell, &c. sufferers under the habeas corpus suspension act, should be referred to the secret committee, and concluded with a motion to that effect.

The motion was supported by lord King, the marquis of Lansdowne, lords Grosvenor and Holland; and opposed by lords Sidmouth, Bathurst, and Liverpool.

The motion was negatived without a division.

In the commons, the same day, Mr. Curwen, after a long and general conversation, obtained leave to bring in a bill to amend the tithe laws.

Mr. Bennet informed the house that he had ascertained the falsehood of the statements in a petition which he presented last session, accusing judge Day of partiality in a charge to the jury, on a prosecution for murder.

After a general discussion upon the treatment of apprentices in cotton mills and factories, Mr.

Peel, with the leave of the house, brought in a bill, which was read the first time, to amend the act of the 40th Geo. III. for preserving the health and morals of persons employed in such works.

House of lords, Feb. 20. About one o'clock lord Sidmouth came down to the house: the counsel, who were at the bar on an appeal case, being ordered to withdraw, his lordship laid on the table, by command of the prince regent, a green bag, containing further papers relative to the state of the country. On the motion of the noble viscount, this bag was ordered to be referred to the secret committee.

Feb. 23. The duke of Montrose presented the report of the committee of secrecy, which was read by the clerk. It contained a long account of the rising in Derbyshire in the month of June, the trials and convictions at Derby in October, the disturbances at Nottingham and Huddersfield, and the trials at York, at which, it stated, the Huddersfield rioters had been acquitted, because sufficient evidence could not be produced to procure convictions. In all the disturbed districts it is asserted that great and uniform reliance existed of powerful support and co-operation from London, however erroneous such an expectation may have been with respect to the supposed extent. The committee, with great satisfaction, give it as their decided opinion, that not merely in the country generally, but in the disturbed districts themselves, the great body of the people remained untainted even during the time of the greatest difficulty and distress. They then state, that some of the dis-

disaffected, particularly in London, are still active, and determined to persevere, though with diminished numbers; and that, therefore, continued vigilance will be necessary, both on the part of the magistrates in the most disturbed districts, and of the government. With regard to the mode in which ministers exercised the extraordinary powers vested in them; the report says—"Warrants were issued against ten, who have never been taken. Forty-four were arrested on suspicion of high treason, who have not been brought to trial: of these seven were discharged after examination, without any subsequent warrant of detention; thirty-seven were detained; but one who was finally committed was soon afterwards discharged; another was soon discharged on account of illness; and a third died in prison. The committee, after severally examining the grounds of these warrants, think that the arrests and detentions were fully justified; and they find, that in no one case was any warrant of detention issued except in consequence of information upon oath. The committee also found that all the persons so arrested and detained, and who were not tried, were discharged from time to time, as the state of the country, and the circumstances of the different cases, were thought to permit. The committee understood, likewise, that, up to a certain time, expectations were formed of bringing a large proportion of the prisoners to trial, but that these expectations were unavoidably relinquished. In conclusion, the committee were of opinion that the government had exercised the

powers vested in it by the two acts of last session, with due discretion and moderation; and also that the magistrates in the several disturbed districts, by their activity and vigilance, materially contributed to preserve the public peace. The report was laid on the table, and ordered to be printed.

House of commons, Feb. 24. —Mr. H. Sumner addressed the house on the subject of the application by the corporation of London for a grant of 34,000*l.* to complete the White-cross-street prison. He thought they should first give an account of the way in which the previous grant of 93,000*l.* had been expended, and also produce an account of the revenue and expenditure of the corporation. It would be found that they had wasted much of their money in presents of swords, snuff-boxes, gold boxes with the freedom of the city, entertainments, &c. He concluded with moving, that there be laid before the house a statement or account of the revenues of the city of London for five years past, up to the 31st of December 1817, including therein an account of all moneys received for rents and quit-rents, for granting the freedom, casual receipts, sheriffs' fines, fines for leases, interest of government securities, and, generally, all other moneys received at the treasury of the city of London.

Sir W. Curtis defended the corporation, and moved an amendment; but, after a discussion of some length, the original motion was carried by 26 to 13.

Sir J. Mackintosh addressed the house on the subject of forgeries on

on the bank of England. He said that for 14 years preceding 1797 there were only four convictions for forgery on the bank of England; from that period to 1811 there were 418; so that the number was more than centupled, by the suspension of cash-payments, and the profuse issue of bank notes. At this time, then, when it was to be deliberated whether the restriction should be longer continued, it was a question of great, of the very greatest importance, to ascertain at what expense of human blood the system was supported. He therefore moved, that there be laid on the table an account of the number of prosecutions for forgeries on the bank of England, from the 1st of January 1816, to the 25th of February 1818, distinguishing the numbers convicted or executed, or otherwise punished; also an account of the numbers prosecuted during the 14 years preceding the restrictions on the bank; and the numbers prosecuted since that period to the 25th of February 1818, distinguishing the convictions and punishments, capital or otherwise. There was another part of the subject, too, on which information was necessary. It might be supposed that, according to the increase of forgeries on the bank, there was an abatement of forgeries on the coin of the realm. In order, therefore, to ascertain the real increase or abatement of crime, he moved for the numbers committed for coining or altering the current coin, gold or silver, during the 14 years preceding the restriction, and during the period since then to the 25th of Febru-

ary 1818, distinguishing the convictions and punishments.

After some observations by Mr. Grenfell, Mr. Lockhart, and Mr. Wharton, the different motions were agreed to.

House of lords, Feb. 25.—The duke of Montrose presented a bill to indemnify ministers and others for the arrests under the habeas corpus suspension act.

After some remarks from lords Lauderdale and Holland, which were answered by the earl of Liverpool, the bill was read the first time.

In the commons, the same day, Sir S. Romilly rose to move for leave to bring in a bill to remove from the acts of the 10th and 11th of William III. such parts as took away the benefit of clergy from persons indicted and tried for stealing in dwelling-houses. The returns from 1805 to 1816 inclusive, making 10 years, showed that under these acts 655 persons had been indicted; of these only 113 had been capitally convicted, but not one had been executed. Of simple larceny, 365 had been found guilty. This was a strange circumstance in the administration of the laws, when such numbers of persons were charged with capital offences. A high authority, Mr. justice Blackstone, had made particular remarks on the effects of the practice of juries returning verdicts founded on the value of the sum at the time of passing the law, compared with its present value. There was another bill of his (Sir S. Romilly's) to which he might allude—he meant that as to capital offences for stealing in houses, &c. to the amount

amount of 40s. In 10 years, up to 1816, 1097 persons had been tried on the act; of these 293 had been capitally convicted, but not one of them had been executed. In 1816, 131 were tried, of whom 49 were convicted, and only one executed. Altogether, of 1200 persons indicted, one only had in that time suffered by the law. Under such circumstances, however, crimes actually multiplied, and the sentence of the law was not carried into force. Those who were acquainted with the bankrupt laws must know well what a number of fraudulent cases occurred every year, during the last 40 years. Yet during a period of 85 years he found only four convictions carried into effect. The offences of forgery had also obviously greatly multiplied—perhaps by the long existence of so much paper currency, not merely of the bank of England, but of other bodies, and the general augmentation of the number of paper securities. This might have rendered it nearly impossible to proceed on the former system. Pardons were found necessary; but he believed few were granted, except under circumstances of particular qualification and mitigation. He believed that the sense and feeling of the people of England were against the punishment of death for forgery. On that very day two young lads were to have been executed for forgery; and had it not been for proper communications having been made, their fate would that morning have been irrevocably sealed. It was clear that the severity of the punishments had not prevented the crimes. There was great danger to the moral feelings

of the people in letting them see that there was a light regard paid to lives. Sir S. then reprobated the exhibition of the body of Hatch previous to interment, and concluded with moving for leave to bring in his bill, which, after a few observations from Mr. J. Smith and Sir J. Newport, was agreed to.

House of lords, Feb. 27.—Lord Holland presented a petition from the Common Hall of London, against granting an indemnity to ministers; and several petitions to the same effect were presented from persons confined under charges of high treason, and discharged without trial.

The duke of Montrose, in moving for the second reading of the indemnity bill, justified the suspension of the habeas corpus act, and the manner in which ministers and magistrates had exercised the powers conferred upon them, which had prevented the lives of thousands from being sacrificed.

The marquis of Lansdowne contended that the suspension had been unnecessary, and that the disturbances in the country had been chiefly occasioned by Oliver and his associates. There was no precedent for such a bill of indemnity, which affected the interests of those not known as well as of those known, but that of 1801 in this country, and of 1798 in Ireland. In 1st William and Mary, before a bill of indemnity was passed, all petitions had been investigated by a committee. To give time for a similar course now, he should move that the bill be read a second time this day fortnight.

The earl of Liverpool contended that there had been a systematic

matic and general plan of insurrection, and that the effect of suspending the habeas corpus had been to suppress it without bloodshed, and thus to protect both the government and the people. The disturbances had existed for weeks and months before Oliver was heard of.

Lord Erskine could not agree to a bill of indemnity without a full and impartial inquiry.

The lord chancellor justified the conduct of ministers, and reprobated the mode in which the secret committee had been spoken of.

Lord Holland condemned the measure as a bill to indemnify Oliver the spy, who had hunted his fellow-countrymen into the toils.

Viscount Sidmouth said, that the person alluded to had done nothing that required an act of indemnity. All the information he had received from that person he (lord S.) had laid before the secret committee, and he wished he could reveal what he had heard from him since. No man had been arrested whom he would not again have taken into custody upon such information as he had received.

The earl of Carnarvon thought this house should inquire whether ministers had done their duty before they closed the door of public justice against those individuals who had complained of oppression.

The amendment was negatived by 100 to 33; and the bill was read a second time.

In the commons, the same day, Mr. B. Bathurst brought up the report of the secret committee, which was read. It went over

the same grounds, and came to the same conclusions in every respect with that presented from the secret committee of the upper house. Mr. Bathurst moved that the report do lie on the table.

Mr. Tierney wished to know whether the committee had, as they were empowered to do, sent for persons, papers, and records. The report was a jumble of nonsense, a hash made out of the Derby trials and the old reports, in order to white-wash ministers. It was the precursor to a bill of indemnity, with regard to which there had been no inquiry, though the table was covered with petitions.

Lord Castlereagh conceived the house and the country would entertain a different opinion with regard to the report, and the events to which it related. He was convinced that the house would see the danger had been great. Ministers were always ready to meet danger with vigour; and when that danger subsided, to recur to the ordinary course of law for preserving the peace of the empire.

After some further conversation, in which Mr. Brougham, lord Folkestone, sir W. Burroughs, and lord Castlereagh, took part, the report was laid on the table, and ordered to be printed.

House of lords, March 2.—At ten o'clock, when their lordships met for judicial proceedings, Mr. Rose, the clerk of parliament, appeared in the house, and was sworn into office. Mr. Rose appointed Mr. Cowper to sign the necessary papers during his absence, and Mr. Corrie was also appointed an additional clerk.

In the commons, the same day,
Mr.

Mr. Bennet expatiated upon the evils arising from the blood-money system of rewarding police officers, and adverted to the recent cases of conspiracy against men's lives to obtain such rewards, and also to similar cases in 1772 and 1786. He moved for leave to bring in a bill to repeal this system, with certain exceptions. He did not mean to abolish Tyburn-tickets, but he did not approve of the sale of them. He did not wish to take away the 40*l.* given to the executors of persons killed in the pursuit or apprehension of highwaymen or other offenders. He mentioned certain acts, parts of which it was his object to do away. He was desirous of a clause to authorize courts of justice to assign payments of money for the expenses of witnesses, &c. in cases of felony, &c. He wished to alter the present practice, by giving the courts a better power of apportioning money for expenses.—Leave was given to bring in the bill.

The house having gone into a committee of supply, lord Palmerston rose to submit the army estimates. The finance committee, he said, had given such details upon this subject, in their recent report, that little more remained for him than to recapitulate them. The expenses of the army were more last year than the present by 188,027*l.* 19*s.* 3*d.*; but if they compared the amount of the whole charges with last year's, including all the establishments, it would be seen that the total was less by 418,000*l.* Upon a view of the numbers of men, there would be found a diminution of 995 men in the troops
1818.

of England and the colonies. In Ireland there had been last year 22,000 men. This year the amount was 20,000. It was impossible, entirely, to equalize the numbers, but he stated the reductions, such as they were, upon a general calculation. The army in France had been reduced in total 13,344; and if a general view should be taken of the whole numbers, including reductions in India, there would be a diminution of 21,640 men, or, in round numbers, 22,000 men. The noble lord, after going into a variety of minute items, concluded with moving his first resolution, which was, that 113,640 be the number of men for the military services of Great Britain, Ireland, &c. for the present year.

Mr. Calcraft gave notice, that in the report he should move for a reduction of 8 or 9000 men, as he could not think it was necessary to keep up 25,000 men in Great Britain, and 20,000 in Ireland.

Sir M. W. Ridley objected to several of the items, and particularly to one for keeping in order a botanical garden at St. Vincent's.

Lord Palmerston said, the garden had been established under sir George Young, and had been since under the direction of the military board, though it certainly did not, at first sight, look like a proper item for the army estimates. He should certainly inquire into the matter, and discontinue the charge, if it appeared to be useless.

A long and general conversation ensued, and the resolution was agreed to. Resolutions were also passed for the grants of pay, &c.

Mr. Vansittart then moved for
F 2,000,000*l.*

2,000,000*l.* to discharge interest on exchequer bills, Irish treasury bills, and mint notes, 1,095,615*l.* to pay off outstanding Irish treasury bills, and 560,000*l.* to be put at the disposal of the commissioners of the sinking fund, being the 100th part of the 56,000,000*l.* of exchequer bills issued last year.

In reply to Mr. Warre, Mr. Vansittart said, that it might not be necessary to call on the house for any sum for the erection of fortresses in the Netherlands, as we had counter-claims on that government, which would reduce its demands. In reply to Mr. Shaw, he said no part of the contributions from France would be applied to the service of the country

this year; the government of France would pay the expense of the army of occupation, and the remainder of the money would be applied towards the charges of erecting the fortresses in the Netherlands.—The different resolutions were then agreed to, and the house was resumed.

Mr. Vansittart, after a conversation, in which Mr. F. Lewis, Mr. Grenfell, and others, took part, obtained leave to bring in a bill to amend the act for calling in bank tokens. In the bill which was in preparation, a provision was made for parties to pay or receive bank tokens for twelve months after the 25th of March, in postage or taxes.

CHAPTER III.

Debates in the House of Commons on the Indemnity Bill—on the Bill for building new Churches—on the Tithe Laws Amendment Bill—on County Gaols—Adjournment for the Easter Recess.

HOUSE of commons, March 9.—The order of the day being read for the first reading of the indemnity bill—

The attorney-general rose and said, that as an honourable member had signified his intention to oppose this bill in every stage, he had thought it right, previous to its discussion, to have it printed, and in the hands of members, in order that each might have an opportunity of minutely considering every line of it, as there was no desire to pass it through the house without the fullest and fairest investigation. Another honourable member had said, on a former night, that the year 1801 was the first instance of an indemnity bill passing that house for ministers, and those

acting under their authority, after the suspension of the habeas corpus act; but he went into an historical detail of precedents from the Revolution down through the year 1714, in the reign of George I.; 1745 and 1746, in the reign of George II.; and so on to the year 1801, in which indemnity bills had successively passed that house, to protect those who had confined persons, and done acts for the preservation of the peace and of the government from prosecutions at law; and the history of what happened in this country for the last fourteen months, and of what was stated in the repeated discussions of the last sessions, must convince every man of the justice of similar indemnity to those who had acted conscientiously.

conscientiously and *bona fide* for the same purpose; for no man could doubt that insurrection and revolution was the purpose recently intended by the demagogues who infested this country, cloaked under the pretence of parliamentary reform. The learned gentleman then entered into a detail, showing that a very extensive and dangerous conspiracy had existed in the country, whereby the most imminent peril was threatened to the happiness and welfare of the state. The knowledge of such a dangerous state of things rendered it absolutely necessary for the magistracy to interfere in the manner they had done. The magistracy, therefore, having acted under a sense of imperious duty, it was necessary that they should be at least indemnified for the consequences of the acts they had done for the preservation of the peace of the country. In every respect—in the seizure of arms—the apprehension of suspected persons, they had done their duty.—He afterwards directed the attention of the house to the reformers of the present day. Reform might be necessary; but the received doctrine among these people was, that they had a right to take the petition in one hand, and a sword in the other:—and the cry was, “Annual parliaments and universal suffrage,” which were but other words for revolution. He concluded with moving the first reading of the bill.

Mr. Lambton said, they were required implicitly to pass the bill in question, without inquiring into the acts of tyranny, oppression, and cruelty, more disgraceful and odious than the Bastille ever saw. They were desired to overlook

every consideration of the manner in which ministers had used the powers intrusted to them, and to grant them an indemnity bill as a necessary accompaniment of the suspension. They asked these measures upon their responsibility, assuring the house that they would not abuse their powers. Last year his majesty's ministers came down to that house armed with a green bag. This they laid before a committee of their own selection, and got themselves at once constituted judge, jury, and witnesses. The report of this body so constituted, endeavoured to magnify the mad attempts of a bankrupt apothecary and a starving cobbler into rebellion and high treason. When this came to be investigated in a court of justice, it turned out that the prime agent in the mischief was a government spy; and an honest jury acquitted the prisoners, though means had been used to influence their minds, which showed that the conviction of the prisoners was the object more than the investigation of truth. The *habeas corpus* act was never suspended before on such grounds. Most men would have felt remorse at the sight of a country so reduced, a people suffering the utmost privations, but still loyal in their attachment, and looking up to that house for redress of all their wrongs. But our governors showed they had no bowels of compassion, and taught the people to think that it was extravagant folly to look any longer for redress to that house.—But the resource of ministers for meeting all the distresses and complaints of the country was, to send forth Oliver, in order to excite disturbances, and thus to justify acts of tyranny on the part of the

government. This arch spy hurried along from county to county, displaying the standard of rebellion, and exciting riot and insurrection. Wherever his steps could be traced, it was found that he had been provoking to robbery and murder. He was found at length returning to render an account of his perils and his success. He could have rendered his account in the words which a great poet ascribes to a personage, the base and more malignant parts of whose character Mr. Oliver strikingly resembled. This spy appeared—

“At last, as from a cloud,——
 ——— loud was the acclaim;
 Forth rush'd in haste the great consulting peers,
 Rais'd from their dark divan, and with like joy
 Congratulant approached him; who, with hand,
 Silence, and with these words attention won,
 ——— Long were to tell
 What I have done, what suffered; with what pain
 Voyag'd the unreal, vast, unbounded deep
 Of horrible confusion; over which,
 By sin and death, a broad way now is paved
 To expedite your glorious march.”

In consequence of this spy's success, Brandreth and some of his associates were publicly tried, and beheaded on the scaffold as traitors. Why was not the instigator, in whose hands Brandreth was but the mere instrument, tried? Why was not this blood-stained spy put upon his trial at the imperious call of justice and of the country? But if the voice of justice and of the country called for the punishment of Oliver, equally did it call for the disgrace, impeachment, and punishment of those who sent him forth, and vindicated his conduct.

In their councils originated the plan of sending spies among the people—from their cabinet issued Oliver as their champion. The honourable and learned gentleman had said, that indemnity was not sought for so much to protect ministers as to protect those who gave information. This was false. Who were their informers? Were they gentlemen of character? No, they were the blood-thirsty spies who were sent forth by ministers, and who created all the evils that had disturbed the country.— There was one fact now come to light, respecting one of those spies, in addition to what had formerly been detected, which called for the utmost attention. The fact was stated, and indeed substantiated in a daily paper. He was authorized, if necessary, to produce the name of the gentleman who could prove all the circumstances at their bar. This gentleman states, that on the day of opening the session last year, before the prince regent returned from the house of peers, he met Oliver at the Horse-guards going into the park, and inveighing in such loud terms against the prince regent as to collect a crowd about him.— The individual who was ready to confirm his statement on oath, remonstrated with Oliver in vain. The consequence was, the outrage on the person of the prince, and the suspension of the habeas corpus. He therefore opposed any indemnity for proceedings so flagrantly unjustifiable; and would say, on his conscience, that the house was bound in duty to the people of England, to support him, when he moved that this bill be read a first time this day six-months.

Sir

Sir M. Ridley said, if there was one part of this act more objectionable than another, it was the time at which it was to begin. It was to throw back its protection over all transactions to the 26th of January 1817. If ministers felt it necessary to call for indemnity, they owed it to their character to call for an act co-extensive with the suspension of the habeas corpus. Instead of this, they came to that house to be indemnified for having imprisoned persons previously to the suspension act, and whom they discharged without trial. The habeas corpus was an excellent measure; but in times such as that in which ministers had suspended it, it was of no use at all.

Mr. Protheroe said he had not supported the suspension of the habeas corpus; yet since the habeas corpus was suspended, he considered the house bound to protect ministers against the consequences of their exercise of powers which had been granted them.

Colonel Stanhope thought it the duty of the house to protect ministers in their use of powers with which it had invested them. No merits of ministers ought to protect them from justice; but they were accountable only to that house, and that house had judged their conduct by their secret committee. Let them not hear any further abuse of the secret committee. There was not one in that house who conscientiously thought that the papers laid before the committee ought to be made public. The secret committee, then, reported that ministers had exercised the powers intrusted to them temperately, judiciously, and successfully. This report was either true or false. If true, no objection

could be offered against an indemnity. If false, they ought to impugn the committee, and not ministers. Let the doors be shut, therefore, against inapplicable remarks. They were bound to protect those who gave information, whether they were from the head or from the tail of society. Oliver and others of that description were not the authors of disaffection and disturbance, but Cobbett, and the whole of the seditious writers who followed his example.

Mr. Smyth observed, that if spies and agents had been employed to propagate calumny, to foment irritation, and to make the arm of government the instrument of oppression, they merited not protection but exposure. Whatever might be the fate of the constitution, whether it was to fall before the prerogative of the crown, or by the servility of that house, a more dangerous precedent could not be established.

Mr. Brand said, the bill appeared to him to be one not of indemnity but of injustice; and, viewed as a measure for taking away the liberties of the people, ought to be rejected by those who duly represented them.

Mr. Marryat could find no ground whatever to charge his majesty's ministers with any abuse of authority, and therefore he saw no cause to induce him to withhold from them an act of indemnity. For these reasons, although he had not voted against the suspension of the habeas corpus act, he should now vote for the bill of indemnity.

Lord Althorpe said, the Commons of England were bound to institute an inquiry, not only to satisfy themselves, but also to

convince the country: and such an inquiry should be constituted in a very different manner from any that had been instituted.

Mr. Freemantle said, if gentlemen thought that the ministers had abused the powers which had been extended to them, then undoubtedly they were justified in withholding their assent from this bill; but he would ask, where was the proof of any abuse? the whole accusation rested on the petitions which had been presented; and in every instance in which they had been discussed, had only brought discredit upon the parliament.

Lord Nugent said, when he saw the petitions which had crowded the table this session, when he found that many individuals had been hurried to dungeons, and loaded with chains for crimes which had never been proved; when he learnt that many had been under recognisances, which were afterwards enlarged to an indefinite period, and were then discharged without any explanation; when he saw that our gaols had been crowded by persons confined under arbitrary warrants, persons whom ministers would not afterwards put upon their trial, he thought that parliament was bound to inquire why, if guilty, they had not been tried; and why, if innocent, they were imprisoned. All that had been said, was urged to get the bill passed on the grounds of the report of the secret committee, which had been prepared and selected by ministers. It appeared to him they had excellent management in their mode of trial. The party accused had had the drawing up of the bill of indemnity against himself. Ministers had had the selection of the

evidence on which they were to be tried. They had then sat as the grand jury, and found no bill against themselves; and finally had jumped from the grand jury-box to the judgement seat, and from that they had declared, there being no bill, there could be no proceeding to trial. He hoped the parliament would not listen to such unworthy mockery. If he were desired to judge by the report only which he held in his hand, he should lay his hand on his heart, and conscientiously refuse the bill of indemnity. If such a system were to be pursued, public liberty would be gone, and the strong-hold of the people would be annihilated.

The house then divided, when there were—for the motion 190—for the amendment 64—majority for the motion 126.

The bill was consequently read a first time.

The speaker then put the question, that the bill should be read a second time to-morrow.

Sir S. Romilly expressed his opinion, that an amendment should put it "to-morrow week." He did not say that his learned friend (the attorney-general) had advanced no grounds in support of the bill; but when those grounds had been answered satisfactorily, it was usual to expect some reply. Nothing like such a course had taken place: gentlemen had risen one after another on that side of the house, but none on the other side. He hoped that, in regard to their own characters, they would not persist in pressing the motion.

Mr. Canning said, it was perfectly true that the greater part of the speakers had figured on that side of the house, but the honourable and learned gentleman forgot

got that they had answered each other. They had taken the task out of the hands of ministers, and left them nothing to do. The honourable and learned gentleman seemed unconscious that the *dramatis persona* had been uncommonly full;—there had been no less than twelve speakers. That debate too must be considered to have been pretty equal, in which there had been six on one side, not of the house, but of the question, and six on the other. To follow the order of the debate, what had been the fact? his learned friend (the attorney-general), on moving the question, had spoken so much to the purpose, that if it depended on his (Mr. Canning's) opinion, he should think that no further argument could be urged. He had been followed by the seconder of the motion; that gentleman, by one who spoke in favour of the bill of indemnity, though he had differed as to the propriety of the suspension of the habeas corpus. He had been followed by a gentleman, who he could not say had given promise of ability, because he had spoken ably on several occasions, but had certainly shown himself capable of filling up ably any part that he undertook. That gentleman was followed by an impressive speech from the member for the University of Cambridge; that was succeeded by another on the other side; then rose an honourable gentleman, who had voted in favour of the suspension, and now spoke for the measure of indemnity. He was followed by a noble lord (Nugent), who had certainly taken a course consistent with all his votes on this subject. That noble lord had certainly had

his share of the debate, and had done his best. He did not mean to underrate the noble lord's abilities, but however ingenious or eloquent his lordship's speech might have been, he thought it completely answered by the argument of his noble friend who succeeded him. In what part, then, of this debate, was it necessary for ministers to step in and take a share?

Sir J. Newport recommended to his friends, if this measure were so improperly hurried, to take advantage of all the forms of the house to interpose delay, and protect the minority and the people of England against the weight of numbers. The right hon. gentleman, in his recitation of the several speakers, had omitted the members for Northamptonshire and Hertfordshire. [Here the right hon. baronet was interrupted by Mr. Canning, who rose to correct his statement.]—"I desire, sir," continued sir John Newport, "that I may not be interrupted. I do not acknowledge the confidence that may be acquired by voting in majorities, and at the head of ministry, nor shall I tolerate interruption in the right honourable gentleman, more than any other member of the house." He then remarked, that no accommodation whatever had been granted to the member for Durham, in appointing the debate for that night. His honourable friend had broadly stated his intention of opposing the bill in every stage; but even if there had been any accommodation of that kind, he could not see how the whole house should be included by the act of an individual.

The attorney-general then gave

gave notice, that he should press the second reading to-morrow, unless the previous business should extend to a great length.

The question for the second reading to-morrow was put, and carried in the affirmative.

March 10.—After some observations from sir W. Burroughs, lord Castlereagh, and Mr. Tierney, the attorney-general moved the second reading of the indemnity bill.

Mr. Grenfell observed, he was last year induced to give his sanction to the bill for suspending the habeas corpus act, from the authority of two reports laid upon the table of the house. And having sanctioned the suspension, he felt himself now called upon to support the indemnity bill, and he should continue to do so, in every stage of it.

Lord Lascelles defended the character of Mr. Stavelay, the jailor of York, from the imputations cast upon it in the petition of Mr. Lee, who had been there imprisoned under the suspension of the habeas corpus act. The noble lord read the copy of a letter from the jailor to lord Sidmouth, in which he stated that Lee had frequently expressed his gratitude for the treatment he received in prison, and his contrition for the offences that had led to his imprisonment. The noble lord also produced the affidavit of a fellow prisoner of Lee's, named Carter, that contradicted the allegation in the petition, which stated, that Lee was obliged to remove from his cell the congealed blood of an unfortunate man of the name of Reilly, who had cut his throat during the time he was imprisoned under the suspension act. The

man Reilly had been subject to paroxysms of derangement before his arrest, and at Huddersfield made an attempt to hang himself. The noble lord considered it his duty to read these statements, in defence of the character of a respectable man, who, for a period of twenty-six years, had filled the office without complaint, and who was well known to every gentleman in that house connected with Yorkshire.

Sir Francis Burdett was anxious to offer an observation on the statement just made by the noble lord. —He did not mean to imply that the person of whom the noble lord spoke did not deserve the character; at the same time that he could not help adverting to the singular kind of phraseology with which he introduced the office of a jailor; as if, indeed, he was speaking of the vice-chancellor of the university of Oxford. Nothing could be more unsatisfactory to the country than the custom of producing in that house letters from jailors to answer grave charges of oppression, brought by men who suffered against them. What he had himself witnessed in the investigation at Coldbath-fields had convinced him that no dependence whatever should be placed on these partial representations. The house should not entertain them. If they wish to inquire into the truth or falsehood, they should have the question fully before them in a regular parliamentary shape. An honourable member (col. Stanhope) had, the other night, attributed the necessity of the act of suspension to the writings of Mr. Cobbett. So powerfully had that gentleman written on the question of parliamentary reform, that with all the talent

talent the government had at its command—with all their anti-jacobin friends at their service—with a daily press, with few exceptions, hired to uphold the system of corruption—they could not get these efficient partisans to club their talents for the purpose of putting down what they called the two-penny trash of Mr. Cobbett, without having recourse to a violation of the constitution, by suspending the personal security of every man in the country. The only conspiracy that he knew of was the conspiracy of the government against the rights of the people of England. The only treason that government feared was the treason of a reform in the corruption of their own supporters. It was to uphold the corruptions of that house that, upon miserable subterfuges and on scandalous pretences, the criminal suspension of the law was last session carried by that house.

Sir S. Romilly wished to know if it was intended to commit the bill to-morrow, because there were several motions standing for to-morrow, and he thought it right now to give notice that he should, when the question was put, oppose the speaker's leaving the chair.

After some conversation between the chancellor of the exchequer, lord Folkestone, and Dr. Phillimore, the house divided—for the second reading 89—against it 24—majority 65.

The bill was then ordered to be committed to-morrow.

Mr. Lambton moved the order of the day for resuming the adjourned debate on the destruction of the income tax papers.

Lord Castlereagh moved an amendment, instead of the ap-

pointment of a committee, to produce accounts of the methods taken to destroy such books and papers relating to the property-tax as are no longer necessary for the collection of arrears, or for the hearing of appeals, or other pending proceedings. This was agreed to.

March 11.—The attorney-general moved that the indemnity bill be committed.

Sir Samuel Romilly said that the extraordinary thinness of the house prevented him from expressing his opinions last night against this bill, in the short discussion which took place on the second reading. He should offer his sentiments now. He was quite convinced that several gentlemen who spoke in favour of this bill, and some of whom he now saw in their places, gave it their support under a total misconception of its tendency. The bill, in its title, professes to be a bill of indemnity for his majesty's ministers, and those acting under their authority, for acts done in suppressing insurrection, and for the security of the state. The bill was in reality, however, no such thing—ministers wanted no indemnity for any act of that nature, the bill for suspending the habeas corpus act being in fact their indemnity for apprehending and detaining persons charged with insurrectionary intentions or purposes. They therefore wanted no indemnity for that; but the bill was in fact an attempt, in violation of established law, of the bill of rights, and every constitutional compact, for security, for justice, and protection between the crown and the people. It was an act to deprive a number of persons complaining of the most wanton acts of

of unnecessary severity and cruelty, from seeking any redress by appeal to the laws of the country for the gross injuries they had sustained, and which great numbers of them had expressed in their petitions to that house. It was calling on parliament to legislate in the dark, without any inquiry whatsoever into the case of the petitioners, and to tell those petitioners, in a country pre-eminent above all others for a government founded on law and justice, that the courts of law were to be shut against them, and that they were to have no appeal nor no redress for those severities inflicted upon them, without any proof or any trial to evince that such illegal severities were warranted. The bill embraced many points, which might be put under three heads: 1st, to indemnify ministers, then magistrates, and then to protect the persons who had given information against the parties, but to whom concealment of their names was promised. He had proved, that the first was unnecessary; it was clear that the magistrates had grossly abused the power committed to them; and if they had received information upon oath, as the reports to both houses had stated, under a promise of concealing names, it was clearly to expose the lives, the persons, the liberties, and the character of any man, however innocent, to false accusers, who would not be deterred by an oath, and of course the parties could have no redress. He arraigned in general the gross cruelties exercised against the accused, whom it was merely necessary to detain in custody, and not to load with irons, to immure in dungeons, and to other cruelties

complained of from all quarters; and he thought that the house would turn its back upon justice, and every right and liberty of the subject, by passing such a bill.

The solicitor-general contended, that his honourable and learned friend (sir S. Romilly) had kept out of sight, with consummate skill, the circumstances which led to the measures adopted last session, and ultimately to the proposal of the present bill. He then took a view of the conspiracies on which the reports of the committees and the suspension acts of 1817 had been founded. After having obtained extraordinary powers on the ground of necessity alone, his majesty's ministers had surrendered them as soon as that necessity had ceased, though the time fixed for their duration was not yet expired. He contended that the means used by ministers had alone prevented the explosion of other insurrections; and that in justice to them, the magistrates, and the country, a bill of indemnity ought to be passed.

Sir Francis Burdett recollected that there was formerly a lion's head in the place of St. Mark, at Venice, into which secret accusations were thrust, and the atrociously despotic government of that city used to act upon them. What difference was there between such a country and one where there was a secretary of state ready to receive every secret accusation, and to conceal and protect informers? He really believed the disturbances to have been created by ministers, in order to prevent themselves from being importuned about parliamentary reform, for he found that they alone could derive any benefit from them. They had

had violated the coronation oath, the laws of the country, the constitution, and the liberties of the people.—When they had asked for the powers which they had so scandalously abused, it had not been with a view to indemnity. They had obtained them by telling the house, that in assuming them they should labour under a heavy responsibility, and that the time must come when they must give a strict account of the manner in which they had used them. But the whole of their transactions had been illegal and unconstitutional, and the abuses of power which they had committed were of a nature which ought not to be indemnified.—He then repeated the statements contained in several petitions presented to the house, respecting the cruel treatment alleged to have been inflicted on prisoners under the suspension act, who had been discharged as illegally as they had been apprehended. He thought that there should always be some proportion between the end and the means; for it was ridiculous to fear that Brandreth, with a few weavers, should be able to destroy an army like that kept on foot by government. He knew very well that lawyers considered intention as constituting guilt; but suppose that the king should be passing, and that a man should blow a feather and say, “That’s to kill the king,” would that be treason? He still saw no reason either for suspending the habeas corpus or confining individuals, and should therefore vote against going into the committee.

Mr. Law saw little more in the speech of the honourable baronet than his usual extraordinary zeal

in the cause of reform. Let him know, however, that reform could only be discussed with success, not at a period of disturbance, but in a state of complete tranquillity such as that likely to be produced by the measures of his majesty’s ministers. The dangers which existed at the time when the suspension act had last year been passed, seemed now to be forgotten, and that monstrous union of Luddism and politics formed into a regular system of plunder and organized assassination. The honourable and learned gentleman might have had charity enough to suppose, that persons coming to give important information on oath were not guided by resentment, especially as he had represented the declaration of one of the men at Derby as entitled to credit because he was religious.

Sir S. Romilly—“I did not say that.”

Mr. Law—“I am extremely happy to learn from the honourable and learned gentleman that I misunderstood his observation, but that struck me as its import.”

Sir S. Romilly—“I never said any thing like it.”

Mr. Law—“I confess, sir, that such was the impression made upon me by some observations which the honourable and learned gentleman made; but if the honourable and learned gentleman does not believe the dying declaration said to be made by Brandreth and the others, I shall be surprised if he vote against the bill. The next observation of the honourable and learned gentleman which I was surprised to hear was, where he charged ministers with a libel upon the whole people of England.”

Sir

Sir S. Romilly—"I never said so."

Mr. Law—"Really, sir, that was what struck me in the course of the speech of the honourable and learned gentleman; but perhaps I may be confounding what he said to-night with what he said on a former occasion."

Sir S. Romilly—"I never mentioned it at all."

Mr. Law, in continuation, remarked, that the observation had been so frequently made by other honourable members, that the mistake might be accounted for, and he thought that the expression had been used by an honourable and learned gentleman (Mr. Brougham) on the bench behind.

Mr. Brougham observed (as we understood him) that he had not used the remark in the present session.

Mr. Law had heard the sentiment expressed by so many gentlemen on that side of the house, that it was not astonishing he should have lost sight of its original propounder. He then defended the conduct of the magistracy, and trusted that they would continue to do their duty, to put down the spirit of insurrection, and to deserve and enjoy the approbation of the country.

Sir William Burroughs maintained, that notwithstanding what had been said to the contrary, the very first clause of the bill showed that it was intended to indemnify ministers for having exceeded their powers. They did indeed want an indemnity for their conduct, because it was contrary to law; and he would say, on the whole, that this was one of the most odious and atrocious bills that ever came before parliament.

Sir Frederick Flood said he owed it to his country and his constituents to come forward in support of this measure. The party, as it was called, on the other side of this house, proved by its sentiments militating against each other, that that party was nearly dissolved. He could have wished the honourable baronet (sir William Burroughs) had left all his special pleading behind him in India, instead of coming here to talk of the injuries of the people; as he might have found from judge Blackstone, that such measures as those he condemned were stated by that sound judge to be necessary to preserve the constitution for ever. His (the honourable baronet's) opinions were therefore unfounded, and contrary to law; and though he (sir Frederick) was one of the members who voted the right honourable gentleman into the chair, he would on this occasion have the greatest pleasure in voting him out of it.

Mr. Lamb declared it due to himself to say, that the deliberate opinion he had formed on the measures that had been adopted still continued in his mind. He had voted for these measures last year upon general principles and legislative grounds; and he would say that those grounds were not necessarily affected by the result of any trials or decisions in any courts of law, where the guilt or innocence of a few individuals only was to be decided. The honourable gentleman then went into a review of all that had been said against Oliver by the insurgents, and argued, that he and those who were engaged at Manchester were well received while they held out hopes of numerous
bodies

bodies of the disaffected being ready to join them ; but when it was supposed they were informers, every false imputation was thrown upon them. The next point was, that Oliver had been said to have held treasonable language on the day the prince regent went to open the parliament. He did not know that this might not be true ; for, considering the light in which he was held by those persons who committed the outrage, it was not impossible that he might have excited the mob to acts of violence. But he would say that it was extremely unfortunate that the secret was not told at that time ; for it would have been very desirable to know who were the leaders of that outrage, and the apprehension of Oliver would have led to the discovery of others, while it would have proved whether he was really a government spy or not.—On the whole, he thought the bill necessary, and should therefore vote for it, as without it the persons who had given information might be exposed to the vengeance of those whose machinations had been defeated.

Mr. Brougham said, it did not follow, even conceding the propriety of protecting the confidants of magistrates, that the confidants of the miscreant Oliver should be equally protected. Was he to be put on a comparison with a meritorious magistrate ? Was it for him and for other miscreants of the same description that a general indemnity was to be granted ? Was there a difficulty in finding witnesses at any former period—in any former situation of danger to the country ? Was the situation of the country, when the house was now called upon to pass the

act of indemnity, different from all former occasions ? What did the innocence of an individual signify, when the breath of such a miscreant as Oliver could send him to solitary confinement, to his utter ruin ? This was not an imaginary case, for he would refer the house to the affair of Scholes, who had suffered because he was desirous of unveiling the real character of Oliver. Scholes had shown to the house, by the evidence of the physicians, that he had been ruined in his health ; and by the evidence of a respectable magistrate, that he had been irretrievably ruined in his circumstances, because he did not wait till the act of habeas corpus was again in force, and because he had threatened Oliver with a disclosure of his intrigues. Within forty-eight hours from the declaration of his threat, he was immured as a state prisoner in a gaol. The honourable member concluded with several pointed allusions to the members usually sitting on the opposition side of the house, but who had delivered their sentiments in favour of the indemnity bill, and with observing, that had ministers, on the 28th of January 1817, contemplated the triumphant majority which they now had, the country would neither have heard of disturbance nor of suspension ; and if suspension was to be resorted to on every petty occasion, the liberties of England, which have been the admiration of her neighbours, instead of being enjoyed as a right, would be only held at the will and pleasure of the crown.

Mr. Canning said, the question was, whether those who had strenuously and faithfully exerted them-

themselves for the public safety—who, in some instances before the suspension, had perhaps overstepped the strict limits of the law, were not to be protected and indemnified by those who had reaped the benefit of their exertions. In the same manner, those who, after the suspension, had acted conformably to the law, ought not to be called upon to make their defence, or to offer their justification; because the consequence would be, the disclosure of circumstances and of evidence that might be attended not only with inconvenience, but with positive danger. No doubt every man who had been arrested under the suspension act would come to the bar and declare that he had been most cruelly and unjustly treated; that his merits only had pointed him out as an object for persecution; that all his calamities were to be attributed to Oliver the spy. In the head and front of this phalanx of petitioners stood that renowned gentleman and instigator of murder (Mr. Francis Ward). True it was that he had been abandoned, because the supporters of his petition found it convenient for their argument; not, however, before his crimes had been detected, and his character blasted. Ward and all his patient sufferings being abandoned, next, with all the pomp of eloquence and all the flexibility of pathos, was introduced the ever-to-be-revered and unhappy Ogden; his name was pronounced with all the veneration belonging to virtuous age and silver hairs; and yet, on inquiry, what did his case turn out to be but that he had been cured of a rupture at the public expense? This, how-

ever, was not enough. Another case, not less curious than absurd, was therefore soon afterwards brought forward, the object of which was to connect spies with the government. It was stated in a petition that a man named Dewhurst was seen in a gig belonging to sir John Byng. This was maintained as a grave fact. The proposition regarding Dewhurst had two tangible parts: first, Dewhurst; next, the gig; and soon afterwards arrives a letter from sir John Byng, short and pithy indeed, but quite to the matter at issue, viz. "There is no Dewhurst, and I have no gig." The law maxim referred to in this debate by the learned was here quite in point—*de non apparentibus et non existentibus eadem est ratio*; unless it could be shown, that the rule was different where, as in this instance, there were two nonentities—the man and the gig; as two negatives made a positive, so two nonentities might, in the understanding of some honourable gentlemen, make an entity.—He remembered a story told by Mr. Fox in that house. Some foreigners had a notion that there was a road to England without crossing the sea—that though it was a long way about, yet that it was possible, by going far enough north, to reach England by land. Thus a gentleman of Naples asked Mr. Fox whether it was not practicable to travel to England from Sicily by land. "Certainly not; you know that you cannot go to England from Naples without crossing the sea, as England is an island." "Very true," replied the Italian, "but you see Sicily is an island, and England is an island, that makes all the difference."

So,

So, with regard to this petition, if Dewhurst had existed without the gig, or the gig without Dewhurst, the impossibility of the story would have been admitted; but because there was no Dewhurst and no gig; because they were nonentities, it was argued that it must be true. After the experience of Ward, Ogden, and Dewhurst, it was certainly dangerous to mention names. So much, however, had been said of one of these "respectable gentlemen," as to enable a tolerably fair judgement to be formed of his character. It was stated, that he would prove that Oliver had early declared to him his intention of producing a general insurrection for the purpose of reforming the state by physical force. The concealment of this avowal was at least misprision of treason; and what was the house to think of a "respectable gentleman," who, knowing the existence of a conspiracy against the government, never disclosed the plot until the conspirator became an informer?—Was it too much to say of this "respectable gentleman," that he wished to see the government overturned, and was only prevented by dastardly cowardice from joining in the plot?—The honourable member for Durham had brought forward another "respectable gentleman," who would swear that he saw Oliver rioting in the park on the day the prince regent was assailed; yet this "respectable gentleman," whose loyalty was bursting his bosom, who adored his king and country, never attempted to go before a magistrate to give his important testimony.—Why? Because it was false; or, if it were true, it only proved that he had not given evi-

dence, because he loved Oliver while he was a traitor, and hates him now he is an informer.—The whole story, he was convinced, was a recent invention, and no man but an idiot or a dolt could believe a word of it [Mr. Lambton rose]—Of course he did not mean to apply the epithets dolt and idiot to the honourable gentleman; all he meant was, that he should consider himself a dolt and an idiot if he gave the statement a moment's belief. An honourable gentleman had on a former occasion quoted poetry on the subject of an informer, and had been pleased to refer to the immortal bard (Shakspeare) for authority. Certainly he could not go to a better source; but if he had carried his researches into that author a little further, he might have found a description of an informer, which seemed to tally exactly with his own *beau ideal* of such a character. He alluded to that informer who

"So dull, so dead in look, so wo-begone,
Drew Priam's curtain in the dead of
night,
And would have told him, half his
Troy was burn'd:
But Priam found the fire, ere he his
tongue."

He did not know whether it might be imputed to his own obtuseness of wit or hardness of heart, but he must say, that if Priam had detained that pale, wo-begone man, and instead of inquiring about the fire, had questioned him about his birth, parentage, and education, he, for one, though he might be forced to applaud the judiciousness of such a proceeding, should have felt much less commiseration for the fate of that venerable monarch than he did at present.—The honourable baronet (sir F. Burdett)

Burdett) had made, it seems, a most ingenious discovery; he had found that, as the whole nation were determined on parliamentary reforms, ministers had no other means of saving themselves than by inventing plots and fomenting conspiracies. Did the honourable baronet imagine that he could persuade any one that this was the real state of the case? Did he suppose that the great body of the nation cared one jot about his wild plans, and annual parliaments, and universal suffrage? Nay, could he reconcile to himself the justice or consistency of his plan of universal suffrage, as it was called? How could he excuse the omission of females, and of the insane, from the classes of electors and representatives? For his part, he could not conceive that the honourable baronet engaged in the discharge of any more appropriate duty, than presenting a petition for reform from the madhouse at Kensington—vouching for the respectful tenor of its language, and pledging himself for the constitutional justness of its argument. He would say to the real friends of the people, Instruct, enlighten them, and then there would be no danger.—But do not teach them to feel jealousy at wealth, hatred at rank, and a general malignity at all superiority. It was indeed the proud boast of our glorious constitution, that the poorest peasant might emerge from the meanest hut, and himself, or his descendant, rise to the highest rank in the state.—But was it therefore to be said that there should be no peasant, no nobles? Hatred to government as government, to rank as rank, had been industriously inculcated, and

the starving artisan was told by his mischievous seducer, that all his distresses arose from an imperfect representation in parliament. If this assertion meant any thing, it must be this: that parliament, as at present constituted, encouraged unnecessary wars; that unnecessary wars produced extravagant expenditure; that extravagant expenditure produced exorbitant taxation; and that exorbitant taxation produced overwhelming misery. Now would parliament, more popularised, more democratically constituted, be less inclined to war? He would appeal to all history, whether democratic states were not always the fondest of war. Look at Athens, look at Rome, look at the petty republics of Italy. Would the case be different among ourselves? Was it not notorious that our humblest peasants had been used to sympathize with the victories of our warriors? True it was, that lately the most sedulous endeavours had been excited to make them dead to the glories of Waterloo, and alive to the imperfections of Old Sarum.—But it would not do; and he must say, that he distrusted the motives or sense of that man who could build any hope on such grounds. It would be the boast of the present parliament, that although they had fallen on a time when the very ark of the constitution trembled in its shrine, yet they had the happiness of seeing, through their means, the shrine again secure, the temple still firm and unimpaired.

Mr. Lambton rose to ask an explanation as to the terms dolt and idiot.

Mr. Canning observed, that the words

words dropped from him unintentionally, in the heat of the debate, and that he had no design of applying them in their common acceptance.

Mr. Lambton supposed so : indeed, it was not of any consequence, except in one sense—and that was, a sort of fear that as the right honourable gentleman had applied the same terms to the dear friends now united with him in office, the use of them might be a prelude to an intimate union between him and the right honourable gentleman.—But he rose chiefly to say, that he would pledge himself for the responsibility of the person who had given him the information respecting Oliver. He was a mercantile gentleman of consideration. If the house would let him, he would pledge his honour to prove all he had asserted, unless the right honourable gentleman should be disposed wantonly to depreciate his (Mr. Lambton's) honour and character, as he had already to-night cruelly sported with the disease and agony of an unfortunate petitioner.

Mr. Croker said, this respectable man, as he was called, was answerable for all the mischief imputed to Oliver, if he had an opportunity of bringing him to condign punishment, and had not done it.

Sir John Newport, amid vehement cries of "Question," spoke against the bill.

Amid loud cries of "Question, Question," Mr. Barnett rose, to enter his protest against the bill. He hoped that the house would have honour and firmness enough to reject so infamous a measure.

A division took place upon the 1818.

question of the speaker's leaving the chair. The numbers were in favour of the motion 238—Against it 65—Majority 173.

March 13. After the third reading of the indemnity bill,

Sir J. Newport moved for leave to bring in a clause, providing that the indemnity granted by the bill was not to be construed as extending to those who had exercised any unnecessary cruelty or severity in the apprehension or detention of persons under the act for suspending the habeas corpus.

The attorney-general opposed its reception, on the ground that it was quite unnecessary for the purpose of declaring the true construction of the bill. No act in the nature of an indemnity act would prevent any individual from obtaining redress for unjust or unnecessary rigour, if he had in fact been so treated.

Mr. P. Moore considered the bill, in its present shape, as indemnifying every kind of enormity, and as excluding redress for every kind of private injury.

Mr. W. Smith wished to know whether, under this bill, the persons guilty of the cruelty referring to the case of Ogden could be indicted? (Here a pause for some moments occurred.) He understood then, from the attorney-general's manner, that Nadin, if indicted, could not plead this bill in bar of the prosecution. He hoped this public acknowledgement would go far to effect the end which the amendment had in view ; but, at the same time, he could not receive this admission as a substitute for the clause.

Lord Castlereagh apprehended there was no judge on the bench, who, if acts of inhumanity or excessive

cessive rigour were proved, would not state to the jury that the defendant was responsible. He must repeat, that it was dangerous to the principle of the bill to introduce too much qualification. Its object was four-fold—to indemnify for arresting and detaining persons, as well as for seizing arms and papers; and a special proviso of this nature could only serve to give a latitude of construction to the act in cases which were not within its scope or application.

Mr. B. Bathurst opposed the amendment, which, he contended, ought to have been moved in the committee.

Mr. Lyttleton said, the proposed amendment was extremely simple, and could only operate to render the principle of the bill more plain and indubitable.

Sir S. Romilly observed that this act said, that *all* actions brought for, or on account of, any act, matter, or thing, should be discharged and made void; and that every person by whom any such act, matter or thing, should have been done, should be freed, acquitted, discharged, and indemnified. Now, they were told that this act did not mean what it said. It was stated, that it went only to all *necessary* acts. But if this was the intention of the gentlemen who framed it, why did they not say so? The bill declared, that all acts whatever should be indemnified. What then was to become of the cases of those who had been treated with improper severity and cruelty? The petitioner Ogden, whose sufferings had been treated with so much levity and want of feeling—declared, that the infirmity under which he laboured was produced by the weight of

fetters. Was this, then, a necessary act? Did this come within the meaning of the bill? If so, the words of this legislative measure had a different meaning in that house from what they had in any other place. He did most conscientiously say, that this was not the construction which could be put upon this act of parliament. The opinion of an attorney-general was not law—nay, the opinion of a single judge was not law.—The opinion of a judge at his chambers, or at *nisi prius*, might be, and often was, over-ruled; and were they now to be told, that because the person who formerly held the situation which his honourable and learned friend (the attorney-general) now filled, had delivered such an opinion, it must be taken to be the law of the land? He (sir S.) would never submit to such doctrines. If his honourable and learned friend, if the noble lord opposite and his colleagues, contended that the words in question meant only necessary acts, why did they refuse to add the word “necessary” in that clause?

The solicitor-general said, that as the words at present stood, his opinion was, that an unnecessary act could not be indemnified by this act of parliament.

Mr. Brougham said, as his honourable and learned friends themselves had introduced so many unnecessary words, he should wish to follow their example by putting in one word which they might think unnecessary, but which he considered indispensable. They could have no objection to add the word “necessary,” particularly in an act which was not drawn with all the conciseness of which

which they boasted, and which they might have employed on the occasion.

Mr. W. Wynne thought that such a clause might throw a doubt on other acts of the same description, though not on this. There could, however, be no inconvenience in inserting the word "necessary." It was the more requisite, because there was not one decision on acts of this nature.

The motion of the honourable baronet was then withdrawn.

Sir W. Burroughs, after reminding the house that the enacting clause proposed an indemnity for *any* acts whatever done under the suspension, proposed a clause to prevent its including cases where those acts were done maliciously and without probable cause. This clause differed from that proposed by his honourable and learned friend, as it was not confined to jailors, but extended to malicious informations, and malicious acts done by magistrates or police officers.

The attorney-general said, the bill went on the ground that parties ought to be indemnified for what they had done honestly under the suspension, but that they could not defend themselves without bringing forward evidence and information which it would be inconvenient to disclose, and yet the honourable baronet's clause would compel the production of this evidence; for how could a party rebut the presumption of malice, or want of probable cause, without disclosing all the circumstances and bringing forward all the evidence which it was the object of the bill to conceal?

On the question being put whether the preamble should stand,

Sir W. Burroughs protested against the principle laid down in the preamble, that the information on which magistrates had acted under the suspension should remain undisclosed. He therefore moved, to omit the words in the preamble, stating the necessity of concealing the sources from which information had been derived which led to the discovery of traitorous designs.

Sir F. Flood thought that the discontent of that side of the house would have been satisfied, if it were proved that it was expedient to produce witnesses; but he found that nothing would satisfy them but making declamatory speeches *ad captandum vulgus*. The bill was founded on necessity; on a report made by the first character in the country—he meant the noble secretary of state for the foreign department.—He had never said, as was reported in a morning paper that was called an opposition paper, that the duke of Wellington ought to have been on the committee. He said that the noble secretary of state for foreign affairs was a proper character for that committee, because, having settled all disputes in the other parts of the world, he was the fittest to settle them at home. He gloried in two such countrymen, one of whom had settled the peace of the world, and the other had saved the world. He was not the creature of any ministry, but an independent man. Thanks to the loyalty of the people of Ireland, thanks to the probity of her magistrates, thanks to the excellence of her government, it had not been found necessary to extend the suspension act to Ireland.

The question was then put and negatived.

Sir J. Newport then made his motion for adding to the bill a clause, to satisfy out of the public revenue any damages or costs that should be found by a jury to have been incurred by persons aggrieved under the operation of the late act.

The attorney-general, after reading the preamble, and connecting the proposed clause with it, contended, that joined together they would constitute absolute nonsense. The object of the bill was to prevent the disclosure of the sources from which information had been derived; but this clause, by giving damages to those who had been informed against, would compel an inquiry into the merits of the information; so that the courts must either inquire contrary to the spirit of the bill, or give damages blindly, without any inquiry at all as to the extent to which they had been sustained.

The amendment was then put, and negatived without a division.

Sir W. Burroughs proposed an amendment, to except from indemnity persons who, without authority, had entered houses for the purpose of seizing arms, papers, &c. or apprehending persons. As the clause stood, it was so general, that it might include a great extent of illegal and improper conduct exhibited by individuals who acted from no authority whatever. He proposed, therefore, that for the words "of the several persons" in the following clause—"And whereas, in case the acts and proceedings of the several persons concerned or employed in such apprehending, committing, imprisoning, and detaining in custody, and seizing and searching as aforesaid," there

should be substituted the words "ministers, magistrates, peace-officers, constables, &c."

The attorney-general said, that there was no necessity for the amendment, as the words standing in their present connexion were too definite to cover unauthorized persons.

The amendment was put, and negatived without a division.

Mr. Brougham proposed an amendment, that the words "which may have been necessary" should be inserted after the words "on account of any act, matter, or thing," &c. and before the words "for apprehending, committing, imprisoning, and detaining in custody," &c.

The attorney-general objected to this amendment as superfluous.

After a few words from Mr. Tierney and Mr. Lockhart, who opposed the amendment, and Mr. C. Wynne, who supported it, the question was called for, and the house divided—

For the amendment, 39 —
Against it, 149.—Majority, 110.

Sir W. Burroughs then proposed two verbal amendments, which were negatived without a division.

Mr. Brougham rose to express his opinion finally on the bill. He wished to state, that his friends, who opposed the bill upon principle, had not their objections to it removed one tittle by any thing that had been done upon it, and to enter his protest once for all against the measure.

Mr. Tierney conceived that, in every point of view, the bill was one of the most detestable measures ever introduced to parliament.

The bill was then passed without a division.

March

March 14.—The chancellor of the exchequer moved the order of the day for the house to resolve itself into a committee, to consider that part of the speech of the lords commissioners which related to the recommendation of the prince regent, to provide for the building of new churches and chapels.

Mr. Tierney submitted whether it would not be better to build a parish church or churches with the money which had been voted for the erection of national monuments?

The chancellor of the exchequer said, that this subject had no connexion with his present proposition. He did not know, however, that he should altogether object to the suggestion of the right honourable gentleman.—The right honourable gentleman then moved, that that part of the speech be read from the chair; which being done, he moved that the speaker do leave the chair. After which the house resolved itself into a committee.

The chancellor of the exchequer rose and said, he believed there never had been a communication from the throne which was more entitled to be received with gratitude and respect by the public than that part of the speech which had just been alluded to. About a century ago parliament thought it necessary to vote a large sum of money for the building several new churches, and that measures were carried into effect at a considerable expense, but in an imperfect manner. From that time to the present, nothing had been done to complete the original design; and when we considered how much the population had increas-

ed, it was not surprising the public should have looked with a great degree of solicitude to such a measure. He might rest the case of the great want of places of public worship on general notoriety, without entering into any details; but it might not be improper to mention a few particulars. From the return then upon the table, it appeared that there were 27 parishes, in which the excess of population, above those who could be accommodated, exceeded 20,000 souls. Of these, 11 were in the metropolis, the rest in the manufacturing districts. In St. Martin-in-the-Fields, there were 26,000; in Mary-le-bone, 94,000; in Liverpool, 73,000. In Manchester only 11,000 could be accommodated. In the next class there were four parishes, in which the excess of population was about 40,000; in the third class, about 30,000; in the fourth class, 20,000. When he said that there was a deficiency of places for the accommodation of this population, he did not mean to say that churches were to be built to contain all these, as service was performed several times a day, and a deduction was to be made for infants; and, therefore, if a church could contain one-third of the inhabitants, at any one time, it was as much as might be required. It appeared, by a work published by Dr. Yates, and which deserved particular notice, that the population of London and its vicinity amounted to 1,129,000 souls, of which 977,000 were unprovided for. In the city of London, the accommodation of the churches far exceeded what the inhabitants required. This was the case in all our ancient cities,

in which many parishes had been suffered to fall to decay. All our cities which are of Roman origin are amply provided with churches; but places that have risen into notice since the Reformation are very deficient. The house must be aware how many parochial duties there were to be performed, besides the celebration of divine service; and with the present increased population, a minister, however ably assisted by his curate, could not attend to the whole of them. Dr. Yates had furnished some important information on this subject, and had shown how negligently various parts of a clergyman's duties were at present discharged. And, indeed, when the number of marriages, baptisms, and burials that occurred in several parishes were considered, it was scarcely possible, under existing circumstances, that the ceremonies could be performed with sufficient solemnity. In such a state of things, no time was left to the minister to visit his parishioners, to administer the sacrament, and afford consolation to the dying. The measure he was now about to propose to the committee was not less important to our civil rights than to our spiritual happiness. It would be expected that he should shortly state the outline of his proposition. He had therefore to propose, that 1,000,000*l.* sterling should be raised as occasion might require, not in one sum, nor in one year, but to be settled by commissioners, in the same manner as was adopted in the last session for the encouragement of public works. The commissioners were to apply the money only where they

were satisfied of the incapability of the parish, and that rather in the way of encouragement and assistance than of exoneration. It might be right, in order to complete this undertaking, to vest in his majesty in council the power of dividing the parishes for ecclesiastical purposes; but it would be only with the consent of the patron that the parish should be divided; the income of the present incumbent would in every case be held sacred. In many cases the consent of the patron might not be obtained, and authority would be given to the king and council to take under the care of a spiritual pastor some part of the parish in which a church might not be built. Where a chapel of ease was erected, the curate should not be liable to be removed by the minister, without the consent of the bishop. He had mentioned that the public liberality on this occasion should be assisted by parochial exertions. In the 27 parishes which he had mentioned, it could not be estimated that less than 77 large churches would be sufficient to furnish any additional accommodation; and, in that case, only one third of the population of those parishes could be accommodated at once. He had made no deduction for that portion of the inhabitants who were not members of the established church; for, without any disparagement to the exertions of those who dissented from it, he thought that the public were bound to find accommodation for all, and he thought that many did not now attend the established church merely because the church could not find accommodation for them. He had mentioned

mentioned that the commissioners were to have power to lay down rules for their grants ; and it was desirable that further aid should be derived, either from the parishes, or from others disposed to contribute to so good a work. A respectable society had been formed, and from their contributions he anticipated great assistance. A prodigious number of parishes would remain that would afford accommodation only to a small proportion of their inhabitants ; and therefore, in the bill, he intended to admit of subscriptions and briefs. In all places in which churches were built, it was intended that the patronage should follow the present patronage. In the 27 parishes, some were in the gift of the crown, some in the archbishopric of Canterbury, some in chapters or corporations, and others were private property ; so that those 27 parishes embraced every species of ecclesiastical property. He should not occupy the committee any longer, and, indeed, he could not but think that the resolution which would be submitted would meet with their unanimous approbation. The right honourable gentleman then moved a resolution, authorizing the issue of exchequer bills, not exceeding in amount the sum of one million, to be applied, under certain regulations, towards the erecting of additional churches and chapels in England.

Sir C. Monck thought nothing was more likely to check the progress of dissenters, or to reclaim them to the church of England. He did not, however, hope for any great amelioration in the morals of the people from the measure. The city of Norwich

contained 30 churches, yet he did not think it particularly remarkable for the religious or moral habits of the population. He approved, however, generally of the plan which the right honourable gentleman described.

Mr. Gipps asked, whether the right hon. gentleman meant that no part of the money would be required by any parishes where there were less than 10,000 souls ?

The chancellor of the exchequer said, that the present calculations induced a supposition which made it very improbable that parishes of a less population would require any portion of the grant. He should now say a few words with respect to more frequent service in the churches. It was provided that in the new churches there were to be three services every day ; and it might be advisable that a provision should be made for having additional services in many of the existing churches.

Mr. W. Smith wished to know whether it was intended to make any regulations with regard to Scotland. There were some parishes so large, that the people at one end could not attend the church at the other. He had had applications himself from a part of Scotland, in which complaints were made, that it was impossible to attend divine service. There were parishes in that country very nearly, if not quite, forty miles in length.

The chancellor of the exchequer said, the honourable gentleman would see the impossibility of joining any such proposition with the measure for England ; but he believed there was no indisposition whatever to submit to par-

liament a measure of a similar description.

The resolution was agreed to.

Mr. Curwen moved the second reading of the tithe laws amendment bill. Considerable misunderstanding had taken place with regard to the bill. The question was not whether any thing was to be taken from the church, but whether it had a right to take what property never belonged to it? It was not his intention to attempt in any way to injure the clergy, but it was his wish that justice should be done to all parties.

Sir W. Scott thought its provisions would seriously affect the interests of the clergy. It was calculated to introduce dangerous alterations into the state of a species of property which he considered as intimately connected with the interests of the community. He concluded with moving, that the bill be read a second time this day six months.

Sir S. Romilly approved of the principle of the bill. Its object was to secure property and prevent litigation. He deprecated, as much as any man, any attack on the property of tithes; they were as much property as any other species of possessions. A purchaser might as well say, that because he had paid for nine-tenths he had a right to the whole. But this bill would settle property, and secure claims. The statute of Elizabeth never meant to set aside compositions previously made, though the deeds that attested them were extremely rare. The courts, however, required the production of the deed in this case, after a lapse of more than 200 years, though it did not in

any other case of equal duration. As to the improvidence with which these compositions had been made, that was a good reason for passing a law to prevent them for the future, but none for setting aside those already made, or doing that which was not done with regard to any other species of property. If a purchaser bought property because it had not paid tithe for 200 years, and the clergyman preferred a claim, the purchaser must still show a modus as old as Richard I. or that his land had been abbey land, or produce a composition deed, though he bought the property, relying on the non-payment for such a length of time, which would have been a sufficient exemption from demand in any other case. The clause on farm moduses was especially called for; for in the present division of property, if a modus was ever so well established, and the limits of the farm over which it extended could not clearly be traced, the whole modus was avoided. The property of the church was undoubtedly sacred, like all other property; but the only way to make it respected was to abstain from doing injustice in its defence.

Mr. Wetherell opposed the bill. There was only one case, and that of rare occurrence, that called for alteration, and that was where a clergyman had land in lieu of tithes, and yet proceeded to recover the tithes also. With respect to compositions, it was not absolutely necessary to produce the deed; but the rule was the same as in all other cases of fee-simple property,—that the deed must be produced, or evidence be given of its having once existed.

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The house then divided on the second reading of the bill.—For it, 15.—Against it, 44.—Maj. 29.

The bill was consequently lost.

March 17. — Lord Folkestone rose to move for leave to bring in a bill to amend the law respecting allowing the visiting magistrates to see state prisoners in gaol. He alluded to his having been denied admittance to the persons lately confined in Reading gaol, to his action against Eastaff, the gaoler, for refusing him admittance, and to Eastaff's acquittal. He complained that the summing up of the judge on that trial was partial, although he seemed unable to give a decided opinion as to the law on the case. It was on the fifth clause of the 31st of the king that the gaoler was acquitted. Certainly that act does not altogether apply to common or county gaols; but it is called An act for the better regulation of gaols and houses of correction. But there were other clauses of the bill which referred manifestly and clearly to common and county gaols. Besides, the eighth clause expressly requires the gaoler to make a return to the quarter sessions; and it also requires that this return should be signed by the visiting magistrates. Now surely the legislature would not have enacted that clause if it had contemplated that the visiting magistrates would be denied admission to the prison.—After some further observations, the noble viscount moved for leave to bring in a bill to settle doubts as to visiting common or county gaols, not being houses of correction.

The attorney-general was surprised to hear the noble lord, in

the house of commons, charge the learned judge who tried this cause, in plain terms, with partiality. It was charging him with every thing base in human nature. If a patient and laborious attention to the whole of that cause might be called partiality, perhaps he was guilty. That judge had a right to guard the gaoler from the effects of prejudice, for that man was tried on a criminal charge after having been twice condemned before trial by two successive quarter sessions. Let the noble lord be sure that at those quarter sessions he was not himself biassed by prejudice and partiality in his character of a magistrate. That man deserved the love of his equals, and the gratitude of the unfortunate men committed to his charge, and had never been complained of but in the case of the noble lord. He objected to the noble lord's law, as perfectly unnecessary, if he wished to confirm the power of magistrates to visit the gaols, to see that they were kept in proper repair. But if the noble lord wished to give magistrates a facility of communicating with state prisoners, he would not consent to the introduction of it; for, if it were agreed to, it would destroy a material part of the royal prerogative, and one of the best safeguards of the state, in times when either treason was committed or suspected.

After some observations by Mr. S. Bourne, sir F. Burdett, and the solicitor-general,

Lord Folkestone replied. He was not foolish enough to press a bill on the house to explain an act which the attorney-general said was perfectly clear.

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The noble lord then withdrew his motion.

On bringing up the report of the committee for the erection of churches and chapels,

Mr. A. Browne suggested some regulations to be made in respect to the influence of the bishop over the curate in cases of complaint. He stated, that an instance had occurred lately, in which, in consequence of some misunderstanding in the parish, respecting a Sunday-school, and the refusal of the curate to allow his pulpit for a charity sermon, the parish had been deprived of their pastor for eight months. To remedy such inconveniences would be desirable.

The chancellor of the exchequer admitted the necessity for removing any difficulties of this nature; but observed, that the proper time for the suggestions would be in the committee on the bill.

Mr. C. Grant, sen. hoped the right hon. gentleman would extend the provisions of the bill to the northern parts of the empire. He stated, that in many parts of the north of Scotland, particularly in Inverness, there were districts of 60 miles long, and many miles in breadth, which had,

in some instances, only one church, and in others none.

The chancellor of the exchequer said, attention would be most assuredly paid to that object. It was the desire of government to render every assistance in that respect, and to extend the accommodation. But he wished it to be understood, that the sum voted by parliament was only one million; that sum would not accomplish all the objects of the government: it therefore remained for the public to assist in the furtherance of the system, by contributing their subscriptions, which would produce the most beneficial consequences.

Mr. Wilberforce hoped the country would feel the necessity for carrying the plan into complete effect. Sure he was that the most beneficial consequences would follow the erection of churches.

General Thornton wished to know whether it was intended that parishes should be divided under this bill, for civil as well as ecclesiastical purposes.

The chancellor of the exchequer answered in the negative.

The resolution was then read and agreed to, and a bill ordered accordingly.

CHAPTER IV.

House of Lords; Stock Debentures—House of Commons; Bank Restriction—Royal Burghs in Scotland—Royal Marriages.

HOUSE of lords, April 2.—The earl of Lauderdale moved for various papers relative to the state of the coinage and currency, from the commence-

ment of the present reign to the 5th of January last. These papers, the noble earl stated, were necessary for the motion of which he had given notice; but in moving for

for them, he should take the opportunity of asking the noble secretary of state a question on a subject intimately connected with that which it was his intention to bring under the consideration of their lordships. A rumour had for some time prevailed, of his majesty's ministers having in preparation some plan for issuing debentures on stock. If a plan such as that reported to be in contemplation were adopted, it would completely alter the state of the currency of the country. He might therefore find, that when the day now fixed for the motion of which he had given notice arrived, the whole subject to which his notice applied had become a nonentity. He wished, therefore, to be informed by the noble lord, whether it was true that any plan of the nature of that to which he had alluded was in contemplation?

The earl of Liverpool had, as well as the noble earl opposite, heard vague rumours of several projects respecting the currency being under consideration. All he could say on the subject was, that if his majesty's government should think it advisable to submit any financial plan to the consideration of parliament, due notice would be given to their lordships. In the mean time, he could only express his hope that the noble earl would not give such credit to loose reports, as to be thereby induced to delay any motion which he might think it right to make.

The earl of Lauderdale said, when a member of their lordships' house gave notice of a motion on so important a subject as the currency of the country, he certainly

was entitled to ask, whether ministers had it in contemplation to propose any thing which might render his motion altogether nugatory. The noble secretary of state had admonished him not to give credit to loose reports; but it was not as to the truth or falsehood of any particular rumour that his question applied, and he really could not conceive it possible that any inconvenience should arise from its being answered. He did not desire to know any plan which his majesty's ministers might have either adopted or under consideration. All that he wished to know was, whether it was intended to propose any measure which would operate a change in the existing currency of the country.

The earl of Liverpool repeated, that if it should be thought proper to submit any plan on the subject to which the noble lord had alluded, or any branch of that subject, to the attention of parliament, due notice of such intention would be given. He perfectly concurred with the noble earl in opinion, that if such a question was brought forward, it ought not to be delayed until a period of the session when it could not receive the full consideration of that house.

The earl of Lauderdale regretted that he could get no answer from the noble secretary of state. His motion stood at present for the 14th instant; whether it would be proper for him to bring it forward on that day must be a matter of future consideration.

The motion for the papers was agreed to.

House of commons, April 9.—The house went into a committee on the bank restriction act.

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The chancellor of the exchequer said, that, under present circumstances, he could not think it consistent with public safety that the bank should very early in the present year resume cash payments. In 1815, the restriction was continued for two years, under a positive engagement that the bank should then resume cash payments, and that the interval should be employed in making preparations for that. He adverted to the course of exchange, and the disappearance of our metallic currency, as reasons for continuing the restriction. He went at some length into the comparative price of bullion at different periods since that time, which prevented any great collection of gold and silver, to prepare for the resumption of cash payments. But the bank, nevertheless, did use every exertion to enable them to fulfil their engagements with the public; and their collection was, from 1816, very rapid. They also called in some of their notes; but there existed not any the smallest wish, in the public mind, to recur to a metallic currency. In October, the bank paid in cash 2,000,000*l.* in order to facilitate the foreign exchanges.—The bad harvest of the year before last, and that of the average crop of last year, had occasioned a quantity of corn to be imported, which was paid for in money. He had a list of the number of persons who had left England at Dover, from 1814 to February last, which was 90,000. Of these there had returned 70,000; and he reckoned the annual expenses of these persons out of the kingdom at upwards of two millions, paid in cash. There was another cause of the removal of

cash out of this country, and that was the raising large loans in this country for foreign powers. The last French loan had taken, at different times, two millions and a half out of this country. Besides, gold had risen, from July last year, from 3*l.* 4*s.* 6*d.* to 4*l.* 5*s.* in consequence of this loan. He did not find fault with persons employing their money as they pleased; and besides, there were reasons of a strong political nature, that the credit of the French government should be supported. There were also other foreign loans on foot this year, which would take twelve millions out of the country. The house were aware that the allied army might be, by the treaty of Paris, withdrawn this year, or it might be continued for another year. If it was to be now withdrawn, France would be obliged to have, from loans out of this country, twenty millions more, to enable her to fulfil her engagements. As to the resumption of cash payments, he was not aware of any thing in the internal state of this country that would make it dangerous. The court of directors in 1795 entered into a resolution, that if a loan of three millions to the emperor of Austria should take place, it would, in all probability, prove fatal to the bank of England. If that was the case, from so small a loan, the house would see the great increase of the danger from so many foreign loans as were now negotiating in this country. He might be told that the period he had alluded to was one of war, and of great public danger; but let it be considered, that last year they had seen a loan of twelve millions to France and five to Prussia, which

which was much larger than any drain on the bank in 1795. He now came to a part of his own plan, which he thought would give greater stability to our paper currency than it ever before had. There could be no doubt that the best currency for a country was one of paper and cash mixed. It was his intention to propose to the house that there should be no issue of notes under the value of 5*l.* from country bankers. There was no dread of the bank of England, because it had always sufficient government securities. This was not the case with country banks; and, therefore, he proposed, that none of them, after the 5th of July 1820, should be allowed (except in Scotland) to issue notes under 5*l.*, unless they had, in stock or exchequer bills, double the amount of their issue of notes. The securities are to be deposited by the country bankers with the commissioners for the reduction of the national debt; and further, that notes so issued should bear an additional stamp, to show the security under which they are issued. If, therefore, the country bankers should fail, the public would be no losers, because the notes would be payable by the commissioners of the sinking fund, who are to be stake-holders between the country banks and the public. It might be said, that this would be so inconvenient to country bankers, that they would not issue notes under 5*l.*; but to that he would answer, that it would be an additional security to the public, and this took nothing from them to which they had any claim; for the issue of notes under 5*l.* was only a temporary indulgence. He would only be put to the in-

convenience of transferring part of his stock into the hands of the commissioners of the sinking fund; and this measure would have a great advantage in engaging men of real property in banking concerns, and not persons who could command no available securities. It was his wish that the bank restriction should be continued for one year longer. This measure would secure the public from any over issue of paper, and place that which may be issued on the strongest footing of security. The continuance of the bank restriction would prevent the public from experiencing any inconvenience from too sudden a change. Care would be taken to provide such stamps for the country banks which, should prevent imposition. As soon as the arrangements can be made, any country banker might deposit his stock, and then proceed to issue his notes.—He then moved for leave to bring in a bill to continue the bank restriction for a year, and another to regulate country banks.

Mr. Tierney said, it would be impossible to argue this plan at once. He did not know whether this was intended to sweep the whole of the paper currency from the country banks, and put it in the hands of the bank; or whether it was to increase the issue. The chancellor of the exchequer had by one word thrown a slur upon the characters of country bankers for two years, whom he himself had always before praised. To his mind, the plan proposed for issuing notes on the security of exchequer bills was nothing else than an issue of exchequer bills. It would also have the effect of preventing the issue of 5*l.* notes, which

which were to have no security; for no man in his senses would take a 5*l.* note, when he could get five of 1*l.* bearing security. As to the continuance of the bank restriction for another year, notwithstanding the magnificent promises, he did not believe one word of it; for he was sure it would go on for many years, until the house should compel the bank to return to cash payments. He believed the chancellor of the exchequer and the bank were equally sincere in their wish to resume cash payments; for the chancellor of the exchequer could not carry on his finance plan without the assistance of the bank; and the bank could not assist him if the restrictions were taken off.—With respect to the rise in the price of gold at the time of the Austrian loan, as far as his recollection served him, that transaction did not at all affect the price of gold. The right honourable gentleman should recollect, that it was not the desire of sending gold abroad, but the absolutely hoarding it at home, which raised the price of bullion. The next reason assigned by the right honourable gentleman, why the bank should not resume cash payments, was the number of persons who had emigrated, amounting, as the right honourable gentleman said, to 90,000. This was, indeed, an alarming statement: but the alarm subsided, on hearing the right honourable gentleman's next sentence; from which it appeared, that all these unfortunate travellers, with the exception of 20,000 came back; but for these, the right honourable gentleman allowed a sum of two and a half millions; a large sum to be drawn from this country. Next, the right honour-

able gentleman talked of foreign loans, and guessed at their amounts: he could not say, as he could with certainty of his own loans, the exact amount; but would he allow a committee to be appointed to inquire into that circumstance? So the right honourable gentleman had talked of the money taken out of the country by the 20,000 persons residing abroad; did not the right honourable gentleman know that there were persons at home who were daily sending their money abroad? The right honourable gentleman had boasted of the low rate of interest; if that circumstance had arisen out of the flourishing state of the country, it would have been a matter of triumph; but the right honourable gentleman must know the contrary to be the fact, and that the right honourable gentleman had been using every effort, good and bad, to effect that purpose, thereby, if possible, to deceive the public. The money market had for the last four months been in a state of fluctuation, arising out of the uncertainty whether the bank would resume their cash payments or not. He never had any doubts. The right honourable gentleman's object was a large paper circulation; and unless parliament insisted on it, the bank would never resume its cash payments. He would now propose that the right honourable gentleman should postpone the report till Monday, and he would in the mean time consider the subject, and then move for a committee. He could not believe that the right honourable gentleman would now persevere in a proposition, in which even Mr. Pitt, with all his talents and all his confidence, would never have ventured—namely, to ask of the house

house to adopt an entire new system of currency, without any inquiry, and merely upon his own unsupported statement.

Mr. Grenfell would not now enter at length into a discussion of the proposed plan respecting the country bankers, or into the question for continuing the bank restrictions for another year. He was not at all convinced by the right honourable gentleman's arguments; nor could he for a moment consent, that because a rich citizen of London chose to go over to Paris, and there contract for French loans, that circumstance was to prevent our resuming cash payments.

The chancellor of the exchequer, in reply to an observation of Mr. Tierney's, said, the stock deposited by bankers was, in the first instance, to be a security for the 1*l*. and 2*l*. notes issued. If any surplus should remain, that was to be applied to the benefit of creditors generally. The right honourable gentleman also read abstracts from the evidence of Mr. Newland, of the bank, taken in 1795, to prove that the Austrian loan had raised the price of bullion. With respect to what had been uttered in a tone of sarcasm by the right honourable gentleman, respecting the issue of debentures, he had only to say, no such idea had ever been entertained by him; and he had declared so to the various applications made to him on the subject. The plan of issuing country bank notes on stock security had been considered by Mr. Pitt, and approved by him.

Mr. Grenfell said, the evidence of Mr. Newland would be found to be, not that gold had been at the price of four guineas, but that a quantity of gold imported by the

bank from Hamburgh had cost the bank, owing to accidents, that sum.

The chairman then put the resolutions for bringing in the two bills, which were agreed to.

The house resumed.—The resolutions were reported, and leave was given to bring in a bill to extend the restriction of cash payments for a time to be limited, and also to bring in a bill to regulate the issue of small notes by country bankers.

Mr. Grenfell wished to know if any thing was to be charged by the commissioners for taking care of the securities deposited by country bankers.

The chancellor of the exchequer said, half a crown per cent. at the time the deposit was made, and one shilling per cent. per ann. for the time the deposit remained.

April 10.—The lord-advocate rose, in conformity with his previous notice, to move for leave to bring in a bill to regulate the expenditure and to control the undue application of the revenues of the royal burghs in Scotland. It was not his intention at that late hour, and in the present condition of the house, to enter at large on the subject.—The bill would itself explain the nature of the remedy which it was his object to apply. It went no further than to revive the obsolete laws of that country. It proposed that the accounts of the magistrates should be exposed to the view of the burghers; and that if a certain proportion of these burghers should agree in the necessity, they should have the power of complaining against any misapplication to the court of exchequer in that country. But as these provisions might not prevent the magistrates engaging in

in speculations in the corporation funds, it was further proposed to empower any five burgesses to apply to the court of exchequer for the purpose of controlling the expenditure.—The learned lord then moved for leave to bring in his bill.

Lord A. Hamilton rose for the purpose of congratulating the house, that after the people of Scotland had been for years petitioning the house—that after a series of gross misapplication and corporate mismanagement—after reiterated complaints of the revenues of these burghs being dilapidated—after losses by bankruptcies, in consequence of undue appropriation—and after all these statements had as often as made been denied by the learned lord, and by those with whom he acted, they were at length admitted, and the learned lord himself came forward to propose a corrective. For thirty years had Scotland been expecting this boon from the justice of the house of commons; yet no longer ago than last session did the noble and learned lord deny the necessity for its interference. He must therefore rejoice, that even now there existed a probability of Scotland receiving some portion of justice at his hands, and at the hands of the house. He was aware that, from the difference of views on the subject that existed between him and the learned lord, any remedy proceeding from the learned lord must lead to very partial relief. The self-election of the magistrates, some of them for life, was the great evil reiterated in every petition that had been presented; yet that remained perfectly untouched. But partial as was the relief intended, how was

it that the learned lord had taken so long a time to apply a remedy? In the present advanced state of the session, it was now impossible for those who took a more extended view of the nature of the evil, and of the relief that ought to be applied, to bring the subject before parliament. When the subject of the delay had been adverted to in an early part of the session, the noble secretary for the foreign department observed that it arose from the necessity of having the bill laid before the judges in Scotland. He (Lord A.) wished to know whether, in point of fact, the present bill was solely his own, or whether it had been submitted to the consideration of the judges?

The lord-advocate said that no one was responsible for that measure but himself. He had, however, rather than propose it in its crude state, felt it to be his duty to consult with those who, from the nature of their situations, were best acquainted with the laws of Scotland. That he understood was what his noble friend (lord Castlereagh), not then in his place, had stated at the time alluded to by the noble lord. But, in point of fact, the bill was never laid before the judges for their consideration. The old laws regulating the royal burghs in Scotland were in abeyance—(*Hear, hear*, from sir John Newport). He could excuse the honourable baronet for being ignorant that, by the law of Scotland, statutes from desuetude might cease to have operation. But he could not extend the same indulgence to the noble lord, who was a legislator for Scotland.

Lord A. Hamilton, in explanation,

nation, said he had never disputed it, he had only regretted it.

Lord-advocate.—As to the complaint that persons who felt themselves aggrieved were prevented from taking measures of redress by the delay of the present bill, it was utterly unfounded. It was in the recollection of the house, that he had stated, in the first week of the session, the limited nature of the object he had in view. That object was to enable the courts of exchequer to take cognisance of the accounts and expenditure of the burghs, but not to attempt any more general regulations. There was nothing, therefore, in the nature of his pledge which ought to have prevented the persons alluded to, or the noble lord as their organ, from introducing a more extended measure, if they thought it necessary. The noble lord was mistaken in attributing to him the assertion, that the royal burghs of Scotland had nothing to complain of. What he had said he was still prepared to maintain, namely, that it was impossible to introduce any general measure to regulate the election of magistrates in the royal burghs, without abrogating the whole system of the laws by which they were at present affected. He thought that the bill, though it might not embrace all the objects that were to be desired, would at least produce some good effects. It would remove many alleged grounds of grievance, and take away the stalking-horse, by which the noble lord, as well as others, were enabled to introduce the topic of parliamentary reform upon occasions with which it had no necessary connexion. His intention with regard to the progress of the
1818.

bill was to bring it in that night, and have it read a first time immediately: he would then propose that it should lie over for three weeks, after being printed; but if the noble lord had any wish for its postponement to another session, he would not press it upon the house, as he saw no reason whatever for precipitating the question.

Sir John Newport hoped, that after the charge of gross ignorance made against him by the learned lord, not for what he had said, but for what he meant to say, he would be excused in offering a few words to the house. The expression of his countenance, for that was the only expression that had escaped him, was excited to some astonishment at hearing it stated by the learned lord, that a statute remaining on the statute-book might, under certain circumstances, be considered as not a law of the country. Notwithstanding the decision of the judges, to which allusion had been made, he still felt that astonishment. He remembered having once heard an advocate in Ireland contend before a learned judge, that a law which still existed in the statute-book was become obsolete. The answer of the judge was, that the thing was quite impossible, that where a statute could be produced it was binding on the court. The judge to whom he alluded was the late lord Kilwarden. It would certainly be a most mischievous discretion intrusted to judges or courts, if they were to be allowed to determine what laws were binding and what were not. When the provisions of a statute became objectionable or unnecessary, the legislature
H alone

alone had the right to annul them; and if it was the fact that any judges had declared an existing statute not binding upon their determinations, it was a subject for the consideration of parliament. As to the bill itself, it appeared to him an attempt to establish the right of control in the body itself over which the control was to be exercised. It was on their own application to courts of law that their own abuses were now intended to be remedied.

The lord-advocate disclaimed any idea of imputing ignorance of the laws of England and Ireland against the honourable baronet, but he was not acquainted with the law of Scotland.—It was admitted by the legislature itself, that statutes in Scotland had fallen into abeyance.—One of the objects of the bill was, to give the burgesses at large a power to compel the magistrates, under a penalty, to lodge their accounts in the exchequer.

Mr. Finlay was of opinion that the present bill was of no use at all as a remedy against the evils complained of. When a burgess was told that his remedy was in a court of law, he would be very apt to say The remedy is worse than the disease.

After a few words from the lord-advocate, the bill was brought in, read a first time, and ordered to be printed.

House of lords, April 13.—At five o'clock, lord Liverpool brought down a message from the prince regent, which he moved might be read. It was to the following effect:—

“His royal highness the prince regent, acting in the name and on the behalf of his majesty, thinks

it right to inform the house of lords, that treaties of marriage are now in progress between his royal highness the duke of Clarence and her serene highness the princess of Saxe Meningen; and between his royal highness the duke of Cambridge and her serene highness the princess of Hesse, niece to the elector of Hesse, and daughter to the landgrave Frederick. After the severe national calamity which had so recently occurred, in the loss of the princess Charlotte of Wales, his royal highness deemed it to be conducive to the best interests of the country, that a suitable provision should be made for his royal brothers; and after the many proofs of attachment which the house of peers had shown to the reigning family, his royal highness could not entertain the least doubt that a competent provision would be made for these branches of it.”

Lord Liverpool next moved, that the message of his royal highness be taken into consideration to-morrow.—Ordered.

April 14—Lord Liverpool moved that the order of the day for taking into consideration his royal highness's message should be discharged, and renewed for to-morrow, on which day he would not fail to bring it on.

Lord Lansdowne said, he should not oppose the motion, but he must be allowed to offer a few words on the course now adopted. It had always been usual, when a message came down to the house from the crown, to pay immediate attention and respect to it, and to return an answer the following day. What could now be the inducement with ministers to depart from that path of respect he

he was not called upon to conjecture; but he trusted that, if a charge of disrespect was made on this occasion, it would fall on the ministers who had recommended the message without having determined what future step should be taken upon it. He believed the mode of proceeding now adopted was without precedent; and when the importance of the message was considered, it was a high mark of disrespect to the crown.

Lord Liverpool did not consider any disrespect would arise from the course now proposed. If there was any, it would indeed be chargeable to him, and him only; and he would be responsible for it. He, however, should have considered himself much more liable to blame if he had brought on the consideration of the message without stating all the views of the prince regent on the subject.

Lord Holland observed, that the present proposition was without precedent, and he trusted the house would not adopt it without grave consideration. It was unpardonable on the part of the noble lord, that he, with his own little parliament under his command, had not been able to determine on the measures they would subsequently adopt, before they recommended to his royal highness to send the message. The course now pursued by the noble lord was unfair towards the house and towards the country; namely, after a message of this description had been sent down by his royal highness, and a time appointed for taking it into consideration, that the noble lord should now wish to discharge the order for taking it into consid-

eration, till the noble lord should have tampered with and tried the feeling of parliament. He did not now wish to go into any discussion of the subject, but he did hope the house would not separate without voting an address, which should express to his royal highness the affection and duty of the house towards his royal highness's person and family; and before he sat down, he would move such an address. He thought those illustrious persons ought to be liberally provided for; but he was of opinion, that parliament and the country had so liberally provided for the crown, that the crown ought to provide for the establishment of the junior branches of the family.—The noble lord concluded by moving that in the motion of lord Liverpool, namely—"That the said order be discharged," all the words but the word "that" should be omitted, and the following inserted:

"An address of thanks be presented to the prince regent, acknowledging his royal highness's most gracious message, communicating the intended marriages of their royal highnesses the dukes of Clarence and Cambridge; to express the satisfaction of the house at the prospect of these alliances, and to assure his royal highness, that the house would most cheerfully concur in such measures for the establishment of these royal personages; and to show their attachment to his royal highness, so far as was consistent with their comforts, and the necessitous state of the country."

Lord Sidmouth defended the conduct of his noble friend. If his noble friend had declared himself ready to take on himself the

blame, if any, arising from this delay, he did it in consequence of the expression of the noble marquis who opened the discussion, who said he trusted the blame of delay and disrespect, if any such blame should arise, would fall where it ought, viz. on those who had originated the delay. The noble baron had charged his noble friend with having proposed this delay, and assigned no reason; his noble friend had assigned a reason, namely, that he was not yet prepared to give their lordships all the information they had a right to expect on this important measure. Did it not occur to noble lords that, on this very important occasion, it might occur to ministers to change their opinions as to some parts of the measure. . . . Noble lords might cry, *Hear, hear*, but he did not wish to flinch from what he had said; he would repeat that, on this important occasion, it was not extraordinary if circumstances should occur which might cause ministers to desire fuller time for considering the course they would adopt. The noble lord concluded by declaring his decided opposition to the amendment.

Lord King thought this was the first time it had ever been heard in that house, that a minister of the crown should give his decided negative to a loyal and dutiful address to the crown, thanking the crown for a gracious communication made to their lordships. He believed the fact was, that ministers had not yet been able to make up their minds as to the proposition which they would submit to parliament on this important occasion.

Lord Lauderdale could not

agree to the proposed amendment of his noble friend, which in his opinion would be to treat the crown with much more disrespect than to pass over the message till to-morrow.

Lord Lansdowne was aware the course now adopted by his noble friend was unprecedented; but if it was unprecedented, it was caused by the still more unprecedented course adopted by the noble earl opposite. The noble viscount had desired to postpone the consideration of the message till to-morrow, that certain impressions which had arisen might be done away. Was this language to be endured? was this house to be governed by the decisions which should take place in other quarters? or was the noble lord to come down and propose a postponement of the discussions in that house from day to day, and to make them subservient to what was passing amongst his colleagues in other places?

Lord Holland said a few words in reply; and contended, that if the noble lord's proposition was now adopted, he might to-morrow come down with another postponement, and so go on from day to day, in hopes of getting a fortunate day at last.

The house then divided—For lord Holland's address 14;—Against it 51;—Majority 37.

The marquis of Downshire moved an address to his royal highness the prince regent, for an account of different sums granted by way of pension, annuity, &c. and from other sources, to the junior branches of the royal family since 1800.

Lord Liverpool had no objection

tion to the substance of the address, but he objected to the wording of it. He wished the noble lord to bring it forward to-morrow.

After some observations from the bishop of Peterborough, lord Kenyon, lord King, and lord Holland, this was agreed to.

House of commons, April 14.—Lord Castlereagh said, it was his intention to move the order of the day on the prince regent's message, for the purpose of postponing it.—He then moved that it be postponed till to-morrow.

Mr. Brougham said, his mild amendment yesterday had been opposed because it was not according to precedent, it being thought disrespectful. But now the noble lord went against all precedent, and behaved in a manner most disrespectful to the crown, by postponing this committee on the day the house was specially summoned for it. The English of all this was plain. A noble lord (a member of the other house) had assembled in his private room a number of country members, among whom was a member of his (Mr. B.'s) profession, not quite like the others, disposed to vote for ministers. There a communication was made which was refused to the house when it was asked for.—If these practices were suffered, a debate might go on, and the numbers be declared; but the measure would be settled before. He protested on constitutional grounds, against this use of private influence, which he had a right to assume, and this feeling of pulses which he had a right to assert. Lord Liverpool, deceived by the silence of the assembly at his house, thought the message

might be brought down; but not one of these respectable persons, when in the true house of commons, would sanction the recommendation. He called on the house not to postpone this measure, to give the noble lord more opportunity of carrying his point by indirect and unconstitutional means. If the house negatived this postponement, he would then move a resolution in opposition to that of the noble lord, at the same time respectfully to those out of doors.

Lord Castlereagh protested, in his turn, against this new constitutional doctrine, that meetings might not be held out of that house. He denied that ministers had any wish to practise upon the members of that house. But this was only another attempt to vilify the character of ministers.

Mr. Tierney said, if his honourable friend had attempted to vilify the ministers, he threw away his labour; for never did ministers use more successful efforts to vilify themselves, and never did any administration stand in a more contemptible situation. He used these words advisedly, for there were no words in the English language which could so well convey his meaning. Yesterday every thing on this subject must have been arranged with the prince regent; but then ministers heard something which induced them to call a meeting at lord Liverpool's house, where a communication was made, the result of which was denied to him when he asked for information on the subject. The noble lord opposite had told him to wait till next day, which he had done, and still he had received no information. But he would tell

the noble lord what passed at lord Liverpool's house, and let him contradict it if he could. Lord Liverpool made a long speech, but very little notice was taken either of him or his speech. He there proposed that the duke of Clarence's income should be made up to 40,000*l.* a year, in case of his marrying, with an outfit of 20,000*l.* The Dukes of Kent, Cumberland, and Cambridge, each to have an additional 12,000*l.* a-year, which would make their allowances 30,000*l.* a-year each; and each of them to have an outfit of 12,000*l.* All this would make a total of additional burthen to the country this year of 116,000*l.* This was the proposition made by lord Liverpool, unless he (Mr. Tierney) was grossly misinformed. In candour, he was bound to believe that this proposition had been previously submitted to the prince regent, as the most economical arrangement that could be made for the members of his family. Why then did the noble lord now wish for time to revise it? Why did he desert his royal master, and leave him to get out of his difficulty as well as he could? These things were degradation upon degradation; and yet the house was called on to support ministers who paid no attention to economy. There was no stability in ministers, yet some gentlemen applauded their system. Look at the ministers' bench, and then talk of a system: where they were every one staring at another to know what they should do next. Could any thing like a system come out of such discordant materials? He felt pity for the noble lord, even superior to the indignation which he felt at the dis-

honour he had heaped on his royal master. The prince regent was placed in the eyes of the foreign ministers present at his court, and in the eyes of the world, in the most humiliating situation, through the misconduct of his ministers, who had given him such advice on the subject, even of his own family, as they could not venture to maintain in parliament. He should wait with patience till to-morrow, persuaded, that the longer the noble lord thought on the proposition, the more moderate it would be. Nothing, however, could satisfy any honest man in that house, or quiet the mind of the country, but the total abandonment of this measure.

Lord Folkestone said, in this case there was a violation of all precedent, and nothing said about it.

The committee was then postponed till to-morrow.

April 15.—On the order of the day that the house resolve itself into a committee on the message of the prince regent,—

Lord Castlereagh rose and addressed the committee at considerable length. He said, that after the temper shown by the house upon two recent occasions, when the topic of this message was mentioned, he felt some reluctance in bringing the subject forward this night, with the propositions which he had to offer. As a member of his majesty's government, he must always feel reluctance in propounding to the house any measure which might impose additional burthens upon the country, however reasonable or necessary. On the present occasion he should feel it necessary, in consequence of what had occurred upon two former occasions, to trespass longer

ger upon the attention of the committee than originally he should have thought necessary; but he must entreat a patient hearing, and he hoped to convince the house that the proposition he had to offer was so interwoven with the honour of the house and of the country, as well as the illustrious family on the throne, that the house would be disposed, on every ground of justice, and of loyal attachment to the throne, to accede to this proposition, as by no means of that exaggerated or unreasonable nature which was attempted to be imputed to it. The object in view was to provide for the consummation of the two treaties of marriage recently concluded between the illustrious dukes of Clarence and Cambridge, and their intended consorts. The house would see that by the calamitous demise of the princess Charlotte of Wales, the hopes of an heir to the succession of the crown had unhappily failed in that quarter; but the house, he was sure, would cordially agree in the sentiment of his royal highness the prince regent, that in case of the demise of any of the princes of this illustrious house next in succession to the crown, it must be infinitely more desirable to the people of England that that crown should descend to an heir born and brought up in this country, than to a foreign heir, equally a stranger to their manners, habits, rights, language, and laws. With this view it was that the prince regent had submitted to his royal brothers the proposal of a marriage with the branches of some foreign illustrious family, which might at once promise the happiness of a British-born heir to the crown,

and at the same time to strengthen the connexion of this country on the continent by a matrimonial alliance. In this view he left it to the choice of his royal brothers which of them should stake his own domestic happiness, at so advanced a period of life, in forming such a connexion for the interests of their country, and sustain the lineage of their illustrious house; and the dukes of Clarence and Cambridge had cheerfully acceded.—The house would see that in such an event an increase of income would be indispensable to enable them to support their dignity in a suitable manner, and especially as the crown had long since surrendered its hereditary revenue to the disposal of parliament for the advantage of the country, in lieu of a limited income; his majesty had thereby parted with the means of suitable endowment for his children, and that therefore they must look to the liberality of parliament. The nation regretted that of all the children of his majesty, twelve in number, there was not at present any offspring to continue the succession. The duke of York had no children, nor, at his time of life, did his marriage promise any heir; and of his majesty's remaining sons, the youngest was forty-five, and the youngest of his daughters forty, so that the country must now look to the marriage of the remaining sons for the hopes of succession to the crown of these realms, in the direct family line. His lordship having expatiated on these points, next proceeded to state the provisions he intended to propose—of the Duke of York, on his marriage, the income provided by the house was made up

37,000*l.* a year, which, with 3000*l.* of military emoluments, made 40,000*l.* The princess Charlotte of Wales was allowed 60,000*l.*; but as the heir-apparent to the throne he did not mean to consider her allowance as a precedent. The income of the duke of Gloucester, the nephew of the throne, was settled upon his marriage at 28,000*l.* a year, and surely it was desirable that the sons of his majesty should not be placed upon an inferior footing. What he should propose then was, that the income of the duke of Clarence should be 40,000*l.* a year, with an outfit of 12,000*l.*; the duke of Cambridge 30,000*l.* a year, with a similar outfit, and the like income to the duke of Kent, with the like outfit upon his marriage. This provision, in the contingent event of children, the house would see to be indispensable; for otherwise it would be impossible for those illustrious individuals to maintain the splendour of their rank, without incurring debts which parliament would hereafter have to provide for. With respect to pin-money to the royal duchesses with whom these royal persons had or might contract marriage alliances, that was a consideration to be settled between husband and wife. The duchess of York, on her marriage, had received 4000*l.* a year as an allowance for pin-money. Allowing that the other royal duchesses were to receive an allowance of 3000*l.* for this purpose, then the additional income of the duke of Clarence, for his family establishment, would amount only to 7000*l.* and that of the dukes of Kent, Cumberland, and Cambridge, to 3000*l.* each annually. He had

gone into the examination of what should be settled as the *minimum* with painful feelings; and he thought, that if any thing less than what he had mentioned were to be granted, it would not answer the purpose.—If the house wished the marriages to take place, they should not expose the branches of the royal family to the necessity of contracting debts, or the royal succession to discredit among foreign nations. He had now opened every thing he had in view; he had explained and attempted to justify the first intentions of ministers, and submitted to parliament the lowest scale on which they could, in execution of their duty to the crown and the country, rest the proposed establishments. He had disguised no fact, and he shrunk from no responsibility. He would now leave the question to the judgement of the committee, without trespassing further upon its patience. The jointure proposed for the duchess of Clarence, in the event of the death of the duke, was 7000*l.* a year, and that of the other royal duchesses 6000*l.* He hoped the propositions he had submitted to the house, combining, as they did, in his opinion, the honour of the crown with the most scrupulous regard to public œconomy, would meet its approbation. The amount that had fallen in, or that would soon fall in, to the consolidated fund, amounted to 60,000*l.*

The additional allowance	
for the duke of Clarence,	
being	£10,000
That for the duke of Kent	6,000
For the duke of Cumber-	
land	6,000
For the duke of Cambridge	6,000
Would	

Would make in all £28,000
 In the event of the duke of
 Kent's not marrying, the
 sum would only be 22,000

The noble lord, after a few further observations, concluded by moving resolutions, that 10,000*l.* be granted to his majesty, for the purpose of providing an establishment for the duke of Clarence, on his marriage; that 6,000*l.* be granted for the duke of Kent, &c. Upon the first resolution being put by the chairman of the committee,

Mr. Barclay rose to oppose it. He was of opinion that, before the committee proceeded to make the proposed grants, the state of the country ought to be taken into consideration, and the balance of income out of which they were to arise, ought to be calculated. This was not a time to propose any new expenditure, when it was stated that in a year of peace a loan of eleven millions must be raised for the public service. Let the committee consider the burthens of the country; let them consider that the distress was last year so great, as to induce the prince regent to sacrifice 50,000*l.* of his income for its relief; and then say if this was a period to impose new burthens. When the duke of York's provision was made, our finances were in a flourishing condition; now they were in a state of the greatest pressure. With regard to the duke of Cumberland, he saw no reason for granting him now what was refused him in 1815. The duke of Clarence did not, in his opinion, stand in a situation that entitled him to a greater allowance than the junior branches of the royal family. Supposing that, after receiving this

provision, and entering into the marriage state, he had no issue, there would be no reason for augmenting the revenue of his next junior brother. Was not his present income sufficient, if freed from incumbrances; and with those incumbrances, would it not be swallowed up or diverted from its purpose? If there was one of the junior branches of the family, to whom we would more willingly than another grant an additional allowance, it would be to the duke of Kent; but if they all took the same method as he, for bringing their expenditure within their income, no additional provision would be necessary. He would have no objection, in case of marriage, to grant provision to the widows of the royal dukes, in case of their decease. Before any additional allowance could, with any propriety, be voted, the state of our finances and the resources of the country ought to be clearly ascertained. He should therefore move, that the chairman report progress, and ask leave to sit again;—and the question was so put accordingly.

Mr. Bennet supported the resolution.

Mr. Protheroe congratulated the house on the effect of the virtuous opposition which had been made to this measure, in reducing the original sum proposed to be called for. To the just causes of grief for the death of the princess Charlotte of Cobourg, many persons had added apprehensions of the failure of the royal line of Brunswick. But a cause of grief was now forced upon the public mind which had not been anticipated. Pensions and grants to foreigners were called for, in consequence

sequence of that unfortunate event.—To foreign alliances he had no objection; but he hoped they were entered into without mercenary views, and that they would be productive of happiness without burthening the nation. In loyalty he would yield to no man; but he held it to be not only consistent with loyalty, but essential to its stability, to speak the language of truth. Did ministers speak the language of truth to their royal master when this measure was first thought of? Did they tell him that this was not the time to increase the burthens of the people? If ever there was a vote of that house in perfect unison with public feeling, it was the vote which had rejected the application for an additional allowance to the duke of Cumberland. He should therefore vote against the proposed resolution.

Mr. Gurney ascribed the present application to the effects of the marriage act. The illustrious branches of the royal family, precluded from any alliance with the great dukes, earls, and barons of England, were forced into alliances with weak and poor German families.—The consequence of such alliances was a constant application to parliament for provision to support a family in the highest rank without any independent resources.

Mr. H. Sumner said, he could not agree to bring the duke of Clarence into a situation which did not belong to him, that of presumptive heir to the crown. The duke of York, it was true, had been married for a considerable time; but a certain calamity might befall him, and then he

might marry again, when it would be proposed to make the same provision for him as had lately been made for the prince of Saxe Cobourg. It was impossible to concur in the measure of advance of salary—of allowance to such an amount to the duke of Clarence. He would not object to an advance of 6,000*l.* a-year upon his marriage, if information were previously given to prove that this sum could be applied to the object of supporting the splendour of his rank. He must acquit his noble friend of blinking or misrepresenting the subject, when he had said that his royal highness had 10,000*l.* a-year as a parliamentary grant, 2,500*l.* from some other source (which he did not hear), and 1,100*l.* as half-pay, and other items; but besides these items, he had a charming residence, equal to not less than 3,000*l.* As the object of the resolution was to bestow upon a younger brother a greater than due degree of splendour, he would oppose it till it should be proved that the proposed addition would be available to any such object. He understood that 4,000*l.* would not pay the interest of the duke of Clarence's debts, and that demands existed against him for 50,000*l.* or 60,000*l.* Of what use, then, could the proposed grant be to the splendour of the crown? A royal duke (Kent) had, much to his honour, divested himself of his splendour, for the purpose of paying his debts. If in this purpose he was successful, he should have no objection to a grant of 6,000*l.* a-year to him, upon his marriage. He objected to the grant of 30,000*l.*, but he would agree to 24,000*l.* He could not at present make

make any motion on the subject; but if the chairman left the chair, he should feel it his duty to call for accounts of the duke of Clarence's income and debts.

Lord Castlereagh explained.—As to Bushy Park, it was rather a burthen than otherwise. Another topic alluded to he could not enter upon; the house would perceive the delicate situation in which he was placed. But he could assure the house that the representation given of the duke of Clarence's debts was by no means his true situation. If the resolution were agreed to, and 30,000*l.* were granted, the duke of Clarence, after relieving himself from pressing demands, and making a provision for the ultimate extinction of his debts, would have 25,600*l.* free and unincumbered.

Mr. Coke declared, that under the present distress and burthens of the country, he could not reconcile it to his sense of duty to consent to the arrangements proposed by the noble lord.

Sir W. Curtis thought the modified arrangement submitted by the minister was one which there was sufficient reason for adopting.

Mr. Ellison observed, that he had always thought very favourably of the measures of the present government, and he regretted that on this occasion there should be an exception to that general opinion. He could not help thinking, however, that with regard to the merits of the question now under consideration, they were entirely in the wrong. He had supported the present ministers, and the system of policy they pursued ever since he had known how to think or to act. He had even gone sometimes out of his way to

support them, and should continue to do so as long as it was in his power. He had never had any communication with the opposition, nor did he ever mean to hold any. He feared not what others might think or say of him; he had an opinion of his own, and that opinion he was resolved to express. He loved liberty as much as any honourable member opposite; but he knew his duty too well to convert that zeal into a pretext or a means for humbugging the people. Humble as he was, he had a duty to perform, and must be allowed to follow his own opinion. No man honoured the king, or loved the constitution better than himself. It appeared to him that ministers had carried the country safe through its greatest dangers, and brought it into quiet seas. That tranquillity, he thought, would remain undisturbed under the care and wisdom of administration; but he must frankly declare, that the demand of such sums, in the present state of the country, was itself a measure calculated to prove injurious to royalty. It seemed to him one of the most injudicious propositions that ever was submitted to parliament. He was perfectly disposed to vote some provision to the duke of Clarence, on the ground of his intended marriage, but to the rest of the proposed plan he must give his decided negative.

Sir T. Ackland and lord John Russell opposed the resolution.

Lord Lascelles said, that to the reduced allowances now proposed he felt no sort of objection.

Mr. Forbes disapproved of the distinction made in favour of the duke of Clarence.

Mr.

Mr. Thornton said, the reduced scale appeared to him unobjectionable.

Lord L. Gower rose, chiefly for the purpose of calling the recollection of the house to the fact, that the duchess of Cumberland had now resided three years in this country; during which time she had acquired the esteem and affection of all who knew her. For the whole of that period she had been indebted for her support to the generosity of the king of Prussia, and he put it to the house, whether this was worthy of the people of England.

Mr. Barclay here signified his readiness to withdraw his amendment; but there being some cries in the negative, the chairman (Mr. Brogden) decided that a division must take place.

The question was then loudly called for. The house, however, did not divide.

Mr. Tierney requested Mr. Barclay to withdraw his amendment, in which proposal the honourable member acquiesced.

Sir C. Mordaunt spoke in favour of the smaller sum proposed.

Mr. Lambton complained of the dilemma in which he was placed. He observed that he was against any grant; and that if he voted against the 6,000*l.*, he might occasion a majority in favour of the 10,000*l.*, to which he was still more averse.

Sir G. Heathcote thought that the present incomes of the junior branches of the royal family were ample enough. He, as an individual, was obliged to attend to his domestic concerns, and he thought they ought to do the same.

Mr. Calvert said, the utmost

economy ought to be observed in the intended grants.

Mr. Canning expressed his approbation of the larger sum proposed. With respect to the duke of Clarence, he could assure the house that his royal highness would not have thought of contracting this marriage, if it had not been pressed upon him as an act of public duty. His wishes were limited to such means as might enable him to support his situation in the country with becoming dignity. Without this alliance he wanted not the aid of parliament, and he contracted this alliance, not for his own private gratification, but because he had been advised to do so for the politic purpose of providing for the succession to the throne.—If there was any thing ridiculous in this proposition, it was brought about by their own laws, which prevented the royal family from entering into marriages at home, and made them look abroad for wives, not from liking or affection, for that could not be supposed possible, when the persons had not even seen each other. In voting the sum of 10,000*l.* the house would only grant one half of what was originally proposed, and for less than that ministers would not be responsible.

Mr. W. Smith and sir W. Guise thought that a sufficient sum might be taken out of the Windsor establishment.

Lord Castlereagh said, that no establishment could be conducted with so much economy as the Windsor establishment. At the utmost not more than 10,000*l.* could be reduced of this establishment.

Mr. Tierney wished to say a few

few words with respect to the assertion, that, except to the officers of state, it was impossible there could be any reduction in the Windsor establishment. When he read that which he was about to read to the committee, he hoped he should satisfy every member that the statement of the noble lord was completely erroneous. His majesty's privy purse amounted to 60,000*l.*—a privy purse of 60,000*l.* in the present state of his majesty!—Out of this sum he admitted that the allowance to the physicians had to be paid; but on the most liberal allowance to them, this would not amount to 18,000*l.* a-year.—There was also received out of the duchy of Lancaster 10,000*l.* So that here was 70,000*l.* a-year which her majesty had, without there being any necessity of rendering an account of any part of it. With the reduction of an allowance to the physicians, and a few pensions, this was a fund for accumulation for somebody.—Her majesty's establishment amounted to 100,000*l.* a-year. These two sums made together 170,000*l.* But, beside this, her majesty was allowed for the Windsor establishment 58,000*l.* and an additional allowance of 1000*l.* a-year for what was called travelling expenses; and the allowance for the two princesses was 26,000*l.*—making the total of the Windsor establishment amount to no less a sum than 264,000*l.* per annum.—If the noble lord had meant to say, that her majesty and her two daughters, together with the king, could not be maintained on less than this sum, he was ready to debate the matter any day that he had to spare. This much he had thought neces-

sary to state, to meet the broad assertion, that no reduction was possible in the Windsor establishment.

Lord Castlereagh (if we understood him) said that an accurate investigation would show the impossibility of any reduction in the Windsor establishment. With respect to the privy purse, it was well known that a great part of it was devoted to benevolent purposes. With respect to the 100,000*l.* to her majesty, he did not see how that sum could enter into any computation of the Windsor establishment. The house would bear in mind, that her majesty, by act of parliament, was entitled to the full sum of 100,000*l.* as her jointure. To this sum she would be entitled wherever she lived, and it could not therefore be said to form any part of the Windsor establishment. If they deducted that sum and the privy purse from the establishment, there remained for all the expenses of the Windsor establishment only 58,000*l.*; and they would recollect, that whether the queen lived at Windsor or not, the Windsor establishment must be kept up. The 100,000*l.* was applicable to the queen's own establishment. It was a great error to suppose that the Windsor establishment furnished any part of the queen's household.

Mr. Holme Sumner said, the question was, whether the house should grant the duke of Clarence the interest of that sum, the fee of which he had already consumed.

Mr. Lambton did not conceive that he could adopt the motion of his honourable friend: he felt it his duty, however, to express his opinion,

opinion, and he therefore now recorded his own sentiments on the subject, by moving that the chairman do now leave the chair. The question was, whether they should or should not, in the present distress of the country, provide, out of the pockets of the people, for the use and the benefit of the duke of Clarence, because, through his misconduct, he had extravagantly thrown away what parliament had so liberally given him.

Mr. C. Wynn could not accede to the opinion that the junior members of the royal family, having already received a settlement in their unmarried state, were entitled to call upon the public for an additional grant on their marriage.

The cries of Question became vehement, and the house divided—For Mr. Holme Sumner's amendment of 6,000*l.* a year, 193;—Against it, 184. Majority against ministers, 9.

The result was received with loud shouts of applause; amidst which lord Castlereagh rose and observed, that since the house had thought proper to refuse the larger sum to the duke of Clarence, he believed he might say, that the negotiation for the marriage might be considered at an end.

April 16. — Lord Castlereagh, in rising to move the order of the day, had to state, that he should move for a committee to consider the regent's message. He had, according to his duty to the regent, he said, waited on that royal personage, to inform him of the views likely to be taken by the house. His royal highness felt deep regret. He had also waited on the duke of Clarence, who had

authorized him to decline accepting the sum proposed by the house, and the projected alliance, though with great deference to the opinion of the house. He did this, because he was convinced he could not accept of it without incurring painful embarrassments.

The house then went into a committee on the grant to the duke of Cambridge.

Lord Castlereagh then moved a sum of 6,000*l.* on his marriage.

Mr. Brougham would oppose this vote, if he stood alone; because it seemed to be taken for granted, that because they had last night reduced the vote to the duke of Clarence from 10,000*l.* to 6,000*l.*, that the house would give that sum to any other of the royal family who chose to marry. No man more lamented than he did the calamity which had interrupted the direct succession to the crown; and the more so, as it had given rise to the wholesale applications now making for the several branches of the royal family. If it could be proved to him that no member of that illustrious house could contract a marriage without some such provision, he would willingly vote for the largest sum; because it would be highly expedient to have a successor to the crown from those born among us. Why had the noble lord gone to the youngest branches? Why had he passed over the next of these illustrious princes—one who was respected in the country for his public conduct, and also by his recent conduct in getting rid of his pecuniary difficulties? He had understood that the noble lord

lord last night alluded to a projected marriage of the duke of Kent. Why was he passed over? or, Was it intended that the whole of the younger branches of the royal family should have 6,000*l.* a-year when they chose to marry? Why was the duke of Sussex passed over?—a person of unexceptionable character, and who deserved more praise for the arrangement introduced into his private affairs to clear himself from his embarrassments, and who had never any of the extra allowances of the others, as he was not a military man? The duke of Cambridge was also highly praise-worthy. He came to his allowance without incumbrance; and he had for some years a princely income in another country, which had allowed him to accumulate out of his 18,000*l.* a-year from this country, a very handsome sum in our funds. If, then, he is capable of contracting a marriage without burthening the country any more, it was their duty to resist any further grant out of the public purse. Voting 6000*l.* to the duke of Cambridge was squandering away a sum of money which his royal highness was in no need of; and therefore the house ought, above all things, to resist and to negative this proposition altogether. The private funds of the heads of the royal family ought to be made available to the provision of the younger branches, when they required it. His majesty and the queen, he understood, had amassed considerable sums of money; and he was sure he only spoke the sense of the house when he said that those sums should be applied to these purposes. He confessed it

was not the mere amount of the grants which he objected to, but to the principle. There was no worse enemy to the throne than those who advised the squandering away the money of this much burthened people, when the cry was loud for œconomy from one end of the country to the other; and when there was no extravagance so much detested as that of the princes of the royal family. He could not consent to give 6,000*l.* to the duke of Cambridge, and to deny it to the duke of Cumberland; the first being in affluence, and the last being in comparative poverty. Besides, a deep-rooted determination had seized the people, that they would have œconomy, and nothing did they so much detest as an extravagant grant to any of the royal family.

Lord Castlereagh thought that this was a question of all others which ought to be debated with temper and moderation. Now the speech of the honourable and learned gentleman was almost, from beginning to end, a speech of invidious reflection, or of invidious comparison. No individual could have pursued a better course to alienate the minds of the people from the house of Hanover than by throwing out reflections against the individual members of that illustrious family. The honourable gentleman had passed panegyrics on one branch of that house, and an insinuation against another. He defended the mode of bringing these grants before the house, not in a mass, as described by the honourable and learned gentleman, but every grant in the form of a distinct vote. He hoped the house would never humiliate the princes by reducing

ducing them to the necessity of suing for a provision in *forma pauperis*. He believed that the people of England had a strong wish to impress œconomy on their representatives; but he did acquit the people from his conscience of any such mercenary and contemptible species of œconomy. He contended that there was no intention on the part of the prince regent to neglect the duke of Kent, by giving his assent to the marriage of the duke of Cambridge first. The duke of Cambridge's marriage was in progress for a very considerable period; but there was no marriage-treaty on foot for the duke of Kent. The emoluments of the duke of Cambridge derived from Hanover were for high confidential employments in that country, and ought not to preclude him from his just claim to a provision on his marriage. The duke of Cambridge did not accept of his situation as civil and military governor of Hanover to increase his own private emolument—he accepted it only at the desire and solicitation of his illustrious brother.

Mr. Brougham explained. He made all allowances for the situation of the noble lord, on account of the vote of last night. A very ill-natured thing might be said in a mild tone; but he denied that any man with a calm and cool temper, could have said, that any thing in his speech tended to degrade or attack the royal family. He had not taken notice of any part of the characters of the royal family, except that part which had been brought before the house by the noble lord himself—namely, their application for grants of money.

Lord Castlereagh said, he certainly had understood the honourable gentleman to have cast reflections on two of the royal family.

Mr. Brougham.—The noble lord must have been dreaming—I never said any such thing.

Mr. F. Douglassaid, the greatest indignity had been cast on the royal family, within the last three or four days, by the noble lord and his colleagues, in holding these royal marriages out to the house in a sort of Dutch auction.—The ministers of the present day were the only men who had made the succession of the house of Hanover disagreeable to the people of England.

Mr. Curwen said, it was a painful thing, that the extravagance of ministers had disabled the people of England from making provision for their princes; at the same time, he thought the money derived by the duke of Cambridge from Hanover ought to be taken into consideration.—He would not vote a shilling to that illustrious person; but he would vote for a dowry to his wife. He trusted they would now show the people of England, that they were in earnest in their exertions for œconomy.

Mr. Wilberforce was of opinion that the sum to be granted was not extravagant. With respect to the emoluments derived by the royal duke from Hanover, of those emoluments the house knew nothing, nor, indeed, had they any thing to do with that country.—The honourable gentleman alluded to the royal marriage act, and condemned it as having an immoral tendency. He saw no reason why any one of the royal family should not, when he arrived

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at the age of twenty-five, signify his intention of marrying to the privy council, and contract with the approbation of the state. He eulogized the amiable conduct of the lamented princess Charlotte and prince Leopold, and the duke and duchess of Gloucester—their marriages were truly British, and founded on the best affections of the heart; and he really wished such marriages were encouraged. He supported the grant of 6,000*l.* to the duke of Cambridge, and hoped the honourable and learned gentleman would withdraw his opposition to the grant.

Mr. Tierney declared, that he had on all occasions received the greatest attention from the duke of Cambridge; but, being a friend to economy, he could not see that any necessity existed for granting this sum. Votes were not to be measured by the distresses of the individuals, but by the distresses of the country; nor could he admit that the emoluments arising from Hanover were not to be taken into account.—Now, as far as that vicereignty was concerned, he believed (and his authority was good) that it was fully sufficient for his wants. As far as the duke of Cambridge was interested in the application, that royal duke had no wish for an increase. With respect to the grant of 18,000*l.* a-year, in Hanover it would go as far as 30,000*l.* here. If the noble lord would state that the sum of 6,000*l.* was necessary for the maintenance of the splendour of the royal duke, he would vote for it.

Mr. Sharp opposed the grant, on the ground that the marriages were made a mere pretext for applying to the house for money.

The chancellor of the exchequer 1818.

quer said, that the whole of the emoluments of the royal duke were 18,000*l.* a year, and a regiment of guards. He defended the grant, on the principle of necessity.

Mr. Methuen was against the grant, and was of opinion that this case was brought on out of its turn, in order to make the other go down, which would not have been quite so palatable. The honourable gentleman panegyricized the conduct of the duke and duchess of York, who paid their debts, and were entitled to the respect and admiration of the country.

Mr. Plunket and Mr. Protheroe opposed the grant.

Sir W. Burroughs wished to know from the noble lord, if the money now called for was necessary to enable the royal duke to enter on the marriage. If he answered in the affirmative, he should vote for the grant.

Lord Castlereagh could not say what the necessities of the royal duke might be, and therefore the safer way for the honourable baronet would be to vote for the grant, and suppose that the necessity really existed.

The committee then divided—For the grant 177;—Against it 95;—Majority 82.

The noble lord then moved a resolution for granting 6,000*l.* to the princess of Hesse, in case she survives the duke of Cambridge. This motion was carried unanimously.

The noble lord then proposed a grant of 6,000*l.* to the duke of Cumberland, not intending to press the vote to a division, as the sense of parliament had already been expressed as inimical to the

I grant.

grant. This he lamented greatly, but his sense of duty compelled him to propose it.

Mr. Brougham still maintained the same objections to the grant to the royal dukes. He hoped, however, that the noble lord would follow it up by a dower to the duchess, in case of her surviving the duke. The conduct of this illustrious lady since her arrival in England has been most exemplary.

Lord Folkestone coincided in the sentiments of the honourable gentleman, and bore testimony to the character of the royal duchess.

Mr. Forbes supported the grant to the royal duke, and begged the house to reconsider the subject. He would put it to the house whether they would offer an insult to her royal highness, by passing over her royal consort. He was determined to divide the house on the question.

Lord Castlereagh assured the honourable gentleman he did not mean to abandon the claim of his royal highness; all he wished was, to ascertain the sentiments of the house on the question.

Sir W. Scott thought the house could not, in point of consistency, refuse the claim.

Mr. Protheroe opposed the grant to the duke of Cumberland; and thought the house would act inconsistently if they now voted what they had on a former occasion refused.

Sir T. Ackland and lord Stanley opposed the vote to the royal duke, and Mr. Douglas supported it.

Mr. Canning defended the resolution; and contended, that it came under discussion with a view

of ascertaining the sentiments of the house, and not from any wish on the part of his noble friend to induce the house to act inconsistently. His noble friend did not consider himself authorized to fix a stigma on the royal person, by not including him in the proposition submitted on the part of his royal brothers. Feeling the inclination of the house to be friendly to the motion, he should support it.

Sir J. Newport and Mr. C. Wynne opposed the grant, and Mr. B. Bathurst and Mr. Lyttleton warmly supported it.

The house then divided.—For the grant 136;—Against it 143; Majority against it 7.

The noble lord proposed to vote 6,000*l.* per annum to the duchess of Cumberland, in case of her surviving the duke.

Mr. Brougham supported it. In the course of the observations which he made, he noticed some significant glances of the secretary to the admiralty, and dared him to meet him manfully face to face, and charge him with inconsistency as to the vote he was about to give; which he defied him to do.

Mr. Croker explained, that he did not mean to cast any imputation on the honourable gentleman on any one occasion. He never had noticed elsewhere the inconsistencies; and therefore the charge was false.

Mr. Brougham wished to know if the honourable gentleman meant to apply the word *false* in a parliamentary sense, or in what other sense.

Mr. Croker said, he meant to apply it in the same sense as the honourable gentleman did the observations he had made.

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The resolution was then put and agreed to.

Mr. Brogden brought up the report of the committee for granting to the duke of Clarence 6,000*l*.

Lord Castlereagh moved that this order should be discharged.

Mr. Tierney considered that the discharging this order thus without some entry would convey a censure on the duke of Clarence, since to any one who should afterwards read this resolution, and find it

discharged, it would appear that the house had disagreed to the vote of the committee for granting even that sum.

Lord Castlereagh said, the resolution might be read again and agreed to; but no bill need be founded on it. This proceeding would obviate the objection of the right honourable gentleman.

The resolution was, after a few words from Mr. M. A. Taylor, agreed to.

CHAPTER V.

Debates on the Currency—the Budget—Irish Window-tax—Forged Bank Notes—Contagious Fever in Ireland—Slaves in Dominica—Cotton Manufactories—Loan Bill—Widows' Pensions—Bank Restriction—Committee of Supply.

HOUSE of lords, April 20 — The earl of Lauderdale rose, in pursuance of his notice, to bring this important and complicated subject under the consideration of their lordships.—The noble earl introduced his motion with a speech of great length, of which our confined limits restrict us to a very brief and general outline.—His principal object was, he said, to convince the house of the imperious necessity of instituting a close and most sedulous inquiry into a complicated and extensive subject, in which the vital interests of the country were materially involved, before they concurred in adopting any measure which would tend to embarrass it, and by its by its operation, under the inauspicious circumstances of the country in these respects, render its situation still worse. It seemed the intention of government to

propose certain regulations, with a view to the paper currency, and avowedly with an eventual reference to the resumption of cash payments by the bank; but he contended, that unless the present mint regulations were materially altered, it would be found impracticable for the bank to resume or continue its payments in cash. They were especially called upon to investigate, with reference, were there no other motive, to a pending measure for further continuing the restriction on the bank; they should be satisfied as to the operation and effect of such a proposition, before their lordships afforded it their concurrence. The whole system adopted by government of latter years was a departure from the ancient salutary system under which this country had so long prospered, and had attained its unrivalled height of opulence and commercial

cial superiority. The principal cause assigned by ministers for rendering the further restriction upon the bank advisable was, he contended, no adequate reason whatever. Even when the restriction was originally imposed, though there were foreign loans or advances in a course of payment from this country, such a cause was not assigned. The specie sent out of the country for that purpose was held to make no sensible difference, as was proved by the testimony of the bank directors who were then examined. And further, it was held, that if loans were negotiated for all the countries in Europe, it would not exhaust this country of its specie. It was not through cash alone such remittances were furnished, but by commodities also; of which latter description every commercial man sent as great a proportion as he possibly could. It was impossible, he thought, therefore, that any foreign loan now negotiating could furnish an adequate cause for continuing the restriction upon the bank; neither did it even operate upon that corporation as a pecuniary cause; nor were the extents of its private discounts a cause of prevention; but the real cause he considered to be the immense advances made by the bank to government. They were not in a progress of diminishing their advances; and he argued, from a reference to certain statutes, particularly the act of William and Mary, that it was illegal to make more advances than what were founded upon votes of credit. To such an amount had these advances increased, that they were now, he believed, more than double the

sum they were when the restriction was first laid on. He then adverted to the recent proposition of calling upon country bankers for stock security equal to the issue of their small notes. On this he commented in some detail, and seemed to impugn its tendency, as militating against that principle upon which all bank-notes were received—the general credit, or faith in the stability of the concern; and particularly as detracting from the credit of the respective firms as to their larger notes, while it went to favour the credit of the bank of England exclusively. As to the idea of stock debentures, he regarded it so extravagant in itself, as that it could not be seriously countenanced in any degree. Recurring then to the state of the currency, it was a point, his lordship contended, which, perhaps, more than any other, called for a parliamentary investigation. He first dwelt upon the paper branch thereof, and that there were observed now four descriptions of paper currencies in circulation; and on referring to the metallic branch, it was, in its relation to the state of the exchanges, and the current prices of the precious metals, equally worthy of their lordships' attention. In his view of this part of the subject, he must repeat what he had advanced on a former occasion, that silver would be preferable to gold as a standard coin. This he advanced as a general principle; and with reference to the immediate circumstances of the country, the prices of metals, and the rate of the exchanges, the exportation of gold would be more profitable than that of silver. And it was proved,

proved, by the calculations of individuals the most competent, of Sir Isaac Newton, in his day, that 21 shillings were intrinsically more valuable than one guinea by fourpence! and recently it was calculated, that twenty new shillings were more valuable than the gold sovereign by more than tenpence. He then glanced at the mint regulations, which, he contended, operated imperceptibly; and would tend, if not altered, to incapacitate the bank from resuming cash payments. Ministers, therefore, should have considered, before they gave a pledge as to their resumption at the expiration of a year. After dwelling principally on these points, in a considerable degree of detail, blended with much documentary reference, and insisting, in every view he had taken of the subject, on the necessity of a parliamentary inquiry, the noble earl concluded by moving, That "this house do appoint a committee to inquire into and examine the present state of the metallic and paper currency, and the issues payable to the bank of England, and report the same to the house."

The earl of Liverpool observed, that he never heard a speech in which there were fewer doubts and more dogmatizing. He then proceeded to comment at some length on the statement of lord Lauderdale, in regard to the gold and silver coin, contending that gold had risen by the natural progress of things to be the standard metal of the country, and the measure of all property. He then proceeded to state, that the repeated failure of the country banks showed the necessity of re-

gulating the paper circulation of the country. By the law, as it now stood, there was no restriction on the issue of country bank notes of 1*l.* or 2*l.* to any amount, and on any security. When this law expired, in two years after the removal of the restriction on the bank of England, this privilege would cease, and their issues would be confined to notes at or above 5*l.* The question was, therefore, Ought the law to be allowed to expire, or, ought it to be continued? Were we to repeal the act, and allow issues of one and two pound notes on any security at all? Let the house consider the history of the currency of country banks for the last three years, and the calamities that had arisen from bank speculations. Out of 700 country banks that existed in 1814, 200 had now been swept away and had disappeared, to the ruin of individuals and whole districts, and to the general injury of the agricultural and commercial interests. He had always been of opinion, that, although many of the difficulties out of which we were now emerging were to be traced to that convulsion which was caused by the rapid transition from war to peace, they were greatly aggravated by the failure of country banks. This was an evil which would, in his opinion, be aggravated by the removal of the restriction from the bank of England, if no regulation were adopted in consequence of that measure. There might be a run on the country banks, then on the bank of England itself; and the consequence might be a general shock to credit all over the nation. He would therefore lay down this as a principle,

ciple, that if we could not recur to entirely metallic currency, and if it was necessary to allow country banks to supply its place, to ascertain its extent by issues of small notes, these country banks ought to be placed under some regulation for the general security of credit, and with the view of preventing those convulsions that might result from their failure. The noble lord then alluded to Scotland, to which the act was not meant to extend, because, from the wise regulations under which the banking system was carried on there, no change of system was necessary, as not one, or but only one failure had taken place during the late shock given to credit in this part of the island. So far from the deposit of securities for small notes being injurious to the credit of notes of a greater amount, the very deposit of such securities for the former would give the latter additional credit. This opinion would be confirmed, if it were considered that double the nominal amount in stocks must be deposited for the small notes, which, at the usual price of the public funds, would afford to the holders of the five-pound notes a balance for the payment of the latter. But without laying much stress on this argument, he would say that the holders of large notes would not be in a worse situation than they were before small notes were allowed to be issued at all; and as they then took on credit, for their own convenience, large notes in preference to gold, there was no reason why they should not afterwards, for the same convenience, take them in preference to small notes. He knew there would be difficulties

in carrying it into execution, and in settling the details; but he did not think them insurmountable. It was pretty well known what was the proportion of small notes issued by the bank of England, and the time they continued in circulation without being renewed. The average might be reckoned about 8,000,000*l.* and the time the notes lasted about two or three years. Upon the whole, the more the measure was examined and discussed, the more it would appear to be wise and eligible. His lordship concluded with opposing the statements of lord Lauderdale in regard to the bank of England, and observed that he considered the condition of France as the great cause of the unfavourable state of the exchanges. In 1816, and during part of 1817, the exchanges were in favour; but when those great transactions began to take place which were necessary for the adjustment of the claims of the different countries of Europe, then, and not till then, the exchanges began to be unfavourable: the question therefore was, whether—not with reference to any particular loan, such as that to Prussia—but with reference to the winding up of the great concerns of Europe—this was the opportunity for compelling the bank to resume cash payments.

In the discussion which followed, the marquis of Lansdowne supported the motion, and the earl of Harrowby and viscount Sidmouth argued against it.

The earl of Lauderdale spoke in reply; when the question was put, and the motion negatived without a division.

House of commons, April 20. prefatory observations, submitted
 — The chancellor of the exchequer, after a few general and house. the following statement to the

In 1817.	SUPPLIES.		In 1818.
£9,412,373	Army (exclusive of troops in France)		£8,970,000
7,596,022	Navy		6,456,800
1,270,696	Ordnance		1,245,600
1,795,000	Miscellaneous		1,720,000
£20,074,091	Total supplies.		£18,392,400
2,230,000	{ Interest on Exch. bills	2,000,000	
		Sinking fund on ditto	560,000
£22,304,091			£20,952,400

EXTRAORDINARY PAYMENTS.

Fortifications in the Netherlands, 725,681*l.* 12*s.* 3*d.*

No provision is intended to be made for this sum, which is to be defrayed out of the pecuniary indemnities payable by France.

Spanish treaty	£400,000	
Deficiency of ways and means, 1817,	259,686	659,686
By repayment of unfunded debt		15,932,062

In 1817.	WAYS AND MEANS.	In 1818.
£3,000,000	Annual duties	£3,000,000
	Excise duties, continued	3,500,000
250,000	Lottery	250,000
400,000	Old stores	250,000
1,500,000	Arrears of property tax received and not appropriated, or to be received before the 5th April 1819	250,000
	Money remaining at the disposition of parliament, in respect of sums paid into the exchequer, by the commissioners for the management of commercial exchequer bills	21,448

Subscription loan	£3,000,000	
By Exch. bills funded	27,272,700	
		£30,272,700

£37,544,148

With a view to provide for this sum, he had now to state the propositions which ministers felt it their duty to submit to the consideration of the house. In the first place, it was proposed to fund a certain proportion of exchequer bills, and thus to reduce the

the amount of our unfunded debt. It was the fate of this country, upon the termination of the war, to have a considerable amount of unfunded debt, which government was naturally anxious to reduce as soon as circumstances should favour its views. The committee, however, was aware, that upon the conclusion of peace a great quantity of unfunded debt had always accumulated. There was no doubt an unusual quantity upon this occasion, which until now it was not deemed expedient to reduce. If asked his reasons for this opinion, he was prepared to state them. It would be recollected, although perhaps it was of no material consequence, that in 1816 he had given notice of his intention, after two years of peace should have expired, to propose the funding of exchequer bills; still, if the state of our finances were not so favourable as to warrant the plan, he should certainly not feel himself bound to act according to that notice. But he had the satisfaction to state, that circumstances were such as to justify him in doing so. Nay, he was enabled to do more than fulfil the expectation which the notice of 1816 held out. It was a fact, that although the unfunded debt had accumulated so much since the peace, that accumulation was not productive of any inconvenience to the country; but still it was not deemed consistent with sound policy, or the financial principles which had always regulated the conduct of government, to allow such an accumulation to continue, much less to increase. The considerable addition to our unfunded debt,

within the last year, was notoriously the result of the decision of the house not to continue the war tax [meaning we suppose the property tax]. But although, as he had already said, no public inconvenience was occasioned by the amount of our unfunded debt, still it was thought inexpedient to allow any further prolongation of such a debt of between fifty and sixty millions, because in the event of any public alarm or danger, of which however he had no apprehension, the existence of such a debt might be productive of serious mischief.—Therefore, finding the state of the funds, with the general circumstances of the country, favourable for the purpose—finding also that there was a great overflow of money in the market, it was thought advisable to reduce the floating debt. Thus would be fulfilled the expectation held out in 1816. There were some, no doubt, who had objected to the increase of the unfunded debt since the conclusion of peace, but he always was of opinion that such increase was much preferable to the contraction of a loan. The house might recollect the opinion, which he had expressed on this subject in 1816.—Here the right honourable gentleman read an extract from his speech upon that occasion, in which he supported the policy of rather issuing exchequer bills to meet the exigencies of the year, than to borrow money, or contract any loan.—In the same speech, he also stated his view of the expedience of funding of exchequer bills when the funds should be up to 75, and they were now at 80. Time, he was glad to say, had justified his opinion;

nion; for no less than two millions were saved within two years to the country, by preferring the issue of exchequer bills to the contraction of any loan; and it was now proposed to pay off 16 millions of these bills. But were the whole of the outstanding bills funded at once, he had the satisfaction to say, that no addition would be made to the capital of the national debt beyond that which existed at the conclusion of the war. For such was the progressive improvement of the sinking fund, that no less than fifty millions of capital stock had been redeemed since the peace,—he meant since November 1815. By the quantity of unfunded debt which it was now proposed to fund, he hoped that the money market and public credit would be so much improved as to lead to important ulterior consequences,—he meant to the reduction of the 4 and 5 per cents. He entertained a hope that the accomplishment of this desirable object might be soon looked for. Such indeed was the improved state of the money market, that although it might not be expedient to propose such a reduction within the present session, it might, he thought, be confidently looked for within the next session. But he did not despair of being enabled to bring forward such a measure, even within the present session. By the creation of a $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. stock, which he had to propose, the committee was aware that a sum of money would be raised for the service of the year without any increase of the nominal capital of the public debt, while the existence of such a stock would naturally serve to facilitate

the reduction of the 4 and 5 per cents.; for the holders of the 4 and 5 per cent. stock would of course be more willing to transfer that stock to the $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cents. than to the 3 per cents. To the latter, indeed, they could hardly be reconciled without a great sacrifice, unless the 3 per cents. were at par; and, should even that happen to be the case, the $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cents. must still be expected to maintain their relative value in the market.—On these grounds, he looked to the new stock as a means of reducing the 4 and 5 per cents., while the creation of that stock would produce no addition to the capital of the public debt. It was proposed that the new stock should consist of 27,000,000*l.* by which the sum of 3,000,000*l.* would be raised for the public service; and it was also proposed to fund exchequer bills to the amount of 27,000,000*l.* The total charge for interest on the capital borrowed in this transaction, would amount to 1,625,520*l.* which the chancellor of the exchequer stated it was his intention to charge, according to the act of 1813, on the sinking fund. This proposition, however, he meant to bring forward upon another day, taking care to provide that no reduction of the sinking fund should take place within the present year. The committee would remember, that by the act of 1813 it was provided that there should be a reserved sum of a million of sinking fund for certain purposes, and he was happy to say that of this sum about 90,000*l.* was already provided. A sum of 84,000*l.* had, indeed, been advertised in the Gazette. The charge of

of interest upon this occasion, or any other charge to be imposed upon the sinking fund, he proposed to have discharged in such a manner as not to reduce the amount of the fund in the hands of the commissioners. To the reduction of that fund he was indeed by no means disposed to assent; and therefore his purpose was, that the after purchases of the commissioners should be applied to defray those charges. But he would not enter further into the subject at present, for that would be to anticipate the discussion of a future day. Reverting to the improvement of the revenue, the right honourable gentleman observed, that such improvement afforded a most gratifying reflection. — This improvement was, indeed, such in the excise, from which the condition and capabilities of the people might best be estimated, that the receipt of the last quarter, compared with that immediately preceding, was more by no less than 10 per cent. The excise war duty of last quarter exceeded in amount the corresponding quarter of the year 1817 by 121,000*l*. Nor were the customs duties less promising in their appearance than those of the excise. There was one circumstance with respect to them to which it was necessary the committee should refer in forming their estimate of that appearance. In consequence of the temporary duty of 10*s*. a cwt. on sugar, a large portion of the sugar customs duties had been paid in anticipation; so that, in the quarter before the last, five or six hundred thousand pounds had been paid of those duties which, in the fair routine of revenue, would have

been paid in the last quarter; nevertheless the amount of the customs duties of the last quarter exceeded between five and six hundred thousand pounds the amount in the corresponding quarter of 1817. Calculating on all these circumstances, and looking at the general improvement in the commerce and manufactures of the country, of which the committee must be perfectly aware, it was impossible not to anticipate but that so large an increase would take place in the revenue before the close of the year, as to add considerably to the consolidated fund. It was not his intention, however, as he had before stated, to call on parliament for any grant from the consolidated fund in the present year; but next year he had great hopes that a considerable sum might become available from it for the public service. The right honourable gentleman concluded by moving his first resolution, which stated in detail the terms on which the subscribers to the new 3½ per cent. stock were to be admitted.

Mr. Brougham wished to make a few observations on what had fallen from the right honourable gentleman, although, considering the great multiplicity of the details into which the right honourable gentleman had necessarily entered, it could not be expected that he should follow him throughout the whole of his speech. There were, in his opinion, many things in the statement of the right honourable gentleman, and in the principle on which he founded that statement, that, in his (Mr. Brougham's) opinion, had an obvious tendency to conceal from the committee what appeared to him to be the

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sum and substance of the measure which the right honourable gentleman was proposing. The great and new plan of finance broached by the right honourable gentleman seemed to him (Mr. Brougham) to resolve itself into this (and if he misunderstood it he should be happy to be set right), that a clear deficit existed of somewhere about fourteen millions; that deficit must some way or other be supplied; and this great and new plan consisted in some way or other borrowing the sum necessary—in contracting, in fact, a new loan at three and a half per cent.; the interest of which (to be charged on the sinking fund) would amount to nearly 1,200,000*l*. Whatever might be the details of the proposition, that he conceived to be the result, or in vulgar language the upshot of it. Now, after three or four years of peace, he (Mr. Brougham), for one, could not consider that a state of things in which such a proceeding [became necessary, was at all flattering. The right honourable gentleman, indeed, appeared to entertain very sanguine hopes—hopes grounded on a comparison of the receipts of one branch of the revenue in the last quarter, with the corresponding quarter of 1817. Whether it was probable that the right honourable gentleman's hopes would be realised, was a question into which he would not then stop to inquire; but the fact evidently was, that after three years of peace, so far were we from being able to make the two ends of our finances meet, that a clear deficit existed to the amount which he had already stated; and that the means resorted to, to supply that deficiency, were the old war-means of a loan, the

interest of which was to be paid, not on the old war system, but by charging it on the sinking fund. On this view of the subject he confessed that he felt it to be wise and prudent to withhold, until he should be further advised, any congratulations to the committee on the state of the country. The invention of the new stock of three and a half per cent. was another matter on which, with his present information, he must be allowed to withhold his felicitations. This stock, according to the right honourable gentleman's representation, appeared to be intended for a kind of half-way house for the four and five per cents. in that journey downwards, which the right honourable gentleman seemed confidently to anticipate they would make at no very distant period. The right honourable gentleman entertained hopes, that at no distant day he might be able to induce the holders of four and five per cents. to transfer their stock to a fund bearing a lower interest; and the right honourable gentleman said, that if he had allowed the stocks to remain as hitherto, divided only into three, four, and five per cents. he should have found it difficult to effect his purpose; and that there having been hitherto only the three per cents. into which the four and five per cents. could be commuted, he had devised this new plan of a three and a half per cent. for the future accommodation of the holders of four and five per cents. The right honourable gentleman had declared, that the advantages of his new plan in this respect were as plain as possible; for that if a holder of five per cents. were required to commute his stock for a stock

stock bearing a lower interest, he would rather change it; he (Mr. Brougham) supposed the right honourable gentleman was about to say, for three and a half per cent. stock than for three per cent.; but no—he would rather change it for three and a half per cent. than for four! And the reason assigned by the right honourable gentleman was, that the holder of five per cents. thus at once commuting his stock for three and a half per cent. would feel confident that it would never be reduced lower. For his own part, if he had the good fortune to be a large holder of five per cent. stock, and if he were asked whether he would commute it for stock at four, or stock at three and a half per cent., he confessed that he should think the right honourable gentleman's argument, by which he would persuade him to prefer the three and a half per cent., very metaphysical.—He would beg to have the four per cent. stock in the first instance, and to talk about the three and a half at leisure—knowing at least this, that while he retained the four per cent. stock, he should be enjoying a half per cent. more than he would have done had he embraced the other branch of the alternative. But on what ground was any holder of five per cent. stock to entertain a confidence that if his stock were reduced to three and a half per cent. it would never be reduced still more?—The same cause, namely, the rise of the funds, which would give the chancellor of the exchequer the power of inducing the holder of five per cents. to accept of a similar amount of stock in the four per cents., might, if progressive, enable him to induce the holder

of stock in the three and a half per cent. to accept a similar amount of stock at a less interest. He was at a loss, therefore, to see what temptation there was to the holders of five per cents. (in the event of circumstances warranting any change) so take these three and a half per cents. in preference to four per cents.; and if there was no such temptation, he wished to know with what public benefit this new and grand financial plan was pregnant: He could not close the few observations which he had taken the liberty to make on this subject, without entering his solemn protest against one part of the right honourable gentleman's budget. He meant that by which it was again proposed to raise a sum comparatively paltry and contemptible, by way of lottery. He begged the committee to remark, in addition to all the objections that had so long existed to this way of raising money, a peculiarity in the present instance—a gross and palpable inconsistency in the two parts of the budget, the expenses, and the ways and means.—When his honourable friend the member for Worcestershire so forcibly argued the abandonment of the lottery, the right honourable gentleman had not a word to say in reply. His answer was a mere subterfuge to enable him to escape from the effect of his honourable friend's observations, and to cling to this favourite mode of finance. The right honourable gentleman admitted that it was liable to all the objections which had been adduced against it by his honourable friend; he did not deny its immoral and pernicious tendency; but all that he urged was, government

ment could not afford to give it up, and thus to do what his conscience told him ought to be done, from a due regard to the morals and happiness of the community. Now however, while still clinging to this method of raising money, there was to be found in the same budget, in which it was again brought forward, an item of 400,000*l.* to be paid to the Spanish government for the relinquishment of the slave trade, as a fit sacrifice to that justice and morality which, by the grossest inconsistency, the proposition of raising a sum of money by way of lottery tended to trample under foot. Did he (Mr. Brougham) object to this grant of 400,000*l.* for the purpose he had mentioned? By no means. He had stood by the right honourable gentleman when he made the proposition to the house. He had answered those honourable members on his side of the house who objected to the proposition. He had contended that it was money well bestowed, for that it was bestowed on higher than financial grounds. But then, on the same principle, he objected to this proposition for raising money by lottery;—he objected to it on higher than financial grounds. He could not conclude the desultory observations with which he had troubled the committee, without entering his protest against this proposition; for although he knew that there were other honourable members who would do so with greater effect, he could not allow the first opportunity of contending against the continuance of so base a resource to pass, without availing himself of it.

Mr. Grenfell declared that he

looked with dismay on the probable result of this plan of finance. He had more than once communicated privately to the right honourable gentleman his opinion, that he was making a most extravagant bargain for the public. By this scheme the three millions of money to be raised would cost the country an interest of four and a half per cent.; for the right honourable gentleman proposed to give an annuity of 3*l.* for every 60*l.* which he borrowed. The rate at which exchequer bills were to be funded indicated the same extravagance. If exchequer bills could be funded at 79, why might not a direct loan be negotiated on the same terms? The only advantage was the contingent and doubtful prospect of saving 600,000*l.* by inducing, at the end of nineteen years, the holders of the three and a half per cents. to exchange their stock for three per cent. But if the five and four per cents. should be converted in the mean time, the three and a half would evidently afford no advantage whatever to the public. In conclusion, he would say one word respecting the opinion which the right honourable gentleman had given to the subscribers to fund exchequer bills to double the amount of the money subscribed by them, and to receive for every 100*l.* of exchequer bills subscribed, 64*l.* 3 per cent. consolidated, and 64*l.* 3 per cent. reduced annuities, provided such option is declared by the subscribers on or before the 2d day of May. Now he was decidedly of opinion that if the stocks got beyond 79, the subscribers would be disposed to fund; but if they fell to 75, they would have nothing

nothing to do with the right honourable gentleman or his exchequer bills.

Mr. Maberly said, that part of the bargain which gave an option to the subscribers he considered bad, as it might leave the subscriber to fund or not. He would take the liberty of asking the right honourable gentleman what was the amount of the deficiency of the consolidated fund for this year.

The chancellor of the exchequer would avail himself of this opportunity to say a few words in reply to some of the observations of the honourable member who had just sat down, and of the honourable gentleman who had preceded him. The one had stated, that there was a deficiency to be provided for of 14,000,000*l.*; but it must be remembered that a very considerable part of that sum arose from extraordinary charges, and which had been growing from the increase of the unfunded debt. Under that head the charge for the last year was 1,600,000*l.* Next year, we might confidently expect that the amount of exchequer bills would not exceed 40,000,000*l.* instead of 60,000,000*l.* and then the charge would be reduced 900,000*l.* As to the deficiency of the consolidated fund in the last year, he begged to inform the honourable member that it was something less than 2,000,000*l.*

Mr. F. Lewis said, we had nominally a sinking fund at four per cent., but in reality we had no such fund. We were paying off a debt at 3*l.* 10*s.* when for the loan which we borrowed we paid at the rate of 4*l.* 10*s.* We borrowed on exchequer bills at a different rate from that in which we paid off in

the funds. The sinking fund, he repeated, was merely nominal, but he really believed that the time was not far distant when an efficient sinking fund would be put in operation.

Sir J. Newport asked, whether it was in the contemplation of the right honourable gentleman, that all the three per cents. which were to be created were to be entitled to the same guard against reduction?

Mr. Huskisson said, all the security given for the stock now to be created was, that for ten years the interest on it should not be reduced, nor the principal deemed.

Mr. Lyttleton opposed that part of the plan which related to lotteries, and said it was totally at variance with morality and religion; and if no one more able came forward, he should feel it his duty to submit a motion on the subject.

Mr. Grenfell wished to know from the chancellor of the exchequer whether, if the 3 per cents. were at 80, and 3*½* at 91, he would advise the commissioners for the reduction of the national debt to purchase in the former or the latter?

The chancellor of the exchequer said, he should, under such circumstances, suggest for this and the next year, the purchase in the latter, though not to make the purchases exclusive.

Mr. Grenfell said, that for every loan there had been a fee paid to the bank for receiving deposits of about 800*l.* per million. Upon the last loan raised, that fee amounted to no less than forty thousand pounds. He wished to ask whether any such charge would be made on the present loan, or whether

whether it would be made on the 3,000,000*l.*, or on the whole 30,000,000*l.*

The chancellor of the exchequer said, that the charge was to be made on the three millions cash.

Mr. Grenfell said, as a charge was to be made, he should oppose it in every stage.

Mr. R. Shaw moved to refer all the petitions presented from Dublin and other parts of Ireland, praying for a repeal of the window tax, to a committee. A collector under this tax might demand entrance into any room, in any house, at any hour of the night; or in case of refusal, a penalty of 20*l.* attached to the party refusing. In the absence of a family he may break open the doors, and seize and sell the furniture to pay his demand. This is a grievous mode of enforcing payment. By taking off the tax, the empire would not lose more than 800,000*l.* a sum of little consequence to the revenue. A falling off in the collection of the tax had taken place in the last two years, to the amount of 80,000*l.* He hoped, as the people of England had gained 14,000,000*l.* a year, by the reduction of the property tax, the house would not refuse to the suffering people of Ireland so small a sum as 300,000*l.*

The chancellor of the exchequer objected to this call on the liberality of government. The tax could not be repealed, as it had been subsequently pledged for various loans contracted for the service of Ireland. The public creditor, if the tax was repealed, would be injured by the repeal. At the time of the consolidation of the two exchequers, the debt of Ireland

amounted to six and a half millions. The revenue fell short of four and a half millions—so that the deficiency was about two millions, which bore hard upon England. He admitted that the burthens on the people had been increased from necessity, with a rapidity which ill suited with their capacity to bear. Some relief from the pressure of the tax, however, might be afforded, namely, to ease them from the burthen to the extent of about twenty-five per cent. This would be applicable to particular cases. The commercial prospects were reviving, and he thought the mode he had just proposed for relief was preferable to appointing a committee, which, if it gave any, would only be distant.

Mr. Plunket was of opinion, that the moderation shown by the honourable mover had not been met with similar attention. He maintained that the tax was laid on merely as a war-tax; and therefore, in good faith, it ought to be repealed. The right honourable gentleman had talked of taking off twenty-five per cent. and of his keeping faith with the public creditor. This might be all very well, but it seemed, by his taking off twenty-five per cent. he at least had resolved to deprive the public creditor of one-fourth of the faith to which he was entitled.

Mr. Peel assured the house, that no man would experience more happiness than himself if any relief could be given to a country which had already contributed and suffered so much. In this country many taxes were imposed as war-taxes only, but which are now continued; because the necessities of the state required their con-

continuance. There was one objection to the tax, which, if founded on solid grounds, would bear more weight than any other for repealing it; that is, if the tax had occasioned the increase of fever. Apprehensive of the ill consequences of continuing the windows closed, he (Mr. P.) had issued an order for opening them, addressed to the different inspectors, authorizing them to allow the opening, upon a certificate of any medical man that it was necessary. The consequence of this order was, that only seven applications were made throughout the kingdom. It therefore was evident that the tax did not operate to increase the contagious fever. In Ireland, houses having less than seven windows are exempt from taxation; but it is not so in England, for houses here having six windows were subject to the tax. Much had been said about the remission of taxes, but he was bound to say, that his right honourable friend had gone to the utmost in relieving the pressure on all ranks; beyond that he could not go.

Mr. Grattan thought the circumstance which appeared on the face of the returns now before the house, namely, that the tax had declined greatly in its produce, formed one argument in favour of its repeal. He was persuaded the result of the inquiry of that committee would be, that Ireland might be relieved, without injury to England; and under this persuasion he should vote for the committee.

After some remarks from Mr. Parnell, Mr. May, Mr. W. Smith, Mr. P. Moore, and Mr. Calcraft, when Mr. Shaw replied, the gal-

lery was cleared for a division.—For the motion 51.;—Against it 67;—Majority against the motion 16.

Mr. Best (from the bank of England) brought up an account of the number of persons prosecuted for forgeries of bank notes.

Sir James Mackintosh then proceeded to make his promised motion. In addition to the papers now before the house, he should have to move for an account of the expenses incurred by the bank for prosecutions for forgery, which he understood would be opposed, as interfering with the private transactions of the bank. On the contrary, he contended, that in consequence of the restriction on cash payments, this was by no means a motion of a private nature. He then went into an argument, to show the necessity for the production of this paper, from the fact that the suspension of cash payments had multiplied crime. For fourteen years before the suspension, there were four prosecutions by the bank, and for the fourteen years after the suspension there were four hundred and sixty-nine such prosecutions. The enormous increase of forgery was solely caused by the increase of the issue of small notes from the bank, which rose after the suspension of cash payments from one million and a half to seven millions and a half. To the confusion of those who were advocates of capital punishments, forgery had increased though hardly ever pardoned, while highway robbery decreased, though frequently pardoned. The bill to regulate the issue of country bank notes, by diminishing the issue of small country

country notes, that were seldom or ever forged, would increase the issue of bank of England small notes, which were frequently forged. To the credit of the bank of England, their machinery was admirable for the protection of its own interests, but not for the public; because, according to the bank returns, in four years, upwards of 100,000*l.* of forged notes were detected when paid into the bank. Forgery of bank paper required persons to execute above the lower order; and it was to be lamented that women, above all others, should be induced to the commission of a crime like forgery, which required no force to execute; especially when it was considered that the forms of society shut them almost entirely out from the exercise of virtuous industry. The method of allowing persons to plead guilty of having forged notes in their possession, which subjected them to transportation, was an increase of the temptation to commit forgery. But if this remission for the punishment of death for forgery had not taken place, the whole system would have sunk in the general indignation and execration. When he knew the fate of his present motion, it was his intention to move for a secret committee to inquire into the affairs of the bank as connected with forgeries. He then moved for an account of the nominal value of forged bank notes presented to the bank from 1816 to 1818; and an account of the sums expended by the bank for prosecutions for forgeries during the same period.

Mr. Manning said, it was one of the most painful duties of the bank directors to be obliged to prose-

cute for forgeries. He concluded, that if the prosecutions by the bank had increased since 1797, the prosecutions by the mint had decreased in a still greater degree. Since he had had a seat in the bank direction, no plan of security for the public from forgery had been refused an immediate and ample investigation; and if the bank had not adopted any of them, it was from a sincere conviction that they would be of no advantage to the public. He objected to no part of the honourable gentleman's motion, but that which called for an account of the sums expended by the bank in prosecutions, which were sums expended by them in their corporate capacity; and he might as well call for any other part of their private expenditure.

Sir C. Morgan, Mr. Grenfell, Mr. Benzet, and several other members; made some observations; and Sir J. Mackintosh replied.

The motions were then agreed to.

The report of the committee of ways and means was brought up, resolutions of finance agreed to, and bills ordered on some of them.

April 22. Sir J. Newport brought forward his motion for a committee to inquire into the state of Ireland, and particularly into the progress of the contagious fever there, the causes of it, and the means taken to prevent it. The population amounted to six millions; and where the happiness of so many was concerned, his purpose must attract diligent attention. In villages, towns, and cities, hundreds and thousands had been sent to the hospitals; and he felt assured, that the great cause of the calamity

would be traced to the want of employment in productive labour. The first object of the committee ought to be the case of the diseased, and the next to provide labour for the unemployed; and the remedy ought to be, not of a temporary but of a permanent character. The local funds, he conceived, would be sufficient; and he did not mean to apply for any public grants. He was happy to bear testimony to the activity of government, in its endeavours to put an end to this pressing and general calamity. The honourable member concluded with moving for a select committee.

Mr. Peel seconded the proposition, concurring fully in the propriety of it; and he should himself have deemed it to be his duty to submit the same motion, had it not been brought forward by the right honourable baronet. When the fever began to show its great malignity, he directed the most ample inquiries to be made with regard to it, and the evil was traced to the excessive poverty of the people, and the consequent deficiency and bad quality of the food. The spreading of the disease was ascribed to two circumstances—the number of wandering beggars, and the practice of assembling in great crowds at funerals. Such was the hospitality of the people, and such their relish for ancient customs, that neither entreaty nor reasoning could induce the lower orders to shut their doors against wanderers in distress, or to avoid paying the usual respect at funeral ceremonies. He had, however, every ground to hope that the fever had considerably abated; and he formed this opinion on the diminished numbers of patients

and deaths. He was glad that the committee would not be required to examine into the state of the unemployed poor. He feared that artificial labour would only postpone the evil day, if it did not indeed increase the calamity.

Mr. Bennet thought the inquiry ought to be extended to London, as no fever hospital was established here. Whoever had seen the hospitals of Paris and Vienna would be satisfied that England had much yet to learn in the cause of afflicted humanity.

Mr. Wilberforce and sir S. Romilly thought the fever in this metropolis a fit subject for inquiry; but that it ought to be referred to a separate committee, with which sir J. Newport concurred.

The select committee, conformably with the motion of sir John Newport, was subsequently agreed to.

Sir Samuel Romilly stated, that the object of his present motion (cruelty to slaves in Dominica) was to bring a subject to which his attention had been called, and in which the feelings of humanity were interested, in an authentic manner before the house. Should he be incorrect in any part of his statement, he protested against being subjected hereafter to the imputation which the house had heard that night of having dealt in inflammatory or calumnious language. He had used every endeavour to be fully informed, and he believed the facts which he had to communicate were true. He had first to advert to the conduct of a grand jury in the island of Dominica. The duty of a grand jury was not to enter into a comparative consideration of evidence, but, if the
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indictment was supported, to send it to be tried before a proper tribunal.—In the spring of the year 1817 certain slaves were tried for an offence, of which, had they been convicted, the punishment would have been 39 stripes with a cart whip. These men were acquitted. But, after being acquitted, the master of the slaves took them out in the market-place, and had the punishment inflicted. Struck with this flagrant violation of law, his majesty's attorney-general preferred an indictment against the master, which the grand jury threw out.—That evidence in support of the indictment was produced he had a right to assume, from the fact of there being ten jurymen for finding the bill, and twelve against it. The second instance of this extraordinary conduct on the part of the grand jury was in the case of another master of slaves, against whom an indictment was preferred for brutal treatment to a female slave, by which her arm was broken. This bill they also threw out: but, not satisfied with this denial of justice, they went entirely out of their province, by presenting as a public nuisance the preferring of bills of indictment against masters for inflicting punishment on their own slaves, from whence they alleged the most dangerous consequences must follow. The attorney-general being thus convinced that he could not satisfy the ends of public justice by the ordinary proceeding by indictment, felt it his duty, in the prosecution of another outrage of a master against his slave, to proceed by an *ex officio* information. What, he would ask,

must be the state of that country, where the protection that the interposition of a grand jury afforded to the subject was become a hardship of the severest kind, and where, from the perverted feelings of its society, that which in this country was viewed as an invidious exertion of power—namely, the information of the attorney-general, became a defence to the aggrieved?—The grand jury made a second presentment to the same effect as that which he had already described, although it was not recorded. He was really sorry to disturb the disposition which appeared to exist in a part of the house to speak well of West India legislation; but of what use were laws, however benevolent in their principle, if not carried into execution? It was well known, that it was the universal and declared opinion in the West Indies, that nothing could be more improper than to interfere between master and slave, and that any such interference must always be attended with the most dangerous consequences, exciting a disposition in the slaves to revolt; the result of which doctrine was, that the master should have an uncontrollable power over the slaves. In the island of Dominica there was a public chain, to which the masters had a right to send any of their slaves, who, they conceived, deserved punishment, in order that they might endure the severest labour for any time that the masters chose. He was informed that even female slaves of the most tender age were frequently subjected to this suffering.—It was held in the West Indies, that although the royal mercy might be extended to slaves guilty of crimes

against the public, it could not be extended to those who were thus subjected to punishment by their masters. Sometimes above a hundred of these unfortunate creatures were attached to the same chain, just at a sufficient distance from one another to enable them to walk and work. They were driven out into the plantations in this mass, without regard to sex, age, or strength, and the most distressing scenes were frequently occasioned in consequence. And yet the right on the part of the crown to extend mercy to these miserable wretches was denied.—Another great grievance in the island of Dominica respected the difficulty in the manumission of slaves. No person was at liberty to manumit a slave in Dominica, without paying a tax of 15*l.* if the slave was a native of the colony, and of 35*l.*, if he was not. By an act of June 1810, no person of colour coming from other islands was entitled to be considered free, except on producing a certificate of freedom, and on paying a certain tax. The principle of our constitution was, that a slave touching our shores became free. The principle of the practice in Dominica was, that a free person touching its shores became a slave, unless he produced a certificate of former freedom, and paid a fine for his liberty. By another law of the colony, a person of colour might be taken up in Dominica, on the presumption that he was a slave, and if he was not claimed by his master in a certain time he was sold for the benefit of the public!—What did general Prevost, when he was governor of Dominica, say in his answer to the circular letter address-

ed by government to the governors of all the colonies, to ascertain the state and condition of the slaves?—In that answer, dated the 1st of January 1805, and addressed to lord Camden, president of the council, general Prevost said: “An act has passed the general assembly for bettering the condition of the slaves: but it seems to be rather a political measure, for the purpose of averting the interference of the mother country in the management of slaves.” It was an imperative duty on the mother country to assume this right of interference. Let it be recollected that those unhappy individuals, although slaves to their masters, were subjects to the king; and that as they owed allegiance to the king, so from the king they had a right to claim protection. He would state a single case which had been communicated to him, in order to show the necessity of the interference that he urged. It was the case of the same Mr. Huggins, whose cruelty had formerly been the subject of parliamentary consideration, at which period it was spoken of with great detestation by the right honourable gentleman opposite. This Mr. Huggins, notwithstanding his conduct, was still a man of great opulence and weight in the island of Nevis.—The house were aware that he had been tried for cruelty to his own slaves. He had lately been brought to trial again for cruelty to slaves not his own. A Mr. Cottle, who quitted his plantation for a time, left it in the charge of Mr. Huggins, as his attorney. Mr. Huggins went to the plantation, and by his own authority, and without the interference of any magistrate, ordered

two very young lads, who had been guilty of receiving some stolen stockings, to be punished by the infliction of a hundred lashes on each, although by the law of the colony thirty-nine lashes was the utmost that was permitted to be inflicted at a time. He stated these facts from accurate notes taken on the trial. There were present when these boys were so punished two female slaves, the one a sister of one of them, the other a relation, who was a domestic slave of Mr. Cottle's, and who had always been treated with the utmost kindness and tenderness by that gentleman. These female slaves, unable to restrain their feelings, shed tears, and for that offence alone of shedding tears, Mr. Huggins ordered that they should receive, the one thirty lashes, the other twenty. For this conduct Mr. Huggins was prosecuted by the attorney-general. The facts were established; he was acquitted, and it was declared to be a most odious interference on the part of the attorney-general!—The honourable and learned gentleman concluded by moving, "That an humble address be presented to his royal highness the prince regent, praying that he would be graciously pleased to order that there be laid before the house copies or extracts of all dispatches, letters, and papers, in the office of the secretary of state for the colonial department, which related to the trials of Jean Baptiste Louis Petit, Cavigry Lemar, and Christopher Robert, against whom bills of indictment had been preferred by the attorney-general of the island of Dominica; as also the grand jury presentment in that colony

of the 4th of February 1817, as well as any subsequent grand jury presentments relative to prosecutions for cruelty to slaves; as also any documents relative to the power of masters to order their slaves to hard labour at the public chain, and to the right of the government to remit the punishment of such slaves."

Mr. Goulburn said, that in such a case as that before them, the house could not come to any decision without having fairly before them the whole of the evidence. He hoped the house would do him the credit to believe, that he would not stand forward to defend any criminal, or to palliate any cruelty. The best means of exposing the one, and of preventing the other, was to lay full information before parliament, to keep a watchful eye on the transactions of our colonies, and to express an utter abhorrence of all cruel and unjust treatment, like that detailed by the honourable and learned gentleman, if the accounts of it were supported by proper evidence. He had no objection to produce the papers moved for, so far as he could; but he begged that the house would excuse the imperfect state in which it might be in his power to grant the requisite information.

Mr. A. Browne acquitted the learned mover of all intention to mislead; but he certainly had applied his talents to give a colouring to some of his statements, and particularly to the case of Nevis, which was not warranted. The circumstances were as follow:—A negro belonging to a person for whom Huggins acted as attorney, was concerned in a theft. Two others received the stolen goods.

goods. There was no doubt of their crime. He did not know what was the punishment ordered, but what was inflicted was so slight as not to prevent them from going to a negro masquerade the next day, where the one supported the character of Bonaparte, and the other that of the duke of Wellington. With respect to the women, they were not punished because they shed tears at the sufferings of their friends, but for being guilty of yells and cries to prevent that punishment. Huggins was acquitted by a jury, and the governor had written Huggins a letter, approving their decision.

Sir J. Mackintosh, in support of the motion before the house, observed, that the barbarities of Huggins had not once been denied by the honourable gentleman who spoke last, and he must therefore consider them as an undisputed truth. He had admitted the punishment of the boys for the guilt of theft, and of the women for sympathizing in their distress while suffering under the lash. The honourable gentleman had affirmed, that the tears of the women were not tears of sorrow, but yells; he (sir J. M.) might say, that they were yells of horror; but the honourable gentleman said that they were yells of obstinacy. How was the honourable gentleman enabled to distinguish with such minute nicety between these different species of sound? Undoubtedly they were violent expressions of emotion from persons who were spectators of a punishment inflicted on those who were dear to them. But the honourable gentleman said they were yells of obstinacy, were expressions of mutiny! How did he know that? Perhaps

this was the only instance in modern barbarity of spectators having been punished for a mere expression of sympathy. Never but once had it occurred even in Roman history; and he heard Mr. Pitt once repeat from Livy, on a melancholy occasion, as the highest aggravation of affliction, that, *ne gemitus quidem populi Romani fuit liber*. The honourable gentleman had added, that the governor of Nevis had written a letter expressing his approbation of Huggins's conduct. In what part of the performance of his duty had the governor done this? Were we to suppose that the governor had any connexion with this Huggins, that he could in any way communicate with one so polluted, so degraded, and so abhorred! Was it necessary to heal the wound that had been inflicted on this injured individual,—was it necessary to remove the stain on the spotless character, by giving a letter to shield him from the effects of public abhorrence?

Mr. A Browne explained. He had not put his own colouring upon the statement, but the colouring he had received from the information of others.

After some further conversation, the motion of sir S. Romilly was agreed to.

A motion was also agreed to, for copies of all letters, &c. relating to the case of Edward Huggins the elder, tried in May last, in Dominica for cruelty to slaves.

April 27.—The question that sir R. Peel's bill respecting cotton manufactories be referred to a committee having been put from the chair,

Lord Stanley said, had this bill been confined to the regulation of

of apprentices, he should not have had any objection to it; but as it went to interfere with free labour, he objected to it most strongly. The minimum of age would have little effect, as the manufacturers did not wish to employ persons of such tender years. But if these children were not employed, their parents could derive no benefit from their labour, and, consequently, their means of providing for their families must be considerably diminished. While the bill pretended to protect the health of the children, it would take away from them much of the wages that were necessary for its preservation; while it gave them time for instruction, it would deprive them of the means. It would offer a premium to mills in particular situations.—Mills worked by steam would have a great advantage over those worked by water. There were many instances in which it would be the ruin of labour. Under all circumstances, he should move, as an amendment, "That the house do resolve itself into the said committee this day four months."

Lord Lascelles said it ought to be considered whether that house was justified in regulating every branch of trade in the country, and ordering what degree of labour was to be endured by people in the different trades. If that measure should be passed, those who were peculiarly interested were bound to look to what was to come afterwards. It might be to discharge from those factories children under sixteen years of age, and then they would be thrown upon their parents, and upon the parishes. In that case,

it would not be bettering the condition of either the children or the parents. It was nonsense to say that the children would be improving themselves in the hours when they were not employed; the event would not be so. The time would be principally spent in idleness. If the children under sixteen were discharged, it might be asked, would that be a beneficial effect of the bill? The advantage would be thrown into the populous towns. And what, it might be asked, would be the effect on those factories out of the reach of population, where it was possible that, if they were obliged to submit to all the regulations imposed by the bill, they might not be able to go on at all? There were many mills obliged to wait for water till other mills had used it, which would not agree at all with the regulations of the bill. Out of sixteen factories in a small district of the county of York, fifteen were worked upon water. They ought not to proceed in the way they were doing, upon *ex parte* evidence.—His objections were to the principle; and he should be obliged to oppose the bill, unless it should be understood that it might go through the present stage, and afterwards be considered by a committee.

Mr. Peel said, there were peculiarities in the cotton trade which did not belong to any other, and those ought to be considered. There were some factories that contained not less than one thousand people, and those worked on an average fourteen, and in some fifteen hours *per diem*. From the nature of the trade, the least children and of the most weakly con-

editions worked the same number of hours that others did. The trade was carried on in a heated atmosphere. In some of the factories, in those of finer work, it was necessary that there should be a particular degree of moisture in the body, in order that the thread might adhere to it. The atmosphere was also, in some factories, polluted by small particles of the cotton flying about in it. In the majority, the temperature was extremely high, and such as must of necessity be prejudicial to the human body. It had been said, that *de minimis non curat lex*, that it was not worth while to legislate for a number comparatively small. In Manchester there were 11,600 children employed in the town. It was said that nothing was to be done for them, because it was an interference between parent and child. Every parent whose voice had been heard had said that they could not exercise a free discussion, and they wished them to legislate for them as they thought proper. The apprentice bill had been mentioned; but between children in a manufactory and apprentices there was a considerable difference. There was less interest for the boy in the factory than for the apprentice.

—There was no tie between the master and the child. If the children were overworked, the manufacturer went into the market for labour, and always could find a substitute for the labour of the child. It was proved by that fact, that in the interest of the master alone they had not sufficient security against the overworking of the child. In one manufactory, 374 children were

employed for 12, 13, 14, and 15 hours. In all Manchester, the number of children employed in cotton manufactories were, according to Mr. Sandford, 11,600. He implored the house to contemplate for a moment, such a number of children occupied at the uniform toil of cotton spinning for 15 hours out of every 24 hours of their existence, and to say whether such a system was to be longer endured. Every natural instinct was counteracted; every feeling and inclination natural to a child was thwarted and suppressed. There was a paper produced by Mr. Sandford, which affected his mind more than any speech or evidence on this subject. It was the return by the master of a Sunday school of the children attending his school, who were employed in manufactories. — He stated that they were “cleanly, orderly, and as healthy as other children, though they did not look so well.” This surely spoke to the heart of every member, who reflected upon the slow but wasting sickness that thus affected the looks, and sapped the foundation of permanent health. There was evidence brought forward to prove, that long-continued labour in cotton-mills was most salutary: according to this evidence, cotton-mills were among the most favoured spots on the face of the globe. He should expect from the honourable member who gave this fascinating description of the health of children employed in cotton manufactories, an amendment to establish cotton-mills for the purpose of promoting health. There was a cotton-mill in Glasgow, in which, according to this evidence,

evidence, 878 children were employed in 1811, 871 in 1812, and 891 in 1813. Among the 873 there were only three deaths; among the 871 two deaths; 891 two deaths. And, after this statement, he exclaims, Who is the man of practical experience that can say that a system so favourable to health can require any alteration on that ground? The average mortality in England and Wales was one in 50. In the year 1801 it was one in 44. When he should, on this account, express his surprise at the very different proportion of deaths in the cotton-mills at Glasgow, he was told that one in 50 was indeed the average mortality, but that there were some favoured spots where the proportion was much less. In Cardiganshire the mortality was only one in 74; in several other counties it was less than one in 50; in Gloucestershire it was one in 61; but even in Cardiganshire, the most favoured spot, in this respect, of England and Wales, the mortality was one in 74; while in Glasgow cotton-mills it was only one in 44. Mr. Thomas Warton had addressed an Ode to Health, and anxiously inquires in "what craggy cell" the Goddess of Health delights to dwell. He imagines many places as her favourite habitation; and concludes his ode by invoking her to bless his majesty. But the poet never imagined the real residence of the goddess was the cotton-mills of Messrs. Fithlay and Co.—He begged to press upon the house, in opposition to such delusive statements, the evidence of persons to whom no suspicion of interest could attach, and of those

whose interest was entirely in opposition to the bill. At a general meeting of master manufacturers in Ashton-under-Line, it was resolved, that it was absolutely necessary to limit the hours of labour. This was the opinion of practical experienced men. Let the hours fixed be 12 hours, 13 hours, or 14 hours, they all agreed in the necessity of some fixed limitation, and thus admitted the principle of the bill. If, then, to the evidence of medical men, of clergymen, of manufacturers, be added the feeling of every man, it surely was not too much to expect the limitation of labour to be 11 hours per day.

Mr. Phillips disclaimed any personal views or interested motives on this question. [The honourable gentleman endeavoured, at great length, to impeach the motives of the petitioners, and to prove the salubrity of cotton-manufactories.] The house, he said, ought to know that these petitions were obtained by disorderly workmen meeting at public-houses, and forming themselves into central committees. The purpose of those who petitioned for the bill was to reduce the hours in order to increase the wages of labour. But he besought the house to consider where they would stop if they interfered in the present instance. Every other class of manufacturers would come forward with their demands, and the regulation introduced in this case could not be refused in others.

Mr. W. Smith entered fully into the discussion of the principle of the bill, stated the reasons which called for some legislative enactment, detailed the evidence taken

taken by the committee in support of a measure like the present, produced the opinions of physicians against the present system pursued in cotton factories, answered the objections of the opponents of the bill, and gave the measure his warmest support.

Mr. Finlay regretted that the hours of labour were so long; but if they were shortened, the superiority of British manufactures on the continent would be at an end. He cautioned the house against being run away with by a mistaken feeling of humanity, of which the statute book afforded too many instances.

Mr. Robinson said, after a full and fair discussion he was decidedly in favour of the bill. One main fact operating upon his mind was, that in the cotton factories few men were found much beyond 40 years old, which showed distinctly that the employment was such as to be injurious to health and longevity.

A division was then called for, and the gallery was cleared accordingly. The numbers were—For the amendment 26;—Against it 91.

The chancellor of the exchequer moved the second reading of the 30 millions loan bill.

Mr. Grenfell said, he understood an agreement had been entered into between the right honourable gentleman and the bank, by which the bank were to receive 800*l.* upon each million of money deposited by the subscribers to the loan of 3,000,000*l.* and 400*l.* upon each million of exchequer bills. He wished to give notice, if this information was correct, that he should oppose this arrangement as an extravagant

grant, without any foundation in justice or equity, when the bill should come into the committee.

The chancellor of the exchequer agreed with the honourable gentleman that the committee was the proper stage for entertaining the motion contemplated by him. It related to a distinct clause, which might, if it should be the pleasure of the house, be struck out without prejudicing the other parts of the enactment.

Mr. Grenfell said, it was desirable that it should be clearly understood, whether the subscribers to the loan of 3,000,000*l.* would be at liberty to fund any part of their respective portions of exchequer bills, according to their own convenience, or whether no option was left but that of funding the whole or none.

The chancellor of the exchequer said the provisions of the bill were certainly intended to secure to every subscriber the option of funding either the whole or a part of the proportional amount of exchequer bills limited by the terms of the original contract.

Mr. Grenfell was anxious to obtain information from the right honourable gentleman on another topic relative to the loan. The time was at hand for paying in 15 per cent. on the new stock, and he understood that the bank refused to those who wished to transfer from the three per cents. the favour of so doing, unless in their own names. Now it was well known that many eminent merchants, and others, had large sums vested in the name of their bankers; and it was obvious, therefore, that this regulation on the part of the bank must be productive

ductive of much inconvenience. What he was desirous of ascertaining was, whether the right honourable gentleman intended to support the bank in their adherence to this regulation.

The chancellor of the exchequer said, the rule adopted by the bank was, he believed, to require either the actual signature of the proprietor, or a warrant of attorney. It appeared to him that this principle was quite regular, as the subject now presented itself; but it might be expedient in the committee to frame some provision with a view of meeting this difficulty.

General Thornton asked, whether it was intended to apply any part of the money voted for the erection of new churches to the enlargement of the old ones?

The chancellor of the exchequer stated, that it was not in contemplation to apply the public money to the enlargements suggested by the honourable general; but this object would be left to the judgement of voluntary subscribers, and to the resolutions of individual parishes.

Mr. Lyttleton rose to bring forward his motion on the subject of widows' pensions, and the late regulation adopted on this subject, under an order recently issued by the prince regent, by which it was declared, that from and after a time mentioned, no officer's widow, who at the time of her husband's death should be possessed of any other pension, or of an income triple the amount of the proposed pension, should be entitled to the pension. The pension list at present amounted to no more than ninety-eight thousand pounds; the pensions were

extremely low, the scale being to the widow of a general officer 120*l.*; to a colonel 80*l.*; to a captain 50; and to an ensign's widow 36*l.* a-year. Now, he would ask whether it was possible that a general officer's widow could live upon 360*l.* a-year; yet, if she possessed that sum, she was to forfeit her pension of 120*l.*; so with respect to those of a lower rank having incomes in proportion of three to one, as to the amount of the pensions appropriated to their rank, they were then to forfeit their pensions. And with regard to the unmarried officers, they had up to this time, particularly the officers of the engineer corps, been subscribers by stoppages. &c. to the widows' pension fund; yet though they had some of them been subscribing for years to this fund, but only recently married, they were by this regulation deprived of the benefit which they had hoped to secure to their wives in the event of their own deaths. Another act of injustice would arise out of this measure if made retrospective. It was well known that commissions were purchased; they had always, no doubt, been purchased with a reference to the widows' pensions, and would, by this measure, be reduced considerably in value. He knew, on good authority, that the announcement of this order had excited the greatest surprise in the army, surprise accompanied with a considerable degree of indignation and disappointment. It had been said by the noble lord, that this measure of regulating the widows' pensions had been recommended by the finance committee. He defied the noble lord to show

show any such recommendation; but even if such did exist, though he was ready to give the finance committee credit for pure motives, yet it must be recollected that they were friends of the noble lord, and that they would be anxious, as far as possible, in their measures of retrenchment, to meet the ideas of the treasury; and with that view, if they ever recommended this diminution of widows' pensions, they made it. The whole amount of our pension list at the end of an unexampled struggle, was 98,000*l*.—Now, let us adopt the reduction recommended by the noble lord: by that reduction perhaps a third of that sum would be saved, say 30,000*l*. or 30,000*l*.; and was it worth while to save this paltry sum at the expense of the comforts of a large body of helpless females, who had lost their dearest connexions in the service of the country, and at the risk of disgusting the army? Before the noble lord and the right honourable gentleman adopted this reduction, they ought to have reduced all useless expenditure, and to have shown a disposition to husband the public resources on all other occasions. Did the noble lord forget that the original sum proposed recently to have been granted to the royal dukes, had not the right honourable gentleman's intentions been frustrated by the stand made even by the Tories in the house, was greater in amount than the whole widows' pension list? This measure, if adopted, would prove inefficient and mischievous; and he was convinced it did not originate with, nor had it the support of his royal highness the illustri-

ous and deserving prince who is at the head of the army, but whose will and inclination he was persuaded ministers would on all occasions oppose, when their views of politics would permit them to do so. The honourable gentleman concluded by moving an humble address to the prince regent, recapitulating the chief points of his speech, and praying his royal highness to rescind his order for the reduction of widows' pensions, and for restricting the conferring them.

Colonel Dalrymple seconded the motion.—The first account he could find of the grant of pensions to officers' widows on the journals, was in the 21st of Charles I.; another grant was made on disbanding the army in 1647, so it had continued up to the present time. He had conversed with many officers, who had been several years in the army, some of them half a century; all these uniformly declared, that in entering the army, and through life, they had always solaced themselves with the idea, that in the event of their death in the service, their country would provide for their widows. It should also be recollected, that many officers purchased their commissions, that they expended all or the greater part of their property in doing so, and put it out of their power to make any provision for their widows. At the time of their death, their commissions again reverted to the country, and the pension paid to their widows was only a return of part of the purchase-money originally paid. The honourable member proceeded to state the different regulations which

which had been from time to time adopted with regard to widows' pensions.—The honourable gentleman contended, that the finance committee, so far from having recommended any reduction in the widows' pensions, had pointed out many other objects of reduction, which had been passed over.

Mr. J. Smith thought it would be most unjust to reduce the pensions of widows of officers.

Mr. F. Lewis thought that a regulation was called for in the distribution of pensions in the army and navy to widows of officers, since, as they had stood for some time, they had formed a subject of jealousy between the different services.

Lord Palmerston said, the regulation was not to attach to widows of officers married at the time this order was issued. The right of the crown to withhold pensions to officers' widows, where the widow had an income independent of it equal to her support, had always existed, and, though not very frequently exercised, yet officers knew that they served liable to its operation. This was no breach of faith; for, as it applied not to those already married, but only to single officers, these last would have to consider whether they would marry or not. A regulation similar to this proposed for the army had this day been adopted with respect to the navy. Now there was an established rule and limit laid down, and it did not in any way depend on the will of the immediate servants of the crown. It was an unpleasant and an ungracious task for him, and those who acted with him, to have to

reduce the pensions of unfortunate and deserving individuals; but the situation of the country, and the tone adopted by the house, particularly relating to the expenditure of the army, had forced ministers to do so.

Colonel Stanhope could not agree to making the officers' widows come, as it were, to sue in *forma pauperis* for this paltry allowance. It would be more becoming a great nation like this to give, as a national reward, a subsistence to the widows of officers of that army and navy on whose exertions the greatness of the country depended for support.

Mr. Croker entered into an explanation of the mode in which the pensions were paid in the navy. The fund from which they were paid, was formed by a contribution amongst the navy generally. In the crews of the ships of certain rates, in every hundred men rated, there was one man called a widow's man—a fictitious man.—This fictitious man was rated, and his pay went to the widows' fund. The army and navy were not in the same situation, because the army paid for their commissions, and the navy did not. He therefore thought no good would result from this address.

Mr. Calcraft thought it was most extraordinary that the house was answerable for a regulation emanating from the prince regent, and over which the house could have no control.

Mr. Wilberforce considered such an economy as this was both unjust and ill-timed.

The chancellor of the exchequer admitted, that this regulation

tion was a treasury one, making a part of a great system of economy—recommended by parliament. If it should be the pleasure of parliament that a still further liberality should be granted to the widows of officers, he could answer that the ministers of the crown would have much satisfaction in seconding it. At the same time he considered the address as too peremptory towards the crown. He therefore suggested the propriety of withdrawing it, as it would come better from the crown to amend its own regulation.

Mr. Lyttleton was willing to withdraw it, or to amend it, if the right honourable gentleman would engage to recommend to the crown to withdraw the regulation altogether.

The chancellor of the exchequer said, he would do so, understanding it to be the strong sense of the house that this regulation should be withdrawn.

The motion for the address was then withdrawn.

May 1.—Mr. Tierney rose, in pursuance of a notice he had previously given, with the view of calling the attention of the house to one of the most important subjects that had for a long period been brought under its consideration.—The real purpose of his motion was to ascertain the actual state of the currency, to make it known what the people of this country, and those of foreign countries who were connected with them, were trusting to as the means of carrying on their respective dealings. The mere statement of this object was sufficient to exhibit its magnitude. What seemed undeniable was, that we had a funded debt, to speak in round numbers, of 800,000,000/.,

and 40,000,000/ of unfunded, in this the third year of peace. The total amount of debt was therefore 840,000,000/.; as he apprehended, rather an appalling consideration.—But we were not, it was said, without some comfort in this unpromising state of affairs; we had a sinking fund of 14,000,000/., and this brought us round to the side of prosperity. Then again it occurred, that it was necessary to borrow the whole of this 14,000,000/., which replaced us in a situation of adversity. But another piece of comfort was discovered in the advantageous terms on which this 14,000,000/ had been borrowed. The next question, therefore, which presented itself was, ought a system of finance under such circumstances to be bottomed upon a paper currency not convertible into money? He believed very few even of the warmest admirers of the present system would venture to maintain such an opinion. The house must surely think that some extraordinary grounds ought to be laid for the continuance of a measure, the original justification of which was abandoned twelve years ago. Now, with regard to this new necessity, what was the showing of the chancellor of the exchequer? It was that certain British merchants were disposed to embark in foreign loans, and that a great many travellers were indulging their curiosity abroad. The whole of his financial arrangements proceeded on the basis of a paper currency; and with this consciousness on his mind, it was no disrespect to the right honourable gentleman to say, that he must necessarily be under a bias in forming his judgment upon the question now under consi-

consideration. The right honourable gentleman had pledged himself by his recent plan of finance, or conversion of stock, or loan, or by whatever name it might inaccurately be called (for there was no word in the English language descriptive of so complicated a transaction), to the continuance of the bank restriction. No man could believe that the subscription would have succeeded, but from a confidence entertained by those who were engaged in it, that such was the minister's intention. He now called the attention of the house to the act for continuing the restriction, which was passed two years ago, and which was a solemn undertaking on the part of the bank to resume cash payments on the 5th of July next. This act was deliberately passed for the security of the country;—and was the house prepared to set it aside, and break the faith thus pledged to the public creditor; for it amounted to nothing less? No explanation of the provisions of this bill had been given: nothing more was stated than the term of its duration. When the bill of 1816 was introduced for postponing the resumption two years longer, it was justified, on the ground of giving time to the bank to make such arrangements as in their discretion might be necessary, to guard against any possible inconvenience in re-commencing their cash payments. These words were inserted in the preamble, and a limited period named, in order to mark that the delay was granted for no other purpose than to enable the bank to make preparations for that event. What, then, must be the surprise of the house to learn that the preamble

of the bill now lying on the table was exactly the same as that of the former act? Neither the foreign loans nor the British travellers were here mentioned; the old ground was taken, although the bank directors stated, that they were perfectly ready and willing to pay immediately in money. If the negotiation of foreign loans was the true ground for continuing the system, why was it not so stated in the preamble? Had the bank directors been consulted in framing this preamble? because, if this was the case, he presumed nobody would deny the propriety of examining them before a committee, with regard to their alleged readiness and preparation for resuming their payments. If they were, in fact, ready, he did not conceive how they could refuse to support his motion. It was desirable to know whether they had ever made any representations to government on the subject of the foreign loans.—As he perceived no sign from the right honourable gentleman, he concluded they had not. Let the house look then at the situation in which they were placed. In 1797 the bank directors represented to Mr. Pitt, that the drains upon them were such as to threaten the safety of the house, as it was called. A dread of similar effects had led to the continuance of the restriction down to the year 1816. A postponement was then determined upon on grounds wholly distinct; and the right honourable gentleman last session declared his confident belief that cash payments would be resumed at the bank on the 5th of July of the present year. In this statement all the bank directors concurred,

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at least if he might judge by their countenances, the only means the house had of judging on such a point, for a more taciturn set of gentlemen were not often to be met with. Now, the complacency of manner with which they listened to this declaration proved either that they were of the same opinion, or that they were laughing at the right honourable gentleman, and wondered at the monstrous nonsense he was talking to the house. The right honourable gentleman must be assured that the French loan would never have been taken by an honourable friend of his (Mr. Baring), if it had been stated to him that government regarded it as a transaction which might prove prejudicial to the interests of this country. He had reason to believe that the right honourable gentleman was privy to the whole negotiation, which was in progress at the time when he made his promise that the bank, one of whose directors his honourable friend was, should re-commence their ordinary payments at the stipulated time. If, however, as he sometimes thought, the bank directors were laughing at the right honourable gentleman, that was a sufficient reason for not trusting to the right honourable gentleman's belief on a question of this nature. If the house, however, consulted its own character, and the mere decorum of its proceedings, it would not pass this measure under its present title.

If he were to stop here, he should think he had made out a sufficient case; but it might be expected of him that he should suggest what he would propose for inquiry, if the committee were to be appointed. This brought him to the con-

sideration of the foreign loans, and the cause of the present high price of gold. The first question which a committee would have to put related to the price of gold; and here he would ask the house, if it were satisfied that all which had emanated from the bullion committee should be set aside. Was it convinced that the price of gold had nothing to do with the quantity of paper in circulation? Now although it should be admitted that the bullion committee had not attended to all the circumstances which might influence the price of gold, he believed there was no intelligent man who did not believe that an excessive issue of paper must have a certain operation on it. It was therefore a proper object of inquiry, to discover what portion of the rise was to be attributed to the paper currency, and what to other causes. It was generally believed that the bank had a larger quantity of gold at present in its possession than at any former period, and to which it was supposed they trusted, in professing their readiness to pay in coin. Now, if a commodity which was affected in its price by the quantity of some other commodity might easily be thrown into the market, was it not obvious that this circumstance alone might produce a favourable change in the equalization of prices? Another circumstance deserving consideration was the difference between the value of the gold and silver currencies, under the new coinage. The proportion of value between the two currencies was, previous to the last coinage, as 15 and a fraction to 14 and a fraction. The difference now amounted to 5l. 18s. per cent. a difference which must

must enhance the price of gold; for until silver reached the price of 5s. 6d. per ounce, it could not be exported as equivalent to the gold. Was it too much to say then, that the true cause of the high price of gold could not be understood without a careful and accurate examination? If it should appear that this excess was owing to any other cause than to that of foreign loans, it was a circumstance that required the most mature consideration of the house. With respect to the question of loans, he should be glad to hear from the right honourable gentleman, whether, if it had been stated six months ago, that a number of British merchants had wished to purchase into the French stocks, he would have come down to the house and proposed the continuance of the restrictions.—And yet there was no difference whatever in these transactions. We knew that our government had interfered to protect persons who had transmitted money abroad for the purchase of foreign stocks: The temptations to these foreign loans were created by ministers themselves. The right honourable gentleman opposite had contrived to raise the stocks, and to lower the interest of money; and what could a man do better than invest it in foreign funds, where he would get higher interest than in this country? If this question was to depend on the negotiation of foreign loans, he would ask, where is it to end? But what was the real amount of these loans was another question, and very material to be ascertained. He understood that the loan for France for this year was 10,000,000*l.* sterling. To this was to be added a further

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sum for the indemnification of foreign governments and individuals, amounting to about 20,000,000*l.* sterling, which together would constitute an aggregate of 30,000,000*l.* What then was the probable amount that would be drawn from us?—And here he would ask, was he to understand, from the statement of the duke de Richelieu, that if the individual chose to receive the money due to him in stock, he might not be allowed to do so? He thought such a proposition would not be objected to; and, in that case, there would be no transmission of money whatever. At 78, they would receive as much stock as amounted to 100*l.*; there was one of the counteractions of the loan. The chancellor of the exchequer seemed to smile, but he (Mr. Tierney) thought it a question of consideration. Another question was, with respect to the payment of gold; it was a question, whether the proportion which England was to pay was to go in gold or not. To say that the whole of it was to be remitted in gold, was just as absurd as to say, that because you are to provide the foreign army with bread, it was to raise the price of flour, whereas part of the sum might be remitted in cotton. But he would add, that unless there was something in the air of this country which particularly affected gold, if gold went out of the country, it would come back again; and if that were the case, it was a sufficient reason that the bank should resume their payments in cash.—He would state, that the bank had 10,000,000*l.* in their coffers now, and they had made a saving of 21,000,000*l.* by us; and yet we were now to be

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told that the whole legislation was to be set aside on account of those foreign loans. These were points that ought to be inquired into. If the inquiry were granted, what would be the result? Why either that the bank is capable of resuming its payments, or that it is not. In the one case, a great good would be derived to the country; and, in the other, we should gain a great insight into our transactions abroad and at home, which would amply reward us for the inquiry. If gentlemen would not vote with him on these grounds, they must make up their minds that the bank will not pay at all: they might be assured that a similar measure for continuing the restriction would be brought in from year to year. In our present prospects, what was there to show, that in the next year the bank would not come forward under the same pretences? No man knew what was to come next year; but this he knew, that a great part of the fluctuation in the funds was owing to the uncertainty whether the bank restrictions were to be continued or not. Amongst the great speculators in the funds, he must rank the right honourable gentleman opposite. It was his object to see whether he could not keep up the circulation of notes; because, on so keeping up the circulation depended all his financial arrangements. The issues of paper, such as he had been deprecating, were unnecessary upon any scale whatever. He had held that the principle was to keep up the circulation by any means whatever; and he had been confirmed in that opinion by the measure lately proposed by the chancellor of the ex-

chequer; a measure which ought to alarm every man in the country. The system was not to allow a man to have his own credit in his own way; to that they said, no man had a right to issue 1*l.* and 2*l.* bank notes, unless he gave a certain security for them. There were two principles to which he would next call the attention of the house; the first was, that they should receive 1*l.* and 2*l.* bank notes, whether the bank paid in specie or not; the second, that the way should be prepared for the circulation of government paper. On the first, whether or no there ought to be 1*l.* or 2*l.* notes, there was serious matter of inquiry.—The decision should be the result of a calm and deliberate investigation. The next question was the circulation of government paper. What would be the consequence if that should take place? This principle had been proposed, that no country banker should issue notes if they should be for 1*l.* or 2*l.* without depositing double the amount in stock with government, or depositing the amount in some other security; and after that, he was to have a government stamp on the bill, as a security. Now, if one of these were brought to him, how should he receive it? He would not inquire whether it came from Exeter or Doncaster, or where the note belonged to, but would say, "Oh, this is all right, it has the government stamp on it!" It would be government paper to all intents and purposes, and was, in his mind, for nothing else than to pave the way for a larger circulation of government paper.—The result must inevitably be, that the government will take into their own hands the issue of country

country paper; for they will naturally say, "Why should we take this trouble and pains to put profit, such as it may be, in the hands of country bankers, while we have the means of keeping it, by a similar system, in our pockets?"—[Here the chancellor of the exchequer shook his head.]—The right honourable gentleman shakes his head, but he had two ways of shaking it, one was when he thought he could silence an opponent by shaking it, and another, when he despaired of being able to carry a favourite measure. He was really most anxious to see the result of the schemes that had been proposed. Any amount of notes might be stamped by only paying so much for the license, and that would be granted as a matter of course. Any man might issue notes in such a manner; and if the means of circulation were so given, no man could say where would have ended the consequences that might have followed from the introduction of the practice. The best manner in which a committee could employ itself would be, to consider whether any means could be devised by which the resumption could be brought about, and to settle some limit respecting the paper circulation, so as to facilitate it. But then the right honourable gentleman said, what could they complain of, when the 5 per cents were to be reduced to 3½? He thought it highly improper that the market should be raised by such artificial means. Let the house only examine how the plan operated. The government stated they had raised the stocks, and they had raised them, in between six and seven months, to from 25 to 30 per cent. Who

were to profit by that? The great capitalists who had the command of money. There were persons, however, who had money in the fives, people who were holders of trust money, and others, who saw all the opportunities of profit passing by without having the power of availing themselves of the advantage. It had been often a subject of congratulation, the facility with which money could be borrowed. It was true; there were some good results of the system; there were the bridges and roads, &c.; these remained. These were the results of borrowing; but when they had to pay the money, if they could not make it a permanency, see how they were entangled. There was nothing more easy than for a man to get money upon his estate; but when the evil day came, what he had at 10, he would perhaps find himself obliged to pay 12 or 15 for. He appealed to every man of business whether that was not a system that ought to be abolished as soon as possible. He trusted that members would not vote till they had considered the subject with the greatest attention; for the character of the country was at stake. All the established principles that regulated the world were set at nought. The principle seemed to be, for those concerned, how to get profit for themselves, and the whole system was a delusion, from one end to the other. The whole attention of all the other powers of Europe seemed to be directed to their finances, as might be seen by the foreign newspapers. Let the house examine those nations. They would see them all endeavouring to avail themselves of a period of peace, all attempting to form some regulations for their finances; we were

the only country that had made no attempt to arrange our permanent financial measures at all. The matter was important, and it was such as ought to be set at rest. If it was to be a part of the permanent measures of the country, let them say so, and all foreign countries would know how to conduct themselves with regard to England. If it was to be yearly, let the bill be passed, and renewed from year to year; but let it not be thought that while that course continued, they could set the country at rest on it. It was their duty in time of peace to provide for war. Cash payments might perhaps be resumed; but if a war found them with their debt unpaid, and their cash payments unresumed, there was an end to the British empire that day.—It was impossible, under such circumstances, that the country could be prepared for war; but they encouraged attack. France, which had so often been stated by the noble lord to be in so wretched a condition, France rose from her troubles, had a new government, had her budgets, and her communications, and she was in a prosperous situation; but we had a chancellor of the exchequer, who came to borrow a sum of three millions, and to ask the house to continue the bank restriction act, because there were to be foreign loans. Was it not a great misfortune and disgrace, that there should be such loans, that men should send their money abroad? Did it not show greater confidence in the security of foreign funds?—From the information they obtained, they said that France sifted her finances, that she exposed her finances, that she showed her resources; and a man might say in France, two and

two make four. I will go to that country with my money. If he or any member had prophesied the present transactions twenty-one years ago in that house, he would have been laughed at. That a chancellor of the exchequer, not of the greatest authority in the world in matters of finance, should say that there were merchants seeking for loans abroad, and that he should by that means induce the representatives of so great a people to reverse at once every principle of political economy, was certainly an object of admiration. They might as well have it said at once that they would live upon paper notes convertible into money. He did not know what would be the result of the committee, but at all events it would rescue the character of the country.

The right honourable gentleman then moved, that a committee should be appointed to take into consideration the circulation of the country, and to inquire whether any and what restriction was necessary on the bank's payment of their promissory notes in specie.

After the motion had been read from the chair,

The chancellor of the exchequer felt great satisfaction since he had before spoken on the present subject; for since that time, what he had had occasion to state had occurred, and he should now address the house, and call upon them, not on conjecture, but on what had actually taken place. He was of opinion, that a committee would be of no advantage whatever. If the committee were to sit, they would leave the house in greater uncertainty than they were in before. The right honourable gentleman had taken it in the last half

half year that there was an excess of bank notes in circulation. He failed there from one fact—that he had taken his data from the public sums, but not completely. Besides, he had omitted one of the most important parts of the question, the internal trade and transactions of the country. The foreign trade had increased about 6,000,000*l.* aggregate imports and exports, and the internal trade had increased in a much larger proportion. In 1816 the trade had not been so good; but it would be difficult to point out a greater revival than in 1817. There was one thing likewise which it was of the greatest importance to observe. The issue of country banks had increased, because the general trade of the country had increased. Therefore it was that the call had been for larger issues, and considerable change had taken place with respect to credit. A considerable sum had been mentioned as having been amassed by the bank, but that was accompanied by a corresponding currency of their own notes. He had the satisfaction of knowing that the advance in government paper had not increased. The difference in value between the silver and gold currency had come under consideration. The difference in value in the new silver currency he had considered was 6 per cent. The new silver currency, however, being much superior to what was in circulation, was 20 or 25 per cent. better than what the actual currency was. In the great amount of foreign loans, the great military transactions and other transactions were to be considered. To return to the question of the bank, the issue of

bank notes in January 1816 was 26,300,000*l.* in 1815, at the same period, 23,600,000*l.* In that year gold had been 5*l.* 10*s.* per ounce; but in the next year there was 1*l.* 4*s.* difference. The right honourable gentleman had said, that as foreign loans were the grounds for continuing the restriction this year, they might always afford ground for continuing the restriction at all times; there were foreign loans last year; there might be foreign loans next year.—This was very just, if the same state of things were always to continue; but he rested the necessity of the measure entirely on the extraordinary state of things throughout Europe. In 1817, France negotiated a loan of 12 millions. This year there were two loans negotiated of 320 millions each, and a third loan of 480 millions, in all 1120 millions, which was 45 millions sterling in stock, equal to 30 millions of actual money. Of this, 16 millions had been required for the liquidation of extraordinary claims upon the French government. There was a capital of 24 millions for similar claims. There was thus only 5 millions beyond the extraordinary circumstances in which France was placed. He did not pretend to say how much of the claims against France might be remitted, nor did he know what those were which had been already remitted. He had no precise means of knowing any thing on the subject. But he did not believe that France would in future have occasion for such loans. The bank directors had, it was true, given it as their deliberate opinion to Mr. Pitt, as the criterion of their judgement, and the rule of his conduct, that an-
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other loan would be fatal to the country, when the first loan had been only 3,000,000*l.*—It was sufficient to say that Mr. Pitt disregarded this opinion.—None could have more respect for Mr. Pitt's opinions than those who now occupied his place, and imitated his conduct; and he would leave it to the house and to the country to judge in whose hands the finances of the country could more safely be trusted—in theirs who always admired and adopted his principles, or in those who uniformly vilified his measures.—He allowed that there was ground of alarm if the bank were unable to resume cash payments, and this was certainly implied in the preamble of the bill. But the preamble originated in mistake.—Some alteration of that preamble was required, and he should see that the alteration should be made. He admitted that, as at present drawn, it cast a most unfounded reflection upon the bank. It at present said that the restriction must be continued, in order to enable the bank to resume payment, which was perfectly false, although that had been formerly true. The bank had made all possible preparations for resuming payment. The right honourable gentleman had asked what inconvenience could arise from the resumption of payment one year earlier? He could put the question the other way—What inconvenience could arise from continuing the restriction another year? Neither the house nor a committee could see, at present, whether by possibility a further restriction might not be necessary.—The foreign operations which required such large loans this year would be closed in another, and were of a nature that

could not occur again. Whether France could obtain a similar loan next year, he would leave to the judgement of any man acquainted with these matters. Was it not, he would ask, reasonable to suppose, that the great efforts made this year had proceeded from their anxiety to have the army of occupation removed? They professed that no loan would have been necessary for the ordinary and current expenses of the government. He therefore believed that France would not again require a similar loan. The right honourable gentleman had spoken at some length of the bill which he had postponed yesterday. He had called in question the right of calling for security from bankers for the circulation of their notes. The government had such a right in all cases of circulating the currency of the realm; but they had the right particularly to do so in cases of coining, which was the highest power of the kind that could be intrusted. If any man were allowed to coin to any extent, in what state would the country be? The first principle of the measure was to limit the circulation of 1*l.* and 2*l.* notes, at least without a security, that the poor should not suffer by their circulation. Another object was to give to the issues of country bankers the private convenience of a government paper, without the risk or inconvenience of being so. He had been asked by the right honourable gentleman whether he was not to have recourse to additional stock debentures. He never had entertained the idea for a moment. The proposition had been made to him, but he declared it wholly inexpedient. The right honour-

honourable gentleman had imputed blame to government for the rise of the funds. Some individuals might have felt inconvenience from this rise, but how many thousands had been benefited by it? The general improvement in industry, the diffusion of speculation and trade, the revival of the prosperity of the country, the diffusion of capital, all arose from the rise of the funds. He should now say one word upon a subject on which the right honourable gentleman had touched. He had asked what advances were made by the bank, and how they were to be reduced. He had now the satisfaction of stating, that the reduction of those advances could be carried as far as it was necessary for the public interest, and beyond the expectation of the bank. Sixteen millions had been reduced, and so much was thus withdrawn from the unfunded debt, or so far was the paper currency reduced. Since the peace there was no country in Europe whose finances had so much improved. In no other country had the national debt been reduced. In this country our national debt had been reduced 50,000,000*l.* since the peace. Our unfunded debt had indeed increased in the mean time; but at the end of this year we were altogether several millions less in debt than at the peace. In this country alone were taxes reduced; at least in no other country were they reduced to such an extent. In America the taxes were reduced 8,000,000*l.* of dollars, about 3,000,000*l.* sterling; but what was that to 17,000,000*l.* which we had reduced? Here he must remark, that the two countries were so united, that nothing but

injudicious and unwise measures could separate America from this country.—So far as any measure could ensure permanent amity, the Americans had used the most effectual means for ensuring the continuance of a friendly intercourse, by placing the whole of their revenue in the customs, which depended for security entirely on the continuance of peace. The ground then of this measure was simply this—the extraordinary situation of foreign countries and the extraordinary relations of this country with them, were such, that no man of experience on the subject could think it prudent or safe to pay in specie. The attempt had been partially made last October, and what was the consequence?—two millions and a half of the gold currency had disappeared. The exchange had been said to be unfavourable; but how much must have been issued to turn the scale in our favour in a loan of 30,000,000*l.*? On the one side there were, then, evils of a most formidable nature to be apprehended. What inconvenience on the other side could arise from continuing the restriction? It was only the inconvenience of continuing for one year longer a state of things under which this country had enjoyed the highest prosperity, but a state of things which could not be permanently continued, because it might occasion danger on any sudden alarm. On the one side, then, there were great dangers and certain inconveniences; on the other, no inconvenience and fanciful apprehensions.—On these grounds he should oppose the motion to appoint a committee.

Lord Althorp thought it most
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extraordinary that on such a highly important and most complicated question resistance should be offered to inquiry.—As the right honourable gentleman was himself uncertain and wavering in his plans and views, he ought to be corrected or confirmed by the result of a parliamentary investigation.

Sir H. Parnell saw no reason for continuing the bank restrictions, from any injurious effect which might be apprehended from the negotiation of foreign loans on the state of the exchanges.

Mr. Charles Grant junior objected to the committee mainly on the ground that the subject was one of such infinite difficulty, that the house could not be assisted by the deliberations of a committee. On these grounds therefore he must oppose the motion altogether.

Mr. J. P. Grant did not believe that foreign loans affected the state of the currency at all. The whole subject was of the last importance, and demanded serious inquiry, to ascertain whether now or at what future time it would be expedient for the bank to resume cash payments.

Mr. Huskisson rose, amidst cries of "Question!" which rendered the commencing words of the right honourable gentleman somewhat inaudible. Proceeding, he referred to the report of the bullion committee, which, whatever reproach and ridicule might attach to the assertion, he could not avoid considering as an able, luminous, and satisfactory exposition of the interesting subject of which it treated. It had been prepared by a gentleman. (Mr. Horner) whose enlarged mind was well calculated to investigate any

subject with precision, but which had been applied to this question with peculiar success. He could not conclude this brief observation of that distinguished individual, without expressing his regret that he was not then present to assist their deliberations with the force of his reasoning, and the accuracy of his judgement.—Adverting to the question before the house, he observed, that the year 1816, when the currency of the country was diminished, and when the exchanges were in our favour, would have been the most favourable period for a resumption by the bank of cash payments; but he did not regard the present as the most proper time, on account of the foreign loans which were negotiating in the country, and which necessarily occasioned remittances of specie. He concluded with expressing his concurrence with Mr. Tierney, in thinking that, though some difficulty might attend the resumption of cash payments, yet it was idle to talk of its producing any serious convulsion in the country. He fully admitted that it was the duty of the bank gradually to resume payments in specie. To withdraw the restriction now would soon force the country into its paper circulation with renewed and probably incurable evil.

Lord Folkestone thought it monstrous that the bank should, without any inquiry, be allowed to raise or depreciate at their pleasure the property of every individual in the kingdom.

Mr. Thornton said, the bank had done every thing that depended on them towards the resumption of cash payments; it had by two successive issues of gold

gold coin endeavoured gradually to introduce a metallic currency. Inauspicious circumstances, out of the control of the bank, had occasioned these attempts to fail. As to the issues of the bank, they had been increased from 1816, in consequence of the withdrawing about that time of most of the country notes: a restriction of the issue of the bank was, in his view of the subject, necessary at the time of the change of system; and he could assure the house it was the intention of the bank to adopt it; but it must be done with great caution, and there might be circumstances which, even at the moment of resuming cash payments, would render it expedient to pursue a different conduct.

Lord Castlereagh would, at this late hour of the night, only direct his attention to the argument of inquiry, so strongly urged on the other side. The motion of the right honourable gentleman (Mr. Tierney) involved three points of inquiry—1st, With regard to the private banking system; 2d, As to the currency of the country; and 3d, An inquiry as to what restrictions should be imposed upon the bank, to prevent an improvident issue. Against the latter consideration he strongly protested. It was not, he conceived, the duty of this house to interfere or encroach upon the independence of the bank. He represented, in strong terms, the difficulties in which the bank would be placed if it were obliged to satisfy all the demands upon them, when it was a well-known fact, that the 2,600,000 sovereigns and half-sovereigns which had been issued had been sent out of the country.

Mr. Tierney briefly replied, when the question was loudly called for, and strangers were ordered to withdraw.

On a division, the numbers were—Ayes 99; Noes 164; Majority against the motion 65.

May 4.—The chancellor of the exchequer moved the order of the day, that the house should resolve itself into a committee of supply. The estimates of the commissary department, the army extraordinaries, and the miscellaneous services, were ordered to be referred to the said committee.

The speaker having left the chair,

Mr. Bankes called the attention of the committee to the report which had been laid before the house relative to the purchase of the late Dr. Burney's library. He was an advocate for economy and retrenchment, but he trusted that the resources of the country were not reduced to so low a state as not to be able to afford some encouragement to literature. The library of the late Dr. Burney was extremely valuable in many particulars. Many eminent persons considered that it contained the most valuable collection of Greek literature that had been formed by any one individual. He had enriched the Greek dramatic poets by many remarks of his own, and other distinguished scholars. In short, it was a library of which the public ought to be proud; and if it were to be dispersed, many years might elapse before so valuable a collection could be obtained. He should move, therefore, that the sum of 13,500*l.* be paid to the executors of the late Dr. Burney,

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as the price of his books, manuscripts, collections, &c.

Mr. Curwen entertained no doubt of the value of the collection, but it was of a nature to gratify individual curiosity rather than to promote any object of public utility. In the state in which our finances now were, and when it was found impossible to make good the public engagements, he could not consent to spend a single shilling upon any object of indulgence or curiosity, however liberal.

Mr. F. Douglas said this was not a vote for the absolute sum of 13,500*l*. Independent of the deduction to be made, in consideration of it, from the annual sum voted to the Museum, the sale of duplicates, which the accession of the late Dr. Burney's collection would render advisable, was expected to produce 3000*l*. This collection embraced a great variety of documents, and of curious memoranda, that seemed peculiarly to belong to a national repository of authorities on every subject of literary or scientific reference. What seemed to him to be of especial value, was the unbroken series of newspapers from the period of their earliest publication, which he could not regard in any other light than as most valuable historical documents. The various editions of ancient authors appeared likewise to him to afford the means of improving, to a great degree, the knowledge of Grecian literature—an object not less important from its connexion with that of our own country, than its tendency to inspire just notions of public freedom.

Mr. Lockhart doubted whether

the present was a proper case for the intervention of the state. If it could be shown that there was in it any work which might impart a new light to the truths of philosophy, any addition to the present stock of historical knowledge, or even a single fragment of ancient oratory, he should cheerfully vote for the motion. As it was, although he was fully disposed to admire those who excelled in these liberal pursuits, he considered that the promotion of them ought to be left to the admiration and support of individuals.

Sir J. Mackintosh rose and expressed his decided disapprobation of those reflections which had been cast on that sort of literature that had hitherto formed the basis of education, not only in this country, but in every nation of Europe. Had not these works been the earliest study, the constant exercise, the favourite models of the most eminent and accomplished of mankind? He should be sorry to see any branch of knowledge undervalued; but inasmuch as this involved the elements of our morals and our taste, it was of more extensive importance than any pursuit of what is commonly called science. It was too much to hear the charge of wasteful expenditure directed against such a purpose, in a country which had more successfully applied the fruits of learning and science to the business of life than any other; the country in which Watt had, by the persevering application of a single principle, surpassed every other individual in the degree in which he had added to the wealth and resources of the state;

state; a Davy, who, among the brilliant series of his discoveries, had at length invented the means of saving annually a number of human lives. Surely this was not the nation in which it should be said that knowledge and science were articles of luxury, matters intended for the use of the opulent only. The present system of education could not be properly judged of without a reference to its general operation on the minds and morals of society, which were most favourably influenced by that feeling of enthusiasm for ancient writers, and even the disposition to exaggerate their merit, which it tended to inspire.

The question was then put, and carried without a division.

The sum of 1,350,000*l.* was then voted for the extraordinaries of the army; as also the sum of 50,000*l.* for the extraordinary services of the army in Ireland.

28,000*l.* was voted to the African company, for the maintenance and repair of their forts on the coast of Africa.

3,000*l.* was voted to the board of agriculture.

394,700*l.* for provisions, &c. to the troops on foreign stations, and the commissariat; and 99,000*l.* for defraying the expenses of the barrack department.

Mr. Arbuthnot then proposed a resolution, granting 25,000*l.* for defraying the expenses attendant on the making a navigable communication between the eastern and western seas, by the Caledonian canal; on which a conversation took place, which terminated in the honourable gentleman withdrawing the resolution, in order to bring forward another for a larger grant, after the holi-

days, which, after a few words, was agreed to.

Mr. Arbuthnot then proposed 10,000*l.* for the building of the college of Edinburgh. The whole sum that had been thought necessary was 80,000*l.* The 10,000*l.* now proposed would nearly complete the work.

The resolution was agreed to, as was likewise a resolution granting 3,494*l.* for the repairs of Henry the Seventh's chapel. The whole sum expended on this work was 23,000*l.* and only a few thousands more would be required.

Mr. Arbuthnot then proposed 75,000*l.* for defraying the expenses of the gold coinage of the mint.

Mr. J. P. Grant objected to the resolution, on the ground that such an expense should not have been incurred in coining gold, which was either not put into circulation, or which disappeared as soon as it was issued.

Mr. W. Pole said, that by the regulations of the coinage, the mint was obliged to coin all the gold sent in.—This expense, therefore, could not be avoided, if individuals chose to send gold for coinage. If sent at the rate at which it had been received for four or five months, 8,000,000*l.* would be coined, of which seven had already been coined. All this bullion came from the bank of England; but after it had been coined, the mint had no right to inquire where it went. Two millions and a half had disappeared, but seven millions had been coined. The remainder was in the coffers of the bank, as a part of their preparation for resuming cash payments.

The

The question was then put, and the following sums voted:—

75,000*l.* for the coinage of the year 1818.

54,337*l.* to make good the deficiency in calling in the old silver coin.

21,000*l.* for printing the votes of the house, reports, and other papers, 1818.

9,500*l.* for printing the 73d volume of the journals.

5,000*l.* for re-printing journals of 1818.

On the motion of Mr. Bennet, the bill respecting the rewards given on the conviction of offenders was committed.

The attorney-general objected to the entire abolition of rewards, considering that some benefit was obtained by them; he therefore offered an amendment, by which a discretion was given to the judge, in case of conviction or acquittal, to give what reward he thought proper, and to whom he thought proper, whether to the apprehenders or to the witnesses. This amendment he proposed instead of the first clause of the bill.

Sir S. Romilly contended that such an amendment would defeat the chief object of the bill: the discretion of the judge would not prevent conspiracies to obtain blood-money. Such a conspiracy could seldom indeed come to the knowledge of the judge, and when it did not, the prisoner would be convicted, and conspirators would obtain the reward; if they could impose upon the jury to convict, it would not be more difficult to impose upon the judge to reward.

The solicitor-general defended the amendment, arguing that the great evils of the system would be

removed if the certainty of reward were done away with, and if it were not made to depend solely upon conviction.

The amendment was then agreed to.

Sir Francis Burdett said, he rose to move for the discharge of Thomas Fergusson, who had been committed to prison by the house for an attempt to influence the vote of a freeholder on the approach of an election. It was impossible not to consider the treatment of that man, one of gross injustice, when one called to mind the course and result of the proceeding on an occasion something similar, in which a noble lord opposite (lord Castlereagh) had been concerned. At the time when the motion he alluded to against that noble lord had been brought forward, it would have become the character of the house to show a resolution to maintain their own privileges against whoever might transgress them—to treat high or low with the same impartiality. If such had been the conduct of the house, little room for complaint would exist now. But when they recollected what happened when the noble lord was charged with having endeavoured to procure a seat for a gentleman in the most odious way—by the exercise of India patronage—being moreover a member of the India board, constituted to prevent the abuse of patronage—the other person, for whom the influence was exercised, being also a member of the same board—when there were so many circumstances rendering that transaction so aggravated in its character, and pernicious in its effects

fects (for he both then and now thought that the noble lord's being a minister was a heinous aggravation of the offence)—when they bore these facts in mind, and the issue of them, they could scarcely say that the measure of justice dealt out to the two offenders was equal. However, he was not then anxious to punish the noble lord, because he looked upon his offence to be not a very great one in a *moral point of view*, though a more *unconstitutional* one could not exist. But it was the judgement of the house on that occasion that was to be considered—and they came to a resolution, that as the proceeding by the noble lord had been only begun, and not completed, they did not think proper to adopt any definitive measure. Let them now turn to Fergusson's case—a case that did not contain the one-hundredth part of the guilt of the noble lord's. The noble lord attempted to influence election by *wholesale*—to bargain for a seat. Fergusson only aimed at influencing a single vote—he had incurred only the *minimum of guilt*. Here was no scandalous abuse of patronage; besides, it was a case only just in *embryo*. Every reason for lenity that could apply to the case of the noble lord, would apply with tenfold force to that of Fergusson; yet the latter had been brought from Scotland, and already subjected to a heavy punishment. He would be glad to know the distinction in the two cases; why this poor individual had been sentenced to imprisonment, while the noble lord was suffered to go free without any censure? But subsequently to the transaction he had alluded to, the

noble lord, with his colleague, Mr. Perceval, was accused in the house of having connived at the absolute sale of a seat under the disposal of government; and sir Henry Wellesley was proved to have actually received the price of it. That was not all—for when the member who had paid his money for the seat wished to vote in the house according to the dictates of his conscience, he was told that he must, in honour, either vote for those by means of whom he had got into parliament, or resign—and the member in consequence did resign. Here was every aggravation—a corrupt purchase by money of a seat, with an implied obligation of voting agreeably to the wishes of ministers. It appeared that in the opinion of certain persons, there was not only a *parliamentary language*, but a *parliamentary conscience*—the former allowing to say, the latter to do any thing. The purchasing member, however, did not recognise this species of conscience, and resigned his seat. Here was a case of corruption complete, and carried through all its parts. What was said then upon that affair being brought before the house? Why, honourable members got up in their places, and declared the practice was as *notorious as the sun at noon day*, as *common as the streets of the metropolis*. With such practical illustrations of the way in which that house was composed—after the various descriptions of the undue means generally used for admission into that house, and with particular force in that petition which has been lying on the table for five-and-twenty years, stating, and offering to prove, that

that the crown, either directly or indirectly, returned a large proportion of the members of that house, and that no inconsiderable part of it consisted of men necessarily and naturally attached to the interests of the peers—it was too hard that an unfriended individual should undergo every severity of punishment, on pretence of sullyng the *purity* that did not belong to the house, while ministers practised much more aggravated offences with perfect impunity.—But it seemed that *robe of purity* could be thrown off, and put on again, according to convenience. Did they think that the people were so blind that they would look at this case with any other feelings than those of indignation, as he did? The transaction reminded him of the fable, in which the beasts of the forests were made to assemble, in order to discover the cause that excited the vengeance of Heaven in inflicting a contagious malady which had committed terrible ravages among them. The lion came forward and said—"It is true I have put a few animals to death to satisfy my hunger, but surely that cannot be the cause." The bear, the wolf, &c. made similar declarations, and were all acquitted by acclamation. At length the ass came into the assembly, and, with fear and trembling, confessed that he had stolen some cabbages; upon which all the beasts together cried out, that, undoubtedly, he was the criminal.—It was in vain for that house to talk of preserving its character—that was gone long since, and it was impossible to have been otherwise—

"Thieves for stealing have authority,
When judges steal themselves!"

Ministers themselves carried on the transactions for which Fergusson was imprisoned, and, when discovered, were defended. If the noble lord were suffered to go free, why was Fergusson to be punished? The latter might state that he knew there were laws against what he had attempted to do, but that now the house of commons had put a very different construction on those laws. He might say, The house of commons have declared that these laws are obsolete—they are not to be put in force:—how, then, can they take offence at my conduct? For his own part, he could not understand how Fergusson, who had followed the example of the noble lord, but followed him "*haud passibus aequis*," should be punished, while the noble lord had been so fully protected. He should not detain the house any longer. The case lay in a very small compass, and therefore he should conclude by moving—"That Thomas Fergusson be discharged forthwith."

The question having been put, Lord Castlereagh said, he should not have risen on this occasion, were it not that the speech of the honourable baronet was so much addressed to him. As he did not know all the circumstances of the case of the individual to whom the motion alluded, not having been present at the committee of privileges which had inquired into it, he should not enter into the discussion on that case. But it was very plain that the honourable baronet did not bring forward this motion out of any tenderness for Mr. Fergusson, but with a view to serve that purpose, so common with the honourable baronet,

baronet, who never omitted any occasion of bringing forward any thing in past transactions which he thought would turn against the dignity of parliament, and to degrade it in the eyes of the nation.—He had uniformly observed, that whenever there happened to be any meeting out of doors in which the honourable baronet did not fill that space in the public eye which he was wont to do on such occasions, he endeavoured to restore himself to the good opinion of those *worthy* characters, in whose estimation he had fallen, by some corresponding effort against the constitution within the doors of parliament.—For his own part, no feeling of soreness at the attack of the honourable baronet should induce him to enter into the consideration of a question on which the house had already decided. And as to the present question, he would leave it to the decision of the house, and of those who were present on the committee to whom the examination of that case was intrusted. But he apprehended that the honourable baronet would not be more successful on the present occasion than on the many others in which he had endeavoured to destroy the constitution, and to lower the dignity of parliament.

Mr. W. Wynn considered this an extraordinary proceeding; that the honourable baronet should bring forward this motion without notice, merely because nine years ago a former parliament did not do its duty, and punish the noble lord for a similar offence. A censure was certainly passed on the noble lord, which, indeed, was much too mild. But next year, all transactions of this kind were

made offences in future. The honourable baronet had laid no grounds for his motion, which he had brought forward without notice, after he had not thought fit to attend his duty, when this man was committed to Newgate. If this motion was agreed to, it would be declaring that bribery was no offence, and that the house had no privileges.

Colonel Wood reminded the honourable baronet of his 300 millers at the Middlesex election, who voted for him on a mill not built, and for which they had only subscribed the night before; and that the sheriffs were sent to Newgate for gross partiality to the honourable baronet. He reminded him also of the two subsequent elections; and believed that, if the right hon. baronet should start again, he would be no more successful.

Mr. Brand was sorry that so many personal reflections should have passed on a matter of so much importance. Agreeing, as he did, in much that the honourable baronet had said, yet he could not support his motion by his vote. But how those gentlemen who voted in favour of the noble lord and Mr. Perceval could oppose this motion, he did not know; but he would leave them to reconcile it to their consciences as they could, while he maintained the consistency of his former vote.

Sir F. Burdett said, nothing personal had been intended by him. As to the Middlesex elections, he had more reason to remember them than any in the house. He had twice had the remedy of the house on contested elections, but he could not support a third. As to the mill votes, they

they were contested before the committee with much legal argument, as being good. He should not divide the house on this motion, because one set of gentlemen would oppose him from consistency, and another from inconsistency.

The motion was then negatived without a division.

Lord Castlereagh rose to move a renewal of the alien bill; and in doing so he should not have occasion to detain the house long, as the subject had been often debated. He begged the house to recollect, that this peace alien bill was of a much milder character than the war alien bill of 1793. Peace being restored at Amiens, aliens were admitted without restriction; but a power was reserved to send them out of the country if they conducted themselves in a manner dangerous to the state. That was the principle of the law he was about to propose, and by the returns (so mildly had the law been exercised) there had been only nine persons removed in the last six years; and out of that number only one last year. If honourable gentlemen would look at other governments, they would see that the precautions taken by parliament had shown that no unquiet persons could carry on their machinations in this country as they had done in the Netherlands, where they got the press in their power, and disgraced Europe by their calumnies; and he knew that the conspiracy against the life of the duke of Wellington was set on foot by such turbulent spirits in the Netherlands. The noble lord concluded with moving for leave to bring in a bill to continue the 56th of the

king, respecting foreigners arriving in and continuing to reside in this country. On the question being put,

Lord Althorp observed, that the danger of allowing foreigners to reside in this country without proper checks, was occasioned by the progress of the French revolution: that time, however, had passed by, and he thought the sooner we returned to the forms of our constitution the better. This was the reason he wished to enter his protest against the bill.

Mr. Lamb also protested against an alien bill in time of peace. He would reserve what he had to say on the subject until the second reading of the bill.

Sir S. Romilly strongly objected to the continuance of a measure at variance with the principles of our constitution. This country had always been looked to by other countries, as the sanctuary of persons prosecuted for religious opinions by the tyranny of their own governments. He should not be deserving of the protection which he enjoyed, and which was afforded to his ancestors on that account, if he did not acknowledge that protection, and feel grateful that it had been afforded to them. The honourable and learned gentleman condemned the practice of lending the authority of this government to the wishes of any confederated monarchs, and he must decidedly negative the bill.

The house then divided. For the bill, 55; Against it, 18.—Majority, 37.

The noble lord then brought in the bill, which was read a first time.

CHAPTER VI.

Debates on the Bill for regulating Public Schools.—Irish assessed Taxes.—Prevention of Forgery.—Alien Bill.—Treatment of Slaves.—Lord Sidmouth's Circular.—Committee of Supply.—French Indemnities.—Poor Laws Amendment Bill.—Lotteries.

HOUSE of Commons, May 8. —Mr. Brougham, in rising to move the committee on the bill for regulating public charity schools, went into a statement of the evidence produced before the committee on the subject; by which it appeared, that the funds for these purposes in large towns were ample; and the upper classes not only contributed their money, but their time also, for the improvement of the poor. He would undertake to say, that there was not a single town in the kingdom containing 10,000 persons, where there was not at least one institution, in most cases more, for the education of the poor by voluntary subscriptions. He was the more anxious to have this point well understood by those gentlemen who were disposed to give parliamentary aid to these establishments, for he was sure that if grants were annually made, the subscriptions, which now amounted to various sums, from 500*l.* to 1500*l.* per year upon each establishment, would fall off, and the spirit of private individuals would relax, till the education of the poor would be entirely neglected. He ought to state, that the committee had enjoyed the advantage of Mr. G. Dyer's assistance in their investigation, whose liberal mind and generous principles were well known among the friends of public education.—
1818.

The committee had divided their inquiries into two branches, one comprising the school establishment in large towns, and the other the state of education in country places. In London, the number of children educated by voluntary subscriptions was 4752, at an expense of 8859*l.*, for which they were completely taught and clothed; one or two hundred being boarded as well as clothed for that sum. He then proceeded to notice the heavy expenses of some establishments, and said, that in one instance, where the care of each pupil in queen Anne's time cost only 30*s.* it now amounted to 9*l.* In turning their attention to the country, the committee were led to one result from their inquiries, namely, that all classes, whether the means were possessed or not, had a most ardent, constant, and strenuous desire to obtain the benefits of education.—In order to obtain the fullest information, the committee addressed a circular to those persons throughout the country who were connected with school establishments; and such had been their alacrity, that in the course of ten days at the furthest, from 6,000 to 7,000 letters in answer had been received by the committee. It was from a comparison of these letters that the result had been taken, which must be so gratifying to the house. With
M. respect

respect to the difference in religious opinions, each sect might establish its own school in large towns. Not so in small towns, for there the minority of the inhabitants, if they happened to be dissenters, were to be excluded from the benefit; but on the other hand, if the majority were dissenters, they admitted the churchmen.—[The honourable gentleman here complained of the want of attention in the house.]—To remedy the defect of education in the remoter and less populous districts of England, the house would do well to adopt the system of education pursued in Scotland, namely, parish schools. The late Mr. Whitbread and Mr. Windham had made many observations on this part of the subject; the former, with his unbounded philanthropy, viewed it in a proper light, while the latter, full of paradoxes, was at variance with the progress of intellectual wisdom. But the time was happily arrived when there were no longer two parties on this question; all agreed in the wisdom of educating the poor, and all were prepared in the laudable exertion. In this cause the parliament of Scotland had taken the lead. So far back as the year 1492, they did themselves the honour of placing on their statute books a law, by which “the barons, and all persons above the rank of common freeholders, were compelled to send their sons to a grammar school to learn Latin.”—After this, measures were gradually taken to carry education down to the lower orders of society. King Charles the First, whatever he was in this country, had been a great reformer in Scotland; he

was the author of that great ecclesiastical change—the general commutation of tythes; and it was he who first laid the foundation of parish schools. This system was first propounded by an act of council, and afterwards made the subject of an act of parliament. But it was not till after the revolution that the Scottish parliament, by one of their best and last acts, rendered the system of parish schools universal in Scotland. After above a century of experience, it was still found that this system was most highly beneficial. It was attended with moderate expense. The school-house was a building little better than a barn, which in Scotland cost about forty or fifty pounds, and which in this country might be erected for about a hundred pounds. For this outfit and a salary of 20*l.* per annum, the whole of Scotland enjoyed benefits which in their consequences extended from the lowest to the highest classes of the community; inasmuch that now, in the minds of men, over the whole world, the name of a Scotchman was always combined with the quality of a good education. It was to that quality that the great ease, the comparative happiness, and what was called the success in life of Scotchmen in general, was attributable. In what part of the world were Scotchmen not to be found?—What country was there which had not benefited by them? In Germany and Switzerland they settled, and disseminated the practice of industry; and indeed in all other countries. When this subject was brought under the consideration of the late Mr. Perceval, he said—“Wait till you have had
a com-

a committee, and then see what the result of the report may be." This he had now carried into effect, and the house would be furnished with information on which to proceed, on a measure which, sooner or later, he was convinced the house was to adopt. The honourable gentleman then referred to the evidence taken before the committee, in respect of the funds appropriated to charitable purposes, which, by the returns, amounted to 260,000*l.* a-year in 1788; taking that the returns made were only one-third, the actual amount would be from seven to eight hundred thousand pounds. These funds were received by trustees; but there were other funds which were not received by these trustees, who had not sufficient powers given them for the purposes of their trust. He calculated, that if they had been properly authorized, the amount in the hands of the trustees, from the increased value of the land, would be from 2,000,000*l.* to 2,500,000*l.* The deficiency arose from this cause, and from neglect, abuse, and other causes. He noticed the statutes on the subject, and stated some facts as connected with Devizes. In Berkshire, at the restoration, some lands were devised for charitable purposes, which cost 4,000*l.* In 1811, the lands only produced 196*l.* a-year. Would the house believe that the trustees could thus neglect their duty to the benevolent object of their trust? Another estate was let for 450*l.* a-year, which a surveyor estimated at 1,000*l.* In other places, lands worth 2,000*l.* a-year are let for so many hundreds. What is done with the produce cannot be ascertained,

for the corporation refused to show their disbursements. In another instance, sir T. White left 24,000*l.* to be lent in certain sums to poor tradesmen. Another corporation had, instead of lending the money, taken it themselves, to pay their own debts. The honourable gentleman detailed some other evidence, to prove that various abuses existed in the application of the funds. In some instances moneys were left, and never received; schools founded and endowed, and no children taught. In others, schools had completely fallen into decay, though the funds still remained. Those were in Devonshire, Essex, Leicestershire, Nottinghamshire, Norfolk, &c. In respect of the neglect imputable to the trusts, he quoted the opinion of lord Kenyon in the case of Stapleford Abbott. He called upon the house to interfere, and to correct these evils.—To those who were inclined to clamour, and to say that he was about to encroach upon and to meddle with private property, he wished to observe, that these charities were not private property; they were as much public property as any thing else which was given for the support of the poorer class of the subjects of these realms. He referred to the statutes in support of his position, particularly the 26th of the king, which completely recognised charitable institutions as in the light of public property. With respect to the universities, they were liable to inquiry. Why, he asked, could we not have commissions to inquire into the state of charitable institutions as our forefathers had? From queen Elizabeth's reign there were 964 commissions

for this purpose down to the present reign. From the beginning of the present reign to this time there were only three commissions.—It was said the court of chancery was open to the correction of these abuses. Would they send the poor into that court, who had not a halfpenny, and were rendered still poorer by the dilapidation of their funds? It put him in mind of what was innocently said of Mr. Erskine, now lord Erskine, and which produced no small merriment among the common law lawyers, when lord Kenyon told him the court of equity was open to his client—“Would your lordship send a fellow creature there?” A commission issued in 1803, to inquire into the abuse of a charity. In 1803 it was thrown into chancery. In 1808 it was thought ripe for decision, and well it might be.—It was four years standing at the head of the paper, and it remained undecided at this day. He could not dismiss this subject without expressing, as strongly as he could, his admiration of the immense sums appropriated to charitable uses; not by men possessed of estates equal to principalities; not by men who have amassed immense wealth in the service of their country, and who wish to give back part of their well-earned wealth, or to compound with their consciences for sums derived from less pure sources; but by honest and industrious tradesmen, who, by the benefits of good education, having raised themselves to situations they could not at first have expected, had appropriated large sums to the education of the poor. He then moved, that the house should

go into the committee on the education of the poor.

Lord Castlereagh did not rise to oppose the course proposed by the learned gentleman—but with respect to the present state of the charitable funds of the country, no doubt, in the lapse of time, abuses had crept into them, as well as into all other institutions. He agreed that occasionally some vigilant inquiry should be instituted with regard to them. He was also of the same opinion as the learned gentleman, that the proposed commission should be one of inquiry; but he objected to unfounded or unauthenticated charges against the court of chancery, which must, notwithstanding all their commissions, be the court to which they must ultimately repair for a correction of abuses in charities. But he would sooner have supported this bill if the proposed committee had been appointed under the crown. A contrary species of commission would betray an unfair doubt of the integrity of the crown. He also wished the commission to be composed, partly of men to receive a salary, and partly of men of rank and weight in the country to receive no remuneration. He agreed that there was a necessity for pushing the remuneration of the commissioners further than that proposed by the honourable and learned gentleman, namely, 1000*l.* a-year each. As no abuse existed in the Charterhouse, he should propose to exempt it, in some future stage of the bill, in the same manner as Winchester school, and other great institutions. With these modifications he supported the bill.

Mr. Brougham explained. The bill

bill did not make the court of chancery the resort in all cases of dispute, but only empowered an application to that court in urgent cases where it was necessary to have a receiver appointed immediately, to prevent the funds from being quite eaten up before any remedy could be had from parliament.

Mr. Robinson wished Harrow to be exempted from the operation of the bill.

Mr. Brougham objected to that, because then every gentleman would move to exempt a school, so that at last there would be none left on which the bill could operate.

Mr. Peel thought it right that Harrow should be exempted, because it had been decided by the court of chancery, that Harrow was not intended, by its founder, as a school for the poor.

Mr. Abercromby hoped the commissioners would be allowed to make the circuit of the country, to inquire into all charities. He objected to the commissioners being barristers actually practising, as there were sufficient gentlemen, who had received a legal education, but did not actually practise at the bar.

Mr. Brougham said, in reply, that he trusted this bill would occasion no additional expense, because the same plan might be adopted as in the court of chancery, namely, to pay the commissioners out of the funds of the charities.

The house then went into a committee on the bill.

Mr. Robinson moved that Harrow be exempted from the operation of the bill.

Mr. Mills proposed that the free-

school at Rugby be also exempted.

Mr. Bennet moved that the Shrewsbury free-school be exempted.

Mr. Harvey asked the same favour for that of Norwich.

Sir M. W. Ridley claimed it for the free-school at Newcastle, as it had produced such great men as the lord chancellor and his brother.

Lord Castlereagh was disposed to exempt the Harrow and Rugby schools, but not to extend the exemption further.

Mr. Brougham rejoiced that there were not more members present, otherwise the proposed exemptions would be ten times more numerous than they were.

The committee then divided on Mr. Robinson's motion. For exempting the Harrow school, 30;—Against it, 53.—Majority against the motion, 23.

Mr. Brougham moved that it be an instruction to the committee to inquire into the state of the education of the poor in Scotland.—Ordered.

House of commons, May 13.—The chancellor of the exchequer, in a committee upon the bill on the Irish assessed taxes, stated his views and intentions. Whatever might have been the understanding or intention in laying on any of those taxes, that could be no reason for repealing them afterwards, when the charges of the state required their continuance. Those taxes were all pledged to the consolidated fund; no reason could, therefore, be urged for repealing them as temporary. As well might it be contended that some of the customs in England, which had been originally imposed

sed for the current expenditure, but which were afterwards appropriated to the consolidated fund, ought to be repealed. The house could not, therefore, be expected to reduce the window tax in Ireland, without providing a corresponding supply. In the measure he had now brought forward, he endeavoured to reconcile his views of the charges of the state with his intention and regard for the situation of Ireland. Not only was this tax pledged to the consolidated fund, but the whole revenue of Ireland fell far short of the charges of that fund. The interest of the consolidated fund of Ireland was 6,500,000*l.* Irish; the revenue last year did not exceed 5,000,000*l.*; there was thus a deficiency of 1,000,000*l.* He felt, however, that it was the wish of parliament to extend some relief to Ireland; and from the experience of the last three years, as well as from the particular distress occasioned by the window-tax, he was anxious to give relief, so far as that would be consistent with the benefit of the whole empire. The first of the assessed taxes he should advert to was the hearth-tax. In this he meant to make no reduction, because the objections were rather to the principle than to the tax itself. The next was the window-tax, which had excited public attention, and was, in some respects, objectionable. Of this tax, he was to reduce 25 per cent. This was not to be done on such a scale as had been proposed to him, which would confine the benefit of it to certain classes. Its benefit was to be made as extensive as the tax. The window-tax in Ireland did not descend to the

lower classes of the people. In Scotland, if the number of windows exceeded four, the tax was imposed; in England if it exceeded six; in Ireland the number was seven. Upon the suggestion of the right honourable baronet (sir J. Newport) he had also provided that, in the habitations of the poor, and where it was necessary for the admission of air, one window might be added to whatever number previously existed, and only 1*s.* of a tax should be paid. There was, besides, another class of taxes to which relief was to be extended. The assessed taxes might be divided into two classes; the direct taxes, which were imposed solely for revenue, such as the hearth and window-tax in Ireland, and the house and window-tax in England; and the taxes which were partly of the nature of sumptuary laws, such as the taxes on servants, horses, and carriages, used by the higher classes. These taxes advanced in an increased ratio, proportioned to the increase of the establishment.—Upon this latter class a considerable relief was to be given. The first effect expected from this relief was the removal of the complaint of want of employment. When gentlemen could employ additional servants, horses, or carriages, without additional expense, it might be expected that more employment would be found for men. A second advantage was the inducement which this reduction would afford for gentlemen to reside in their own country. There was one class of carriages in particular which would be relieved, the jaunting-car, which was the national carriage of Ireland. The tax

tax on this vehicle was to be reduced from 6*l.* 10*s.* to two guineas. This reduction would add considerably to the comforts and the enjoyments of the people of Ireland. He had thus stated the nature of the measure much more shortly than the importance of the subject merited, and he would only further add, that he should be happy to answer any questions that might be put to him.

Sir H. Parnell moved to omit that part of the clause which referred to the subject of the hearth-tax.

After some conversation the amendment was withdrawn.

On the clause relative to the Irish window tax,

Sir J. Newport proposed to submit a further modification of it, viz. that the scale of abatement should be lowered 50 instead of 25 per cent. One of his principal objects was to restore the benefits of light and air to lodging houses, which were now too commonly the centre of contagion and disease in Ireland.

Mr. Peel observed that nothing was more easy than to draw an affecting picture of the state of any country. He had no doubt whatever that there existed in Ireland a very general wish for the repeal of this tax; but that wish was a very fallible criterion of the policy of repealing it. The total charge in Ireland, in the last year, was 4,865,000*l.* The revenue was 4,388,000*l.* so that there was a deficiency of 477,000*l.*; and to this must be added at least 150,000*l.* more if this tax was to be repealed. In that case the deficiency must be supplied by this country.—The present charge for

England for the Irish debt was 4,475,000*l.* This was the sum which had been transferred from Ireland, and to it must be added the consolidated fund, which would make the whole extent of the burden at least 5,000,000*l.* per annum.

Mr. Shaw said with respect to the allegation, that, at the time of the consolidation of the exchequers, there was a considerable balance of Irish debt, that arose from a miscalculation of the assessed taxes. For six years previous to the Union the revenue of Ireland had been only 1,650,000*l.*; for the six years after the Union it had been 5,676,000*l.* per annum, nearly quadruple to that since the Union. Ireland had been much overrated and pressed beyond what she could bear.

Sir F. Burdett thought the repeal of the tax would be beneficial in all views—it would augment the population, render the natives contented and happy, and diminish the necessity for so large a standing army.

Lord Castlereagh said that nothing could be more gratifying to him than to adopt any measure conciliatory towards Ireland, after the many sufferings she had recently endured in a manner that well merited the gratitude of the rest of the empire. It was impossible, however to exempt Ireland without burdening other parts of the empire, or other classes of subjects. He was convinced that the most generous and disinterested feelings existed in England towards Ireland. There was no wish to press with severity upon her; but, like other parts of the empire, Ireland must sustain her share of the public burdens, augmented unavoidably by the war.

His lordship insisted that, had the Union not taken place, the debt of Ireland would have been far beyond its present amount, 1,500,000*l.* It had remained nearly stationary since the Union, and this country had contributed nearly half a million annually to her expenditure. He entreated the house to take a fair and candid view of the question, and it would be found that it had nothing in point of taxation to complain of, when compared with the burdens upon England or Scotland.

The house then divided: when the numbers were, For the motion 80;—Against it, and for the amendment 55.—Majority 25.

The resolutions allowing reductions in the assessed taxes on servants, horses, and carriages, were then agreed to.

Sir J. Mackintosh rose to move for the appointment of a committee, to inquire into the most effectual means for preventing the forgeries of the bank of England notes. The question was one of the greatest importance; it had excited the greatest attention on the part of the public, and required very serious consideration. The honourable gentleman observed, that in the course of the twelve years previous to the suspension of cash payments, only one instance of capital punishment occurred, whilst in the last seven years only, no less a number than 101 had suffered death for this offence; and in London and Middlesex alone 44 had suffered the dreadful punishment of the law for this offence within that space. The crime of forgery, which formerly was scarcely heard of, now stood first on the list, and amounted to a number

nearly equal to all other capital offences put together. Now this was not all—horror seemed to accumulate around us: by the last returns laid on the table of the house, it appeared that last year was the most prolific in forgeries that ever was known: but there was also a return for the first three months of this year, and from that it appeared that the present year was likely to be much worse than even the last, which was the worst ever known. Another circumstance he must allude to—the expense of prosecutions last year was no less a sum than 30,000*l.* This appeared enormous; but what would the house think, when, on looking to the accounts on the table, they found that the expenses of the first three months of this year were nearly 20,000*l.* The expense of bank prosecutions was indeed surprising; it appeared that, on the average, each prosecution cost the bank 265*l.* The honourable member entered into a variety of statements to show the increase of the crime of forgery. These were circumstances which called loudly for inquiry, especially since it appeared that the offence was increasing daily, and had ceased to be confined, as formerly, to small notes; it now extended to those of larger value. In the situation in which the bank and the public stood, it was the duty of the bank to exert every nerve to protect the public. In America the paper circulation amounted to 30,000,000*l.* Forgery was not a capital offence, yet forgery was very seldom heard of; and why? the bank of America was not protected by the gibbet, and therefore they were cautious to protect themselves by rendering
forgery

forgery difficult; whilst in this country, so forward in arts, he was told that any boy who had been six months with an engraver might forge the notes of the bank of England, not indeed so as to deceive the bank, but so as to deceive the public. He concluded by moving for the appointment of a committee of inquiry into the best mode of preventing forgeries, and to report to the house their opinion thereon.

The chancellor of the exchequer did not oppose this motion, because he considered the evil which the honourable gentleman sought to cure lightly; but because he considered the mode proposed by the honourable gentleman as not being the best which might be adopted. The subject was one which would require long and laborious inquiry and investigation, and would not be fitted for investigation by a committee. He would rather submit to the house the propriety of appointing a commission, instead of a committee; and his object would be to move an amendment to this effect. He had seen many specimens of notes, which on first sight he considered would answer every purpose; but all of them on close investigation appeared inadequate. He was persuaded that considerable improvement might be made in the notes of the bank of England; but he was not sanguine enough to anticipate a radical cure for the evil in a short period. The honourable gentleman in his speech had given rather an exaggerated picture of the present state of the crime of forgery. From his statement it would appear, as if, previous to this century, forgery had scarcely been known; whereas the

fact was, that in the last century forgery was more prevalent than at present. In the years 1749, 50 and 51, the number of forgeries in London and Middlesex were 19; whereas in the last three years they were only 18. He concluded by moving, as an amendment, an address to the prince regent, praying his royal highness would be graciously pleased to appoint a commission to make the desired inquiry.

Sir C. Mordaunt was in favour of the original motion.

Mr. Bennet, after the able speech of his honourable friend, did not consider it necessary to go into detail on this subject. He must, however, declare, that he preferred a committee to a commission. He must also remark on the statement of the right honourable gentleman, that the crime of forgery was on the decline; he meant no offence to the right honourable gentleman, but he must say, that such was not the fact, although he had made it appear so by a garbled statement. Instead of declining, the crime was increasing; since during the three first months of the present year no less a number than 112 had been indicted for this crime. The right honourable gentleman had also drawn comparisons between the present and times gone by; but the right honourable gentleman forgot that now persons were allowed to plead guilty to the smaller offence of having notes in their possession, and thus escape capital punishment; formerly all persons guilty of this offence suffered. The solicitor to the bank had not then the power of selecting who should be executed and who should be saved—a power which
no

no individual ought to be possessed of.

Mr. S. Thornton was in favour of the amendment.

Mr. Huskisson was an opponent to the motion, because he considered the object of the honourable gentleman could not be obtained by the appointment of a committee, whilst the labours of a commission might effect it.

Sir S. Romilly and General Gascoigne were in favour of the original motion.

Mr. Manning opposed the motion, and defended the amendment. He wished now to state, that he should be happy to give his aid in any inquiry which might be instituted by the house. The governors of the bank were not anxious for themselves, but they were most anxious for the public; and their only wish was to discover something to protect the public from imposition, and to do so they would spare no expense. Formerly it was the custom with the bank to permit the individual tendering a forged note to take the note away to trace it; after it had been stamped with the words "Forged note." But it had been found, on several occasions, that those words were, by a chemical process, removed, and the notes again put in circulation.

Sir A. Piggott defended the conduct of the governors of the bank, who had always been most anxious to discover some mode for preventing forgeries and defending the public.

Mr. W. Smith thought the bank had not adopted all the precautions which they ought to have done when their notes became the circulating medium of the country.

Mr. Canning thought it was im-

possible to look for any practical conclusion from a committee of the house at this late period of the session; whereas, from a commission appointed by the crown continuing its sittings, he could expect some good result, though not to the extent expected.

Sir J. Mackintosh replied.

The house then divided. For the original motion 62—For the amendment 106.—Majority 44.

A debate of some length took place, on an amendment to make it a part of the duty of the royal commission to inquire into the state of the country bank-notes.

Lord Compton proposed, that the words "private banks, and other negotiable securities," should be omitted in the address to the crown for the appointment of the commission, as it was evidently the object of the house that the inquiry should be confined to bank of England notes, where alone the evil existed.

After some observations from Mr. J. Smith, Mr. Lyttleton, and Mr. Tierney, the house divided: when the numbers were—For retaining the original words, "private banks and other negotiable securities," 87;—Against their insertion, 75.—Majority 12.

Mr. Lyttleton proposed his motion, "that the house do now adjourn;" but the chancellor of the exchequer withdrew his amendment respecting the negotiable securities; and the address was then carried.

House of lords, May 14.—Lord Auckland presented the report of the committee on the chimney-sweepers' regulation.—Until it was before him in evidence, he could not have believed that so much labour, distress, and privation

privation could have been heaped on children scarcely above infants. There were certainly many in the trade respectable and humane men; but there were too many others lost to humanity, who treated the children under them with the greatest cruelty, and scarcely allowed them a home to come to. The consequence was, that from disease and want they became incapable of working, and were then cast abroad on the world. The method of sweeping chimneys by machinery, and that too of the most difficult chimneys, had been tried, and had been found completely to answer. Nevertheless, he was constrained for the present to postpone the third reading of the bill; but early next session he would bring it on again, and had no doubt he should succeed in it. The bill was then ordered to be read a third time that day six months.

The earl of Liverpool moved an address, in answer to the message of the regent on the subject of the duke of Kent's marriage. It was intended to propose to the other house the same allowance as had been already sanctioned by that house in the present session. He then moved the address, assuring the regent of the satisfaction the intelligence of the intended marriage had given them; and that they would concur in making a suitable provision for it. The motion was agreed to *nem. diss.*

Lord Holland moved for copies of all correspondence between our government and foreign powers, respecting the treatment of aliens. It might be said, that it was necessary for the tran-

quillity of Europe, that we should have an alien act to curb a few unfortunate proscribed Frenchmen. This was an admission of the instability of that system which ministers had boasted they had set up in Europe. After having forced an union between Holland and the Netherlands, contrary to the policy of the De Witts and other great Dutch statesmen; after having forced the title of king on the excellent and sober-minded monarch of the country, what would be said, if it were found that we, the great restorers of Europe, had, by menace and cajolery, been dabbling in the admirable police of Holland, which raised her to her eminence, as sir William Temple said, by the policy of her statesmen, which made her the common refuge of all miserable men? Yet now our ministers had asked that the government of Holland should depart from that glorious system of freedom to all men who sought refuge there. If his motion were agreed to, he believed that it would be found our ministers in that country were employed in hunting out the miserable objects of the vengeance of the French government. He then moved for copies of all correspondence since the 20th of November 1815, between government and all foreign powers, and between government and our ambassador in the Netherlands.

The earl of Liverpool said he felt it his duty to oppose the motion. He repeated it, that the alien bill was necessary and expedient, and connected with the safety of this country alone.—Only three persons had been sent out

out of the country since the last passing of the alien act; and these were not sent away in consequence of the interference of France or any other foreign power whatever. He insisted that the right in the crown to send aliens out of the country was recognised by the common law, but not with the facilities given by this act. On this view he would defend the alien bill when it should come before the house. He denied that we forced the title of king on the monarch of the Netherlands; it was his own people who bestowed it on him.—As to the union between Holland and the Netherlands, there was not a single intelligent public man in Europe but what considered it as essential to the safety and advantage of both these countries. The noble lord, he submitted, had made out no case to warrant compliance with the motion he had made.

The earl of Carnarvon said, that if we were to have an alien act in time of peace, it must be for the convenience, or with reference to the policy and situation, of other countries. He should therefore vote for the motion of his noble friend.

Lord Holland shortly replied.

The motion was then negatived without a division.

May 15. Ld. Castlereagh moved the second reading of the alien bill.

On the question being put from the chair,

Mr. Lambton said, it was with no small surprise that he had heard from the noble lord that an alien bill had been designed by him to be introduced, in a period of profound peace. Such a measure appeared to him to be little better

than a gross insult offered to the character of that house. The noble lord had ventured to introduce what he called a mitigated and milder measure; but it was a measure which violated, at one blow, every thing which tended to protect and to preserve the liberties and constitution of this realm. It was once the policy of England to encourage and protect those foreigners who visited her shores. That was the spirit that had pervaded all the acts and institutions of our ancestors. The bill of 1793 was a war measure, and stood upon grounds entirely separate; and if it could not be shown that any danger was to be apprehended from the machinations of foreigners, no precedent could be drawn from that. We were now at peace with all the world; all revolutionary principles had been in a manner abandoned from the sad experience of the last twenty-five years, and all Europe had subsided into tranquillity and repose. By the noble lord's own showing, it would be found that every possibility of danger from foreign machinations and interference was at an end. The alien bill, therefore, could not be for the protection of the country; it was for the assimilation to tyranny and continental despotism. That spot which was once the asylum of the destitute, the refuge of the oppressed, was no more to be sought as such by distress and misfortune. It had been once the boast of Englishmen, that when once the foot of the slave touched English ground he was free. The noble lord had denied that the bill had been introduced upon the authority of any connection with the allied powers

powers whatever. If then he declared that it was not so introduced, he called on the noble lord and the government to pledge themselves that it was not their intention to apply that measure against one class of persons, against those unfortunate men who had been outlawed by the king of France when he was restored to the throne of that country. There was no charge to be brought against these men; they were, however, exiled from their country, and, by the system of the continent, from almost every other country. Such, then, being the system, was it consistent with the honour or the integrity of this country to act in concurrence with a system so dangerous and unjust? He implored the house to consider before they granted such a power.

Mr. Protheroe saw nothing dangerous in this bill. From the returns laid before them, it appeared that the powers had been exercised with moderation.

Mr. Lyttleton said, those who conducted our administration had never manifested any feeling of sympathy with the sufferings of their fellow men under oppression and tyranny. They had aided and promoted despotism all over Europe. They had never failed to support the powerful against the weak and injured. Gentlemen did not, perhaps, feel it to be a very serious and alarming evil, because it was only a system of injustice and cruelty to the weak and helpless, but to him it appeared calculated to excite the justest indignation.

Mr. H. Clive said, there was a number of persons in France who knew only war, and if they were allowed to settle in this country,

their whole object would be to excite war. This country had surely a right to protect itself from such an evil.

Lord Folkestone said, the great bulwark of liberty, the trial by law, was superseded, and made useless by this measure, and a door was opened to all the machinations of secret spies and informers.

Mr. C. Grant jun. said, when he recollected the convulsions of the last twenty-five years, the causes of those convulsions, the overthrow of principles, the avowed contempt of every thing sacred, the military grandeur associated with those events, he could not conceive how it could be denied that there was danger. Europe never contained so many instruments of mischief, so many conspirators by profession. The measure was not directed against foreigners generally, but against those turbulent and restless spirits which still sought to torment the peace of Europe; those spirits which had at one time worshipped the goddess of reason, and at another the idol Bonaparte. Surely we might guard ourselves against the admission of such characters without incurring the reproach of inhospitality. He saw no reason for believing that they would not still entertain the same confidence as before, and felt it his duty therefore to support the motion.

Mr. F. Douglas remarked, that the bill in its effects went directly to establish a tyrannical principle, and to make it part of a code of laws, the peculiar characteristic of which had hitherto been a jealous tenderness for individual liberty. It raised up a despotic power within this realm on a pretence of external danger, whilst it was evident

dent that its whole operation must be domestic.

The house then divided—For the second reading 97 ;—Against it 35.—Majority 62.

May 20. Sir S. Romilly moved, that an humble address be presented to the prince regent, praying that there be laid before the house a copy of the opinion given by the attorney-general of Dominica, in March 1817, to the governor, on the power of the governor to remit the punishment of slaves condemned to work in chains in the public works, and also a copy of the case or letter laid before him as the foundation of the said opinion.—Agreed to.

The honourable gentleman then moved, that certain papers relative to transactions in the island of Nevis should be laid before a select committee. He had on a former evening stated the facts, which were fully and clearly substantiated by the papers on the subject. In this island, a person who had been left as attorney to a gentleman belonging to the island, had ordered two slaves (boys) to have a number of lashes beyond the power generally used by masters, and beyond the power that the law allowed. The law limited the number to thirty lashes ; but these boys had been ordered to be flogged most severely. The fact was, that a negro had stolen some stockings, and these boys had purchased each a pair. It was said they ought to have known the stockings had been stolen, for the man was of bad character of whom they had purchased them. They had been flogged each to the number or 100 lashes, with what is called a cart-whip. Two female slaves who had shed tears on the occasion were

flogged also ; one, the half-sister of one of the boys, and the other, he believed, a relation of the other boy. They had been flogged with whips, the one receiving twenty-five lashes, the other thirty. Mr. Huggins had been tried, and the facts all clearly and indisputably proved against him. The circumstances of alleged mitigation had been disproved on the trial. He had not called one witness in defence. It was said that the women had not shed tears of sympathy, but tears of obstinacy ; and that they had not been much injured by their treatment, for they had been found shortly afterwards at a negro masquerade. It was rather singular, that notwithstanding all the facts had been proved, Huggins had been acquitted by a jury. Means appeared to have been taken to justify Huggins. But it was not his character, but the character of the jury that became questionable. Affidavits had been made by negroes to vindicate that decision. There were also papers of the 28th of April in justification, when his motion was on the 22d. The proceedings of the house of assembly had also been published, which he supposed were authentic ; and, amongst the rest, they had thought proper to record Mr. Huggins's speech in his own defence. It appeared by one of the documents on the table, that E. Huggins, the individual whose conduct was in question, was one of the members of the assembly ; that his two sons were also members ; and that Mr. Forbes, his counsel, and two of his bail, composing six out of twelve, had in fact seats in the assembly. Yet a letter written by this assembly was the document forwarded by the agent.

agent of the island as containing a satisfactory exculpation of Mr. Huggins. A very important paragraph of the original of this letter was omitted, which he would prove if the committee were granted. It was to be lamented that the governor, however highly he might think of Mr. Huggins, should have expressed his satisfaction with a verdict of acquittal, which was clearly against evidence, and ought not to have been pronounced. Two of the witnesses for the defence were the son and daughter of the person who had been employed to execute the punishment. Of what benefit were laws to the unhappy population of this island, if they were administered in this manner? As it was unnecessary to explain the grounds of his motion at greater length, he begged leave to move, that a select committee be appointed to consider certain papers presented to the house on the 30th of April, relative to the treatment of slaves in the island of Nevis.

Mr. Goulburn observed, that his opposition to the motion rested solely on the general principle of its being inexpedient for the house to interfere upon *ex-parte* evidence, with the judicial proceedings of a competent tribunal. The honourable and learned gentleman, however, had put the question on somewhat a different footing by his statement that documents of a garbled nature had been produced from the office of the secretary of state, and that the blame must attach to that office, or the agent for the island. In this view he had no objection to the inquiry by a committee.

Mr. Wilberforce said that justice was not equally administered

in the West Indies. The unfortunate slaves had no representatives in that house; a circumstance that should induce it to take a more lively concern in their welfare. He had never seen a set of papers relating to any trial that seemed to him to call for more serious investigation.

Mr. Marryat could not give his acquiescence to the motion; and as he recollected in the year 1811 to have designated the conduct of Mr. Huggins as outrageous and unprincipled, he conceived that he was free from prejudice in attempting to vindicate the more recent proceedings under consideration. He then defended in every way the conduct of the person thus accused of cruelty, and concluded by saying, that he saw no reason for the inquiry, or for agreeing to the motion.

Mr. Gordon said this case demanded inquiry, and he could scarcely believe his ears when he heard the honourable gentleman deny that it did, and defend the cruelties that had been detailed.

Mr. Barham was glad the motion was brought forward. In the small islands the laws might be overpowered by individuals, and if a remedy was not applied by the local authorities, the British legislature was the only resort for investigation and correction. He wished to see the governments of the smaller islands consolidated, and made as good and effective as those of the larger colonies, where the state and condition of the slaves were better than that of the peasantry or labouring poor of this country.

Mr. Warre heard with surprise the assertion of an honourable gentleman (Mr. Barham) that the
slaves

slaves in the West Indies enjoyed a state of comfort equal to that of the peasantry in this country. The most favoured slave was not in a situation equally favourable to happiness with the degraded peasant of the most despotic government.

Sir S. Romilly briefly replied.

The question was then again put from the chair, and the motion was agreed to *sem. diss.*

Mr. J. P. Grant, in moving for a bill to regulate the payment of wages, made a few observations for the purpose of explaining his measure, and the previous steps he had taken. His design was now to unite both the objects of persons interested in this subject, viz. to enable the persons receiving wages not in the legal coin of the realm, to be a witness before a magistrate for conviction, and to render bank of England notes, and the paper of licensed bankers, legal tender. He then moved for leave to bring in a bill to amend certain acts relating to this subject, passed in the reigns of Edward IV. and queen Anne.—Leave given.

Mr. Grant brought in the bill, which was read a first and second time.

Mr. Lushington proposed that the report of the alien regulation bill should be now received;—it was brought up accordingly.

Mr. J. P. Grant then moved a clause, the object of which was to preserve a record, in the office of the secretary of state, of the reasons for transporting any particular aliens, a copy of which record should be laid before parliament, and referred to a committee.

The clause having been brought up, it was read a first time; the

question was then put, and it was rejected without a division.

May 21. Mr. Bennet said, he had to call the attention of the house to several petitions, presented from individuals who had suffered imprisonment in consequence of the well known circular of lord Sidmouth. He had inquired into the facts of these petitions, and had reason to believe they were founded on truth. Of the letter itself he should say but little; that it was a highly unconstitutional one, he believed, was agreed on all sides. That it had done much mischief, was equally well established; though in some places it had met the reception it deserved. Amongst other individuals, however, who had suffered under its operation were two, named John Mellor and Samuel Pilling, of Manchester; who were apprehended on a charge of having seditious books in their possession. They were taken before a magistrate, and committed to prison, to the house of correction, ironed, and put to hard labour, before trial. This was a power which the court of King's Bench would not have assumed. In this prison they were associated with felons; through the day they had felons' company and felons' fare; and this, for no other offence than selling publications prohibited by the circular letter. The next case he had to allude to was that of Robert Swindells; who, on the 2d of March, at twelve o'clock at night, at which time he was in bed with his wife, then far advanced in a state of pregnancy, was alarmed by a violent knocking at his door, and a demand that he would open it and produce certain persons, who, they alleged, were concealed there.

there. No such persons were found, but they took away all the poor man's little stock in trade. He was taken to prison : his wife, in consequence of alarm and cold, fell ill in April ; she was delivered, but died in May ; the infant, deprived of a mother's care, died also. Another child was taken to the parish, where it remained till the discharge of the father, who was liberated at the end of five weeks, without trial. He trusted the house would not separate, and go to their constituents without investigating these cases. He concluded by moving that the petitions should be referred to a committee.

Mr. Davenport said, Of the cases of the two first-mentioned persons he knew nothing, but of Swindell's case he had heard much. Swindells lived in Macclesfield ; and it being reported that a committee was sitting at his house, four gentlemen of the town, who had been sworn in special constables, went and demanded admission. One of them only went up stairs. Mrs. Swindells came down stairs, but did not appear at all alarmed, and continued, for some weeks after, apparently in good health. The gentlemen then remonstrated with him, and advised him not to sell the libellous and seditious works which he was in the habit of selling. He still, however, persisted in doing so, and ultimately he was in consequence apprehended.

Mr. Blackburn defended the measures which had been adopted towards Mellor and Pilling, which he said had been most humane.

The attorney-general defended the conduct of the magistrates who had committed these persons, 1818.

and his own character and conduct, as far as he was concerned in the commitment and liberation of these persons, who having been apprehended on a charge of libel, and bills having been found against them, he, thinking it right that a question of so much importance should be tried before the judges of the land, removed the proceedings by *certiorari* into the court of King's Bench ; but he denied that this was done from any vexatious motive. The honourable and learned gentleman also contended that magistrates had the power of commitment, and of putting to labour in prison. Now, with respect to the hard labour to which these persons had been put, they were put to pick two pounds of cotton each per day ; to say they were committed to hard labour, therefore, was not correct. With respect to Swindell's prosecution, no man could have been prosecuted with more lenity. He had been informed that Swindells was in the habit of circulating seditious publications. He, therefore, filed an *ex-officio* information against him, and no warrant was issued against him, but only a common notice, calling on him to appear, under a penalty of 100*l.*, in the court of King's Bench, on a certain day. He refused to appear, and an attachment issued ; still he refused to appear ; and on that attachment he was committed, not to find bail, but till he put in an appearance. Upon that attachment he remained in prison, and would still have remained, but for his (the attorney-general's) interference to procure his liberation. With respect to his house being entered on the night of the 10th. of March, and his goods being

being seized, he knew nothing ; it was quite distinct from his commitment ; but the house should recollect what night the 10th of March was ; the town had been all that day in a state of alarm and confusion, and in the evening near 1000 blanketeers entered the town, and the magistrates hearing that three of them were at Swindell's house, they went there to ascertain the fact ; and he thought the house would not blame them for this act of vigilance. With respect to Mrs. Swindells, she had been in ill health for some time ; disease had long tyrannized over her. Swindells, in his petition, said, he could get no medical advice for her ;—that was not true ; he (the attorney-general) had seen the affidavit of the surgeon who attended her, till her husband desired he would desist, as he had got his wife into the infirmary. As much truth attached to that part of his petition, which said he was kept in Chester-castle on bread and water, whereas he lived as well as any prisoner in the place, while he was there.

Sir S. Romilly thought the present a most important question, for it involved the freedom of the press, and the liberty of the subject. His view of it differed widely from that of his honourable and learned friend, who appeared to him not to have touched at all upon the principal points. The important question for the house to consider was, whether it was or was not legal, that these individuals should have been put in irons ? That men charged only with a libel should have been committed to prison, and ironed, was a thing so monstrous, that a few years ago it would not have

been credited. Of the fact, however, there was no doubt. It was sworn on one side, and not denied on the other.—He agreed, that these publications were highly reprehensible ; but he could not admit that they were blasphemous. To make use of the form of a particular prayer, in order to express one's detestation of certain corrupt practices, was certainly very improper ; but it was not a blasphemy. He was surprised that the commitment of men in irons did not even strike his honourable and learned friend as a novelty. It would at least have that effect upon him in the early part of his life, when he professed to entertain liberal principles and opinions. When the individuals in question asked the constables who apprehended them for their warrants, the latter produced handcuffs, which were soon turned into fetters, and thus ironed they were brought before the magistrates. They were carried in an open cart—and they, let it be remembered, were men charged only with a libel. In what situation would the house place itself, if it passed over such a violation of the liberty of the subject as this ?—Were men to be put in irons, because they were charged with libel ?

Mr. Blackburn begged the honourable and learned gentleman's pardon, but he believed that was contradicted. The honourable member then looked over the letter which he had before read, and at length read the following words—"they were placed in a large room by the fire side, and secured by a chain to their legs."

Sir Samuel Romilly—"I am quite sure that the letter stated, they were sent to the house of

correc-

correction at Preston, 'with the usual precaution.' "

Mr. Blackburn—"I believe so."

Sir Samuel Romilly—"That is just what I stated."—The usual precaution was, however, nothing more or less than irons.—It mattered very little, whether they were put by the fire side or not.—All idea of comfort was lost, when they were in chains.—Then, as to the search for papers, the attorney-general said, he would not undertake to maintain it as legal. Here all were agreed at least, and surely the house could not pass it over, if they had any regard for the liberty of the subject, and the security of property. In consequence of the circular letter, warrants were issued—the house of one of these individuals was entered, and the constable took away Rollin's Ancient History, Law's Holy Call, The Evangelical Magazine, and a Liverpool Mercury.—It was often said, *non citur a sociis*, and if in this case the libellous paper was among these books, he did not think it was much to their honour. If this search was allowed, no man could hereafter write, like Algernon Sydney, in his closet, upon political subjects. With such facts as these cases contained, he could not think that there would be any considerable number of members in that house who would say there was no ground for inquiry.

Mr. B. Bathurst contended that the allegations in the petitions were exaggerated, and that the different persons whose cases were before the house were sent to the house of correction, instead of a county prison, because such was

the practice in Lancashire, as a matter of convenience. Upon the whole, he was of opinion, that no great hardship had been suffered; and as all the circumstances were before the house, there was no necessity for the appointment of a committee.

Mr. Lockhart considered the explanation of the attorney-general as perfectly satisfactory, as far as he himself was concerned. But, at the same time, he thought that the practice, which seemed to be growing into general use, of putting men into irons before trial, deserved the serious attention of the house; as it was against the law of the land, and could not be justified by the pretence of convenience. On these grounds he should vote for the inquiry.

Mr. Bennet expressed a hope, that, if the motion was negatived, the country would bear in mind, that one of the last acts of this house of commons was to refuse inquiry in a case of admitted oppression.

The house then divided—Ayes, 17; Noes, 73.—Majority against the motion 56.

May 24.—A vote of 26971. was proposed as retired allowances to the officers employed on the military roads in the Highlands.

Mr. F. Douglas wished to know how it happened that these compensations were now for the first time granted, though those officers had been dismissed for three or four years. He did not know whether it was connected with the fact, that the name of a gentleman was to be found among them who had lately succeeded to a property that was commonly supposed to influence the Fife district of

burghs, for which the house was indebted to a noble lord, the representative of Scots laws.

Mr. Arbuthnot denied that the grants had at all been influenced by the name of colonel Anstruther, which was to be found among the persons to whom the compensations were to be granted. It was only delayed because the government was anxious to learn the justice of the claim.

The grant was, after a few words from Mr. Douglas, agreed to.

43,500*l.* to make up deficiencies of the fee funds.

26,000*l.* for the expenses of the treasury.

5,500*l.* for the expenses of the exchequer.

11,500*l.* for the expenses of the houses of parliament.

23,500*l.* for the salary and allowances of ditto.

37,000*l.* for repairing public buildings.

10,000*l.* for altering the road between Bangor and Crick.

13,000*l.* to the British Museum.

3,650*l.* for improvements in Westminster.

20,000*l.* for a chain bridge near Bangor ferry,

1,000*l.* to the Veterinary College.

78,058*l.* to Sandhurst military college.

100,000*l.* to queen Anne's bounty for the augmentation of poor livings.

Mr. W. Smith gave his negative to this vote, as he could not consent to vote sums to the augmentation of church livings, without an inquiry into the means of the church.

10,000*l.* for the augmentation of small Scots livings.

13,695*l.* to make up the deficiency of exchequer fees.

250,686*l.* to make up the deficiency of grants of 1817.

18,000,000*l.* to pay off exchequer bills.

Mr. Arbuthnot took this opportunity to mention, that the further expense of the repairs of Henry the Seventh's chapel would be about 9,000*l.*

Mr. Tierney wished to know whether provision was made for the repayment of the three millions which the bank had given notice that it should demand the repayment of?

Mr. Lushington said, the repayment of that sum would be delayed until arrangements could be made in the exchequer for appropriating the balances as they accumulated, to the public service. Difficulty had been found in making this arrangement, and it would not be submitted to parliament. Meantime the chancellor of the exchequer would negotiate with the bank to obtain some advantage to the public for the continuance of the balances with them till the next session.

A short conversation took place between Mr. Huskisson and Mr. Tierney and sir J. Newport, in which the latter gentleman contended, that the bank would have an advantage in this negotiation, by its being deferred till the separation of parliament. As a law was necessary to enable the chancellor of the exchequer to take the balances out of their hands, they might impose on him what terms they pleased.

Mr. Huskisson said, that the difficulties which had arisen did not originate with the bank.

850*l.*

850*L*. was voted for the purchase of a piece of ground adjoining to the military asylum at Southampton.

The house resumed.—On the question that the report on French indemnities be received,

Mr. Warre said, that this was a proper opportunity for calling the attention of the house to a subject which it was not fit should escape their notice. He held in his hand an account of the sums received by Great Britain, under the name of indemnity, from France. It was to be recollected that, by the treaty of the 20th November 1815, France was bound to pay an indemnity to the allied powers, of which a certain portion was to be received by this country—the object of which, as he might collect from the words of the noble lord (lord Castle-reagh) when moving the address on that treaty, was “to be to the people of this country, as far as it went, a return for their exertions during the war.” By a quite different treaty, fifty millions of francs a year were appropriated to the expense of an army of occupation to be maintained in France, of which a certain part was to be appropriated to the British army. So there were two distinct agreements—one for an indemnity, another for the support of the army. A noble friend of his had at the same time stated, in another place, that the sum appropriated to the British army would not be nearly sufficient. This had at that time been denied; but when he had recurred to this subject, it had appeared that a donation of the sum of 800,000*l*. sterling, which had never before been mentioned, had

been called in aid of the allowance of that army. So far was it manifest, that the sum which had been calculated on for the support of our army of occupation had been insufficient. But this was not all—for, from the paper which had been laid before the house, it appeared that great part of the indemnity, which the noble lord professed to have received for the English people, in return for their sacrifices in the war, had also been applied to the army of occupation. The sum of 125,000,000 of francs was to be paid to this country, of which 61,000,000 had been received. Of this 14,500,000 francs had been paid into the military chest of the army of occupation; 8,000,000 francs had been paid as part of the prize-money voted by parliament to the army, and about 32,000,000 had been remitted to England, which produced 1,400,000*l*. When he had come to this part of the account, he had flattered himself that this sum, at least, had been applied to the services of the year, as the sums had been brought to this country. But then followed a statement to show that the whole sum had been sent back again.—The sum of 104,000*l*. was paid to the pay-master for the extraordinary, and 595,000*l*. for the ordinaries of the army in France, and the rest for prize-money to that army. It was to be recollected, that this sum was not merely a donation on the part of France: by the treaty of 1815, this country had given up a claim, on the part of its subjects, of six millions and a half of rentes—a claim equal to 120,000,000 of francs. The claim so surrendered

was as just a claim as ever was made out; a certain sum had been given for the British claimants, but we in return waved a claim of 7,000,000*l.* sterling for the expense of prisoners of war. It was therefore to be remarked, that from the expense of the army of occupation, whatever France had lost, we had gained little. It remained for the noble lord to explain the cause of his erroneous calculation.

Lord Castlereagh said, it had never been calculated that the twelve millions of francs which were to be paid by France to the British part of the army of occupation, would cover the whole of its expense. All that was reckoned on was this—that the *whole* of the sums received from France would cover the expense of the army of occupation, and the erection of fortifications on the frontiers of the Netherlands. The sum which was to be expended on those fortifications was to be deemed a return for those valuable colonies which had been received from Holland at the peace. It had been thought to be on the whole advisable that the British creditors should receive a certain sum. The compromise he thought both favourable and reasonable. The sum which this country claimed for prisoners of war was not the balance on the account, but the sum total of our claim. The French had to plead a set-off against this—and they might not admit the justice of the whole of our demands; indeed, on the principles of the former French government, in negotiations of this sort, very little, if any, balance would have remained to us.

Mr. Tierney observed, that the

noble lord was obviously not very provident in his arrangements, according to his own allegations; for if our army was to be maintained in France agreeably to the letter of the treaty, why was not suitable provision made to rescue this country from that incumbrance from which all the other states concerned in that treaty were exempt?

After some remarks from Mr. Warre and lord Castlereagh, the motion was agreed to.

Lord Castlereagh moved the third reading of the alien bill.

Mr. Brougham moved a clause, that any alien ordered out of the country should be at liberty to go to any country he pleased, if a ship should be found ready for his conveyance to such country.

Lord Castlereagh objected to this clause, because it was likely to defeat the object of the bill, and to subject the country to additional expense.

Lord Compton disapproved of the bill, which he deemed extremely exceptionable in a time of peace.

Mr. Brougham defended the clause. It was not a necessary consequence of it that the government should pay the expense of sending an alien to any country which he would prefer.—But ministers seemed determined to elevate themselves to the honourable situation of the police officers, the Bow-street runners of Europe. There was another clause he would submit to the house. It was, that foreigners, who were examined under the powers of this bill before the privy council, should be at least allowed the privilege of legal assistance; interpreters they were allowed, but it

was

was often necessary to state points of law, which required the *habitus practicus interpretandi leges*. He remembered a case, in which an alien, who could have offered a strong legal objection to the course in which the privy council were proceeding with respect to him, if he had known how to express it, was denied the aid of the professional gentleman who had made the discovery for him. As many interpreters as you will, was the answer to his request, but no lawyers. It had been said that the powers with which ministers were to be invested by this bill would be dreaded only by the guilty. This was a most futile principle, even allowing that ministers only wished to punish the guilty: who could say that another Oliver might not again poison the ear of lord St. Vincent—he begged pardon, he meant lord Sidmouth? It was nothing to tell him, that lord Sidmouth was a good man—was it not notorious that he had been the dupe of spies and informers? He certainly acquitted him of the slightest participation in the crimes of these wretches; but still he contended, that after the evidence they had of his incapacity for discriminating between guilt and innocence, parliament ought not to place such power in the hands of lord St. Vincent. — He again begged pardon, and expressed his regret that he should have involuntarily confounded together two men, for whom he entertained such widely different sentiments.

Mr. Canning advised the honourable and learned gentleman to reflect that even exaggeration had its bounds, and that the painter who would draw the

darkest picture, must of necessity let in some little light. If the honourable and learned gentleman, thus, upon all occasions— heavy and light, grave and gay—dragged in the interests of mankind, the liberties of the world, and the characters of Englishmen, would not the house suspect him of crying “Wolf,” even if he ever should have a good case in hand? He could not pretend to vie with the learned gentleman in literal constructions, nor in the Ciceronian elegancies of his quotations—he was not, like the learned gentleman, in *practico habitu interpretandi leges*—but he contended that the most *practicus habitus* man in the world could not get over the plain and ostensible meaning of the clause, which was, that the alien should be conveyed, at the expense of this country, to whatever port he might choose to select.—As to the clause respecting the privilege of legal assistance, it went to a complete change of the bill, from an executive to a judicial measure; it was not a modification, but a subversion. He was not unfriendly to foreigners—far from it—he was aware how much the country had benefited from their talents and industry; but we must guard ourselves against those audacious and turbulent spirits who are always seeking a field for the exercise of their destructive powers. They are like the ancient philosopher, who said, “Give me but a space to stand upon, and I will move the world.” By this bill we reply, “You shall not stand here.”—As to the power which the bill would vest in the hands of ministers, he should be ashamed if there was any English gentleman connected with the

present ministry unfit to be intrusted; and he declared, upon his honour, that if the gentlemen on the other side of the house were in office, he would most freely intrust that power to them; and he should ask no more for himself and his colleagues than he was willing to concede to the other side.

Sir Francis Burdett said the bill was hostile to every fundamental law of the constitution. Its effect would be to drive all the talent, capital, and industry of Europe, to the only free government in the world—the United States of America. There, though at war, and a foreign army in the country, we never heard of those illegal and rigorous measures on which our government, on every little exigency, placed their safety.

Sir Samuel Romilly referred to the inconsistency of the right honourable the president of the board of control, who said that the measure was directed only against such aliens as manifested criminal intentions; yet objected to allow aliens to have counsel, because it would give the proceedings a judicial character; so that government were to have the power of punishment, without the means of ascertaining the existence of guilt! The right honourable gentleman contended, that the measure was to preserve the peace of this country, which must be disturbed if the peace of France were disturbed by those who might come hither to plot against it; but God forbid that it should be impossible that the peace of France could be disturbed without our being involved! An attempt had been made to ridicule the consistency of those who opposed the

present bill, as they had opposed former bills of a similar nature. It was the first time he had heard consistency imputed to any one as a reproach. Those who sat on his (sir Samuel Romilly's) side of the house were quite aware of the disadvantages of consistency, and did not think so meanly of themselves as not to feel that there were among them men to whom high honours would be open, could they be prevailed upon to abandon their consistency, and change their political course. The speech of the right honourable gentleman he (sir Samuel Romilly) characterized as a piece of splendid declamation, containing some pleasantry, but no argument; and it was lamentable to see the house so easily prevailed upon to sanction a measure which would include in its operation above 20,000 persons resident in this country, and many of whom had connected themselves with it by marriage.

Mr. Barham contended, that the measure was gratuitous and uncalled for; and that it was inconsistent with the spirit of our laws and constitution. It had been for the first time proposed, without the statement of any facts to show its expediency, and had been grounded on a mere set of possibilities which did not afford the shadow of a shade of danger as a cause for it. The less we had to do with the transactions between foreign governments and their subjects the better; and this bill was calculated to make us parties in all such transactions.

Mr. W. Smith observed, that by passing this bill we sanctioned in the people the belief that they were in a peril which did not exist,

ist, and prepared them for consenting to any other measures that might be proposed to guard against a non-existing danger. The bill had no other object but to sap and undermine the constitution.

Sir J. Newport had hoped the unparalleled sacrifices made during the war would have yielded other fruits than the alien bill, the bank restriction bill, and other measures, which were calculated to show that our blood had been shed in vain, and our treasures expended to no advantage.

The house then divided: For the clause, 35;—Against it, 87.—Majority, 52.

Sir Samuel Romilly then moved his clause exempting from the operation of the bill aliens who were resident in Great Britain and Ireland on the 1st of January 1814, and who had ever since continued to reside therein.

Lord Castlereagh observed, that foreigners, although long resident in this country, might be made the instruments of mischief.

Sir Samuel Romilly replied, So might natives—the next step therefore of government ought to be directed against them.

The clause was negatived without a division.

Mr. Brougham proposed a clause to exempt from the operation of the bill women married to natural born subjects of the realm, ~~for~~ who had been naturalized; when the house divided—

For the clause, 37;—Against it, 87.—Majority, 50.

The clause for allowing aliens to be heard by counsel was negatived without a division.

On the motion that the bill do pass, the house again divided—

For the motion, 94;—Against it, 29.—Majority, 65.

House of lords, May 25.—The earl of Hardwick moved the commitment of the bill for the amendment of the poor laws; in doing which his lordship went over the various clauses, and stated the object of each. He observed, that the present bill was not to be considered as a solitary measure, but as part of a system intended for the reform of the poor laws.

The marquis of Lansdowne said this measure came recommended by the committee of the other house on the poor laws; but he must say, without any disrespect to that committee, that the public were far more benefited by the principles they had laid down in their report, than by the bills they had thought fit to found upon it. In legislating on the poor laws, one principle ought to be kept in view; if their lordships could not venture to cut off the springs of that inundation of evil which had overspread the land, they ought at least to take care not to legislate on the same vicious principle, the force of which had increased with the duration of the system. The principle so truly stated in the report was totally irreconcilable with the provision in page 6th of the printed bill, which made it lawful for overseers and church-wardens to take from parents, reduced to the necessity of applying for relief, their children under twelve years of age. This bill created the certainty of getting rid of the burthen of a numerous family, and therefore removed all that prospect of difficulty which ought to be taken into consideration in contract-

contracting marriage. Its effect would be to foster new generations of paupers, who would look to the workhouse as their inheritance, and who would rely on the public, not on their own industry, for their maintenance. The expense of this mode of providing for the children ought also to be considered. A child could not be maintained for the parish for less than 20*l.*; but a much less sum given for the relief of the family to which the child belonged would be sufficient. The only true remedy for the evil was to breed up the lower classes with the idea that they must depend on their own exertions alone for their own support. Another clause to which he felt a great objection was, that which enabled parish officers to buy land for the purpose of employing those who could not find work. If the land were poor, it could only be cultivated at a loss, and the poor-rates must be increased to the amount of that loss; if the land were rich, the cultivation of it with parish funds would be an injury to those who laboured for their own support. The whole enactment was the result of that unfortunate principle that held it out as possible to create a demand for labour, whatever the circumstances of the country, or the state of manufactures and commerce, might be—a principle so absurd that it was at once subversive of itself. If this principle were not abandoned, wages must be brought to the lowest limit that human misery could endure. In fact, the magistrates of Birmingham had actually on this principle lowered the wages of the nailors, and told

them that they must make up the difference with relief out of the poor-rates. He therefore entreated the house to consider, whether the perseverance in this system would not plunge the community into an irretrievable danger, which could only end in a convulsion. On these grounds he thought it his duty to take the sense of the house on these clauses.

The earl of Liverpool said a few words; and the clause relating to the provision of children separate from their parents was withdrawn without a division.

The marquiss of Lansdowne, the earl of Harrowby, and earl Grosvenor, having made some observations on other clauses of the bill, and several verbal alterations having been agreed to, the house divided on the clause for rating the landlords of houses of above 4*l.* and under 20*l.* annual value:—Contents, 17;—Non-contents, 7.—Majority, 10.

The other clauses were then disposed of.

May 26.—The earl of Liverpool rose to move the committee on the bank restriction bill. He believed all agreed that great delicacy should be used as to the precise time at which they should recur to a state of cash payments. On the return of peace, it was the opinion of many, that the period of that resumption was arrived. But that was not his opinion, because a change from war to peace produced always, he might say, a convulsion in the state of property, and was attended by circumstances which imperiously called on them to allow a breathing-time before they should have recourse to a renewal of cash-payments.

payments. The bank had, he believed, made every necessary preparation for returning to a state of cash payments. But if the circumstances of the country were now unfavourable to that resumption, the attempt would be far more dangerous than a continuance of the restriction. There was a circumstance depending, which could not but have considerable influence over the financial operations of this and every other country in Europe. He alluded to the arrangement for the payment of the French contributions, which had materially affected the exchanges of Europe. This arrangement would leave for France to raise, within a limited time, a sum of no less than 30 millions sterling. The question was, whether they could look at a thing of this kind, without endeavouring to protect the currency of this country from the consequences to be apprehended. He was sure the house would consider such a state of things as having a most unfavourable operation on our currency.

Lord Grenville said, that nothing but strong and imperious necessity should induce parliament to continue this restriction; and no such grounds of necessity had been made out. It had been assigned as the only cause, that France was some time this year to negotiate a loan, no one knew to what extent; but was that a reason for their consenting to destroy the very foundations of our public credit? He had no doubt that all the distress of the middling classes had been caused by the restriction of cash payments, the extensive issue of bank paper, and the forced circulation of it.

Parliament ought to have had an opportunity of examining into the alleged necessity for the continuance of this restriction, and also into the steps taken by the bank towards a resumption of cash payments. He contended that the advance of 15 millions to France last year, by British capitalists, could not have had the effect of altering the foreign exchanges against this country. The bank paper was at a depreciation of 5 per cent.; and although they had wisely got rid of the income tax of 10 per cent. to the state, yet, by continuing this restriction, they were making every man in the country pay an income tax of 5 per cent. to the bank of England.

In the discussion which followed, the earl of Harrowby argued in support of the bill.

The marquis of Lansdowne and the earl of Lauderdale spoke at considerable length against it.

Lord King followed shortly on the same side.

The earl of Liverpool replied at some length, answering the various objections made by noble lords opposite against the measure.

The house having gone into a committee,

The earl of Lauderdale proposed an amendment, tending to limit the duration of the bill to six weeks after the opening of the next session.

The committee divided—Contents, 9;—Non-contents, 22.—Majority against the amendment, 13.

Several other amendments were then proposed, and negatived without a division.

House of commons, May 25.—
A bill

A bill for raising 11,000,000*l.* by exchequer bills was brought in.

A bill for raising 800,000*l.* British currency, by treasury bills, in Ireland, was brought in.

May 26.—Mr. Calcraft brought in a bill to repeal the present duties on rock salt, and to impose lower duties in lieu thereof.

Mr. J. Smith, seeing the chancellor of the exchequer in his place, wished to ask him whether it was his intention to raise any further sum by way of loan during the present year for the public service. He also wished to know from the right honourable gentleman, what steps had been taken with respect to the loans of 6,000,000*l.* and 3,000,000*l.* advanced by the bank, which were to be repaid during the present year. The 6,000,000*l.*, it appeared, was provided for, but he had heard of no provision for the 3,000,000*l.*

Mr. Vansittart said, there certainly was no intention on the part of government to raise any further sum during the present year. With respect to the nine millions advanced by the bank, provision had been made for the payment of 6,000,000*l.*; nothing remained but to settle the proportion of payment and the times. With respect to the 3,000,000*l.*, he could not say with certainty whether it would be paid this year; a negotiation on the subject was now pending with the bank.

Mr. Tierney said, the 3,000,000*l.* would then be liable to the payment of an interest of 4½ per cent. and the country might be subjected to that charge until the next session of parliament; and further, until provision was made by parliament for the repayment.

Mr. Vansittart observed, it was true that by the act the bank were entitled to 4½ per cent. but the subject was open to negotiation and arrangement; and, he repeated, an arrangement with the bank was now pending.

On the motion made by Mr. Vansittart, for reading the lottery bill a third time,

Mr. Lyttleton renewed his objections to the bill, as protecting a scheme at once immoral and improper, by encouraging illegal insurances. He complained of the rapidity with which the bill had been hurried through the house, and of the not having printed it previous to its commitment. The plan was a shabby and dishonourable one, for cheating the subject out of his money, scandalous to one party, and the object of ridicule to all serious and well-disposed persons. The measure was at variance with every principle of sound policy; it encouraged gambling, and was calculated to destroy public morals. He moved an amendment, "that the bill be read a third time this day three months."

Mr. Parnell lamented that the government should resort to a species of gambling which was disgraceful to the country. He thought a proper epitaph for the right honourable gentleman would be

" Here lies
The right honourable
NICHOLAS VANSITTART,
Once chancellor of the exchequer :
The patron of Bible societies;
The builder of churches;
A friend to the education of the poor,
An encourager of savings banks,
And a supporter of lotteries !"

Mr. Morland and Mr. Lockhart objected to the bill, on the grounds

grounds stated by the two last speakers.

Mr. alderman Wood said, the great evil was the small lottery-insurers, who kept offices. In Newgate-street, and other places, he had been to search after these criminals; and he found a person, holding a high official situation in the long room at the custom house, taking illegal insurances, and seducing clerks and others to adventure their moneys in the hopes of having a lucky hit. He did not mean to accuse the respectable office-keepers.

Mr. Lyttleton could not avoid observing of the respectability alluded to by the worthy alderman: that where the choosing was to lie in the respectability of the person, it was like what was said in Measure for Measure, "Where a bawd and a hangman were introduced there was very little difference in the choice."

The house then divided:—For the third reading now, 40—For the amendment, 14—Majority, 26. —The bill was passed.

CHAPTER VII.

Education of the Poor Bill.—Alien Bill.—Regency Act Amendment Bill.—Reform of Parliament.—State of Prisons.

HOUSE of lords, May 27.—Lord Rosslyn moved the commitment of the bill for the education of the poor. His lordship prefaced his motion by going at some length into a review of the state of the public charities of the country, and pointing out the necessity of a particular inquiry into them, with a view of their funds being applied according to the intention of the original foundations.

The lord chancellor said, that in his opinion the operation of the proposed bill would be excessively injurious to the charitable institutions of the country; and though he had the highest respect for the talent, integrity, and views of those who advocated the measure, yet he could by no means agree with them in the mode in which they wished to carry their object

into effect. By the 52d of the king, the care of these charities was vested in the court of chancery, which had the power of deciding upon their proper management, and he was satisfied that the judges of that court would at all times give every protection in their power to every charitable institution. He did not mean to say that no abuses existed in particular charities, but then he wished to guard their lordships against any measure affecting the charities of the country generally from the abuses which might exist in a few. This bill he conceived would be productive of one great injury to the charities; for by exposing trustees to the trouble of these inquiries, few men of honourable conduct would be found to engage themselves in such trusts. There was one thing which would necessarily

sarily result from this bill, which, in his opinion, was particularly objectionable. It went to appoint commissioners for an inquiry into all charities, but there were some of these which were placed by the founder beyond such jurisdiction, by having, according to the wishes of the original donors, particular persons in whom the management and disposal of the funds were particularly vested. Now if any man were to leave his property, and no doubt any person might leave it for what lawful purpose he thought best, and order its being disposed in that way which he thought was most proper, for the principle of law was

"*Cujus est dare, ejus est disponere*"—if such a person were to leave any property for charitable purposes, and to appoint the bishop of a particular place, or the head of a particular college, to be the governors, managers, or visitors of his institution so established, he (the lord chancellor) should say as a lawyer, that in such case the law would not interfere in the management without very strong grounds. He would not here discuss the question as to the right or power of either house of parliament to interfere, but he should wish to guard against the precedent of breaking down the principle by which all such charitable institutions were regulated. With respect to the profits of certain individuals arising from the management of particular charities, he should say, that if such profits were allowed by the original grant of the donors, it was the property of those persons, and no power had a right to interfere with them. It had been said, that several grammar schools were endowed,

in which there were at the present day fewer or none of those for whom the charity was intended; but that was not the fault of the trustees or masters of those schools; it was occasioned by a fashion of the present day of sending children in sixes and sevens to public seminaries, and if children were kept away from those free schools, the blame could not be said to rest with the trustees. The noble and learned lord then contended, that though a certain sum was set down in the bill for the expenses of the commissioners, the cost would be forty times greater. It would also entail a vast expense upon the trustees of several charities; for in many cases individuals were appointed trustees for different charities, where the funds were very small; and if they were, as they might be by the operation of the present bill, obliged to attend some of the commissioners in Berkshire, and then others in a more remote county, they would be put to costs, which it could not be expected they ought to bear themselves, and which, if taken from the funds of the charities, would in many cases entirely consume them, and in others leave but little for the original purposes. But the principal objection which he had to the bill was, that it did not state what was to be the ultimate object of this inquiry by the commissioners, and until that was avowed, he could not give his entire concurrence to the measure. He again begged to caution their lordships against an interference where they were likely to do more harm than good. They should recollect, that there were many worthy men, who voluntarily took upon themselves the office of trustees and
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managers to many valuable charities, and who would immediately resign their trusts if they were to be exposed to all the trouble to which they might be by the present bill. There were many corporate bodies in London in this situation; and if such persons as he had mentioned went out of the management of the charities, they would fall into the hands of men who would only expose themselves to the trouble of the situation for the sake of the profit which they might make by it. He would not at present object to the going into the committee on the bill, but he begged to be understood, that unless some very material alterations were agreed to in it, and that some strong objections which he had were removed, he by no means pledged himself to support the third reading of the bill.

Lord Holland said, he would not proceed to answer the observations of the noble and learned lord, for he conceived the most of them were wide of the question. The bill was not, as he had said, to decide upon any of the abuses which existed, but to ascertain to what extent they did exist. It was said the bill did not state its ultimate object; but the bills for the naval and military inquiries did not state what their ultimate was, and they were not thought arbitrary or objected to on that account. It was not a bill against the trustees of charities—that was a total mistake, it was to inquire into the state of education in the country—to see what funds were applicable to that great object, and also to know how those funds were applied. Unless this were done, it would be impossible for

parliament to bring forward any remedy for the abuses which were acknowledged to exist. The noble lord then contended that the parliament had a clear right to make such an inquiry, for it was a principle, that every man who held any public trust ought to account for the manner in which he executed that trust. If parliament were bound to provide in some measure for the education of the poor, they were also bound to inquire first, as to the state in which the system of education at present stood. The noble and learned lord had said some days back, when he brought forward a measure, that some other noble lords were very anxious and ready to pick holes in it, but it now appeared that he himself was particularly disposed to find fault with the measures introduced by others. Indeed, considering the acumen for which the noble lord was remarkable for this system of finding fault, it was rather a matter of surprise that he was not quite perfect in the introduction of measures himself. On this part of the subject, he was reminded of the conduct of a gentleman who was conspicuous for his opposition during the American war, but afterwards having joined the party in power, he made a speech on the side opposite to that which he was before in the habit of supporting. This not being remarkable for talent compared with his former speeches, a gentleman remarked to Mr. Soame Jennings, his surprise, that he who was so expert before, should have made so bad a speech then. Mr. Jennings said it was quite natural; and he added, “Here is a man who has been in the habit of breaking windows

dows for twelve or fourteen years, and now you expect him all at once to become a glazier."

Lord Redesdale contended, that the bill would be productive of a great deal of evil without any one real good. If, as it was said, it went to point out abuses, he wanted to know what it was to do then? This was what the noble lord had not informed the house of. Why was not some ulterior measure proposed? The bill, he conceived, was useless without such a provision being brought in. Under these circumstances, he could not consent to going into the committee.

Lord Carnarvon supported the bill.

Their lordships then divided—

For going into the committee, 10; Against it, 8; Majority for going into the committee, 2.

Lord Liverpool proposed as a clause, that the power of the commissioners should be restricted to an inquiry into charities established for the education of the poor. This was put, and agreed to.

House of lords, June 1.—Lord Sidmouth rose to move the committee on the alien bill. His lordship observed, that the object of this bill was, by giving a power to the executive government of sending aliens under particular circumstances from the country, to prevent this kingdom, as well as others, in the tranquillity of which we were concerned, from being the theatre of such disturbances as those from which Europe had so lately escaped. The effects of former bills of this nature had been sufficiently felt, when France and other nations were involved in the horrors of revolutionary de-

spotism. But the same circumstances did not now exist, and therefore the present measure was quite different in its enactments from that which had been passed in 1792. By that measure, a most strict guard was placed over the conduct of foreigners coming into and residing here. They were for the most part confined to particular places of residence, from which they could not remove without special leave. The present bill required no such control over them; it only gave to the government the power of sending any of them out of the country when their conduct was such as to call for such a proceeding. This bill was in fact nothing more than to give weight and legislative sanction to that prerogative which existed in the crown of sending foreigners from our shores under particular circumstances. He knew that the existence of this power in the crown was denied; but passing that question by for a moment, it could not be denied that such a power was vested somewhere; and when he saw the crown enjoying, undisputed, the authority of preventing its own subjects from leaving the country, and of recalling them to it under particular penalties, he could not but conclude that the power of sending aliens from it, when necessary, was also vested in the same authority. He admitted that this power of the crown was exercised by proclamation, and that in case of refusal, the party disobeying might be brought before a court of justice, where, the proclamation being proved, he might be tried for the offence. Now, he had no doubt, that if
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such a case were brought before a court of justice, the person accused would be convicted, and this he considered should be sufficient to remove one objection to the bill; for it only went to give to the secretary of state the power of doing that efficiently and promptly, which might be done by a proclamation in another way. When he contended for the propriety of having such power vested in the executive government, he by no means denied, on the contrary he fully admitted, that it ought only to be exercised in cases of emergency, and the review of the use which had been made of it since the peace, would prove that it was only exercised in such cases. It was then for their lordships to consider, whether, when all the powers of Europe had consented to the adoption of such a measure, we should be the only exception; whether we should be the only power who should be without some prompt and decisive means of getting rid of those evil-disposed men who might be desirous of coming amongst us for the better carrying on their plots and machinations? It was on these grounds he submitted the necessity of the measure. It could not be denied, that there were scattered over the face of Europe, a set of men who, disappointed and defeated in the execution of those schemes in which they were but too long successful, were anxious, by every means in their power, to sow dissensions, and to disturb public harmony wherever they went. Would it, he would ask, be for the honour or safety of this country to suffer such men who might visit our shores, to act without any control

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being held over them, or to go on with their wicked practices, without any fear of being molested? He was satisfied their lordships then would agree with him that it would not, and therefore he trusted they would see the necessity of that measure which went to secure this country at least from their attempts. He did not here think it necessary to go further into the general principle of the bill: he should only state to their lordships, that when it should be in the committee, if their lordships suffered the committee to be gone into, he should move a clause, which he conceived to be of particular importance, and which he thought was called for by circumstances that had lately occurred. Their lordships should know that by an act passed in 1695, entitled "An act for the erection of the bank of Scotland," it was ordained that any foreigner becoming a partner in the bank, became thereby a naturalised subject of Scotland; and by the subsequent act of union, every person naturalised in Scotland became also naturalised in England. Now if an alien were to vest a certain small capital in the Scotch bank, he might to all intents and purposes defeat the intentions of the legislature with respect to aliens altogether. Every thing which their lordships might think fit to enact on the subject of aliens, might be rendered nugatory by any alien vesting his funds in the bank of Scotland. He would appeal to their lordships, whether, if they admitted the principle of the bill, they would consent to its being abrogated in that manner? He felt that it would not be fit at that late period of the session, to move

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for the repeal of those parts of the acts which stood in opposition to this bill; but his clause, if agreed to, would have the effect of suspending their operation during the continuance of the alien act. He felt it necessary to do so, in consequence of several aliens having within the last five weeks placed money in the Scotch bank, with the view of evading the provisions of the present bill as it was originally proposed.—The noble lord concluded by moving, that the house do resolve itself into a committee on the bill.

Earl Fitzwilliam opposed the bill. The general tenor of his argument, was the necessity of returning in time of peace to the ancient practices of the constitution.

The duke of Sussex felt it necessary to offer a few observations upon this bill. He was directly hostile to the principle of the measure, which he thought uncalled for by any circumstances in which the country was now placed; but he would not dwell so much on that, as it would be adverted to by others in the course of the debate, as upon a case which had grown out of the measure, and which he conceived was an abuse of the power vested by it. He was the more anxious to mention this case, as certain insinuations had been thrown out upon the subject, which he thought it right to repel and throw back on the quarter from which they came.—The case was that of an officer who had been tried at Lisbon, and who had afterwards come over to this country, but who, the moment he landed at Harwich, was immediately placed on board another vessel, and sent away again. The only thing which had been alleged

against him was, that of his having been accused and tried at Lisbon for some practices against the government there. Of that charge he believed him to be wholly innocent; and here he should say, in allusion to the insinuations he had before mentioned, that he was not acquainted latterly with the individual, he had known him before, and when he was in this country. While in the service of an illustrious personage, he was in the habit of communication with him, but since then he had none. The ground, as he had mentioned, of the arrest of this officer on his arrival in Harwich, was, that he had been tried at Lisbon; but to any of their lordships who were acquainted with the forms of a trial at Lisbon, where a promotion of the judge generally followed the conviction of a person inimical to the state, it would not appear that a conviction was always an evidence of guilt. He could not, then, but regard this case as one of severity under the powers of the act. Their lordships ought at all times to view the exercise of such power with peculiar jealousy; but more particularly when they saw such practices taking place in its exercise. It should, even when declared to be for the safety of this country only, be viewed with considerable caution; but when it was avowed, as it had been by the noble secretary on the opposite side, that it was also thought necessary to preserve the tranquillity of other countries, he thought it was an innovation on the principle of our domestic regulations, having a most dangerous tendency, and therefore he should not only oppose the going into the committee, but

but in every other stage as far as lay in his power.

Lord Holland contended, that the arguments used on the other side in support of the bill went rather against it. It had been often defended on account of its necessity from the state of the country, but now it was supported on that of its former exercise not having been abused, and that the persons who had been affected by its operation, were only persons of very bad characters. These arguments, he maintained, went not at all to the principle of the bill, and some of them were not the fact. It was not true that all the persons who had been obliged to leave the country under the operation of the alien act, were of the very worst description; but whether they were or not, the principle on which that act was sought to be maintained was, in his opinion, still the same. Was he, were their lordships, to be told, because the sovereigns of the continent adopted the principle of banishing from their realms mutually, those whom each conceived disagreeable to the other, that Great Britain was to follow the example? Was England, which had ever made it its policy, and found in that policy its best interest, now to refuse an asylum to foreigners merely because they happened to be displeasing to the arbitrary governments of the continent? He trusted their lordships would not think so, but that they would preserve the ancient practices of the constitution and of the law. If any foreigner was found offending against any law of this country, that law was sufficient for his punishment; but

in that case he would have the benefit of a trial, and an opportunity of establishing his innocence if he really were innocent; but if the present bill passed, he would be deprived of those advantages, and exposed to injury in his person and property, perhaps only upon suspicion, founded upon the false information of an enemy. It had been said, that this power had not been abused, and that it was not likely to be abused. This he denied, and contended that from the very nature of it it must be abused. Its exercise often rested upon testimony which the minister did not wish to disclose, and which thereby precluded any certainty of its being correct, as the party against whom it was given was deprived of all means of showing its falsehood, if it were so. It was no argument in its favour, that it had only been exercised against bad characters, for the innocent were equally exposed to its operation with the guilty: and this also was an argument against its policy, for if those who meant well, and who might by their residence amongst us be of service to the country, were certain that by coming here they must be at the arbitrary disposal of one man, they would very naturally be deterred from coming here at all. They would still find that the boasted protection of our laws and constitution would not avail them, while constantly exposed to the operation of a power which might be brought into action against them by the designs of the interested or the machinations of the malevolent. It was not an argument in favour of the bill to say, that the person whom it might have to exercise it

was a man of humane disposition. If he were to have the clemency of a Titus, and every other good quality which had existed in any other legislator or philosopher, he would not still be exempt from some of the failings of our common nature, and in those failings, however slight they might be, would the insidious enemy of an alien find his advantage in producing his ruin.—The noble lord then gave two instances of the effect of this bill upon aliens, where no crime was intended. The first was of a Mr. Deboffe, who had brought over a vast quantity of French books upon speculation; among these was one which some person told him would be very obnoxious to the government here, and cautioned him how he exposed it for sale. The consequence was, the man became so alarmed lest the whole should be seized, and he himself brought into trouble, though he (lord H.) believed that no law existed for such a seizure, that he relinquished the sale and lost the whole speculation. The next case to which he alluded, was that of a person who went to Mr. Pitt and informed him that he had a most important matter to communicate, which he wished to do in secret. Mr. Pitt, however, would not hear him, except before a witness. His communication was, that certain sums of money were to be given to two persons, by the French government, for the purpose of assassinating him (Mr. Pitt). He pointed out the places and times from and at which the money was to be transmitted to certain bankers in this country. Mr. Pitt did not

know whether to think this of great importance, but he sent an account of it to the foreign ministers; and the Austrian government of the Netherlands, having the arbitrary power which was sought to be obtained by the present bill, examined several bankers and other persons; and finding that the statement of the person in England was, in many circumstances, correct, they apprehended the two individuals mentioned, and had them cast into a dungeon, where they remained until the peace, when it turned out that these very persons had been only making preparations to come to this country to recover a debt which Mr. Pitt's informer owed to them. The name of this person he did not think it then necessary to mention, but he would state it to any of their lordships who had a desire to know it. When such were the impositions to which the minister intrusted with this power might be exposed, he conceived that he was borne out in saying, however humane the individual having such power might be, that that power was one which ought not to be granted, being so much exposed to abuse. The noble lord then mentioned several other instances in which the power might be abused, even with the best intentions on the part of the minister, and he particularly alluded to the arrest of Las Casas and seizure of his papers, by which if he were a literary man he might have been for ever ruined. Hethen contended that the bill was against the general policy of Great Britain; and alluding to the clause intended to be proposed with respect to aliens holding property in

in the Scotch banks, he said it was a direct violation of the rights of property, which were granted by several acts of the Scotch parliament and confirmed by the act of union. This he would maintain was in decided hostility to the general principles of our policy with respect to foreigners, for that the laws and constitution had ever recognised and encouraged the settlement of foreigners, amongst us, and the investment of their capital in our funds, for general commerce. The object of this bill went, in his opinion, to support a system which had lately been acted upon on the continent, not of having that division of states governed by different laws, manners, and customs, which had been so well described by Gibbon, as tending to the general welfare and security of Europe, but of one of universal monarchy, a sort of club of sovereigns, who might each, by having the countenance and support of the other, act with their several subjects as they pleased. Those sovereigns seemed to wish that each should assist the other in persecuting those who happened to be obnoxious to them; but would England consent to give up, in order to support such a system, that hospitality and protection to strangers for which she had ever been distinguished? This hospitable asylum afforded to strangers was once the pride and boast of England and Englishmen. It was the great characteristic of a free people; and indeed so enthusiastic were some upon it, that they called in the aid of imagination, and seemed to believe that from our geographical situation we were designed by Providence to afford a shelter to the distressed

of all countries. That great man Waller, the founder of parliamentary eloquence, speaking of the situation of England in this respect, described it as

———"A region sure design'd
To be the common refuge of mankind."

But it seemed that great man was mistaken, and that in proportion as our situation held out inducement to foreign settlers amongst us, laws were to be made to counteract such a disposition on their part. The noble lord then went on with several other arguments to show the impolicy of the bill, and concluded with remarking, that if this were done to support the legitimate government of France, ministers would be called upon by the same principle to prevent any person from interfering in the affairs of Spain, and the king of Spain might say with truth, that if we did not take the same steps with regard to his rebellious subjects, as we had with regard to some of the subjects of France, that we were advocating their cause. How much easier would it be for ministers to say, that in both cases they were prevented from any interference by the ancient laws and practices of the country?

The earl of Westmôreland said, that if their lordships took a correct and comprehensive view of the present bill, it would be found that, instead of granting fresh powers to the executive, it did nothing more than provide for the effectual discharge of those granted by the constitution to the crown. There were three aspects, or rather two, since the third appeared as included in the two first, under which it was proposed to regard the present bill.

First, as it regarded our internal peace ; secondly, as it enabled us to preserve the relations of amity with foreign states ; and thirdly, as preventing both natives and others, while resident here, from intermeddling with that repose which was the object of the peace. In his opinion, he could assure their lordships, that any one of the above three considerations would alone be sufficient to induce him to support an alien bill ; but their combined force he conceived quite sufficient to overpower all the objections which were urged by the opposite side. He said this with some confidence, because he had listened with fixed attention to the arguments of the noble lords opposite, which, divested of the eloquence of the speakers, must be resolved into the question as to the origin of the powers to be granted by the present bill. The great argument in favour of the power of the crown connected with its prerogative, was to be found in the thirtieth chapter of Magna Charta, which though meant to curtail the stretch of the crown, and used in argument against it, was, in his opinion, most clearly in its favour. The history of the country gave instances of the exercise of this power by the crown, in the expulsion of the Jews by Edward the First, during the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and at some other times ; and if their lordships would look into the history of the country at all, touching the power in question, they would find it necessary to go back to ancient times. So necessary was this power to the well-being of the state, that if the crown was not already possessed of it, he should

consider the latter fact as an argument in favour of the present bill. Government could not without such authority long maintain our relations with neighbouring states ; for nothing could be more monstrous than to suppose that foreign states could remain in peace with this country while their subjects were allowed to carry on plans of mischief here against our allies. This principle was an ancient and acknowledged one ; all the hostilities of Greece originated in reproaches for harbouring the enemies of the respective states ; the war of the Succession was occasioned by similar means ; and, not to dwell on remote facts, their lordships could not have forgotten the complaints made by the revolutionary governments of France respecting the asylum which emigrants from that country were permitted to receive here. Power, he would allow, was liable to abuse. But what was the fact as to this law ? Because three or four persons had been ordered from our shores among more than as many hundreds, who had found shelter, was the character of the country to be impeached, its hospitality decried, and foreigners told it was unsafe to fly here for protection from undeserved hardships ? He would contend that the merit of the measure now submitted to their lordships was, that it operated on the conduct of all : if foreigners who came here acted well, they knew beforehand they would remain safe ; if they acted badly, or intended so to act, they also were aware that they would be removed. It was said, however, that the present bill would prevent some foreigners from contributing to our population, our
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arts, and our wealth. Although he was himself not much afraid of that excess of population which some politicians and writers had dreaded so much, yet he must confess, that there were certain means of augmenting it which he really was not anxious to adopt. He should consider it undue means, for instance, to make this country the receptacle for every rogue, vagabond, or incendiary, that should presume it expedient to resort here from foreign parts. Highly as he respected the attachment of Englishmen to that constitution which their ancestors had transmitted down to the present age, he owned he did not think such a feeling was likely to be improved by an influx of persons bred in the school of revolutionary France, and accustomed to admire the despotism of Buonaparte. But it was observed, there would be no necessity for the present law in a period of peace. While he thanked some noble lords for the compliments they had thought proper to pay to the peace which his colleagues had made, and which they were assured was likely now to last, he should, at the same time, be gratified to be informed when the sudden light broke in upon those noble lords which had enabled them to discover that there was no danger to be apprehended in peace, that all was calm, that no apprehensions were felt, and no security to be taken in order to consolidate a peace so recently made. Other states, it should be considered, had the power to send away their suspected and suspicious men, which rendered the same power necessary here, as otherwise the exercise of it elsewhere

would have the effect of driving the refuse herd of foreigners to this country, and compel them to settle here. These were the grounds upon which he should support the bill. Liberality was a favourite word with noble lords on the other side, and he could not help adverting to a most benevolent act which characterized their administration in 1806. It would be recollected that a person came over to this country to propose the assassination of Buonaparte to Mr. Fox, when that minister not only at once rejected the proposal with becoming scorn, but caused the first consul to be written to upon the affair, which occasioned such loving letters that a negotiation was begun for a peace. Instead of sending the assassin off, as very properly was done, suppose a complaint had been transmitted by the French government, with a request to dismiss him, what would have been thought of an answer like this—"We cannot send away the wretch, but we have proceeded to prosecute him, and after two or three terms we expect to get rid of him?" Would noble lords now contend, that a power which had been exerted for the safety of the person with whom we were at open war at that time, would they contend that the same power should not be exercised in peace, and for the protection of the governments of our friends? He should trouble their lordships at no greater length, as he trusted that they would heartily support the bill.

The marquis of Lansdowne was so convinced of the importance that was attached to the bill, originating in apprehensions and exaggerations, and whose powers

had been asked till they were granted as matter of course, that he wished to make a few observations more upon it. All the arguments in defence of it, he was sorry to say, went to make it a perpetual bill. Upon its specific grounds they had heard nothing from the noble viscount at all satisfactory, no case of danger was made out ; but because some persons had imbibed opinions not consonant to us, and it was stated in addition that there existed a possibility of their infecting us in time, we were called upon to relinquish the safeguard of the country. There were periods in which foreigners were much more dangerous to this country than at the present time ; and as to the construction put upon a passage in Magna Charta by the noble earl, he could only say, that it was differently interpreted by lord Coke, to whom every one looked up. Neither the Jesuits, nor, after them, the Anabaptists, had driven the country into measures so hostile to its interests. No one during those periods, on either side of the house, came down to parliament to propose such a bill. Even the exile of the royal house of Stuart created no law against the Jacobites who threatened the new order of the crown ; but, through the most critical times, the law of the country was still its security. Here the noble marquis took occasion to instance the United States of America, as giving full shelter to all those flying from persecution in other lands, and rejecting the protection of an alien law. He declared that our foreign relations would not be improved by the bill ; and never could he believe, that a

country which its own factions had never been able to shake to its political base, could be endangered by a few foreigners of even a suspicious cast. Throughout the whole reasoning in support of the bill, he perceived a strange disposition to undervalue the laws of the country. He wished to rest the constitution on its native strength. Alluding to the clause about to be proposed by the noble viscount, he hoped their lordships would pause before they passed a clause having a retrospective effect on the funded property of foreigners. This would be a precedent for future times.

The earl of Harrowby said, that noble lords treated the subject as if the world was still in its ordinary state. The power to be acquired by the present bill, however, was not new to the constitution of the country, and the bill only went to define and declare an undoubted power. With respect to the reign of Elizabeth, if that period was to be referred to, and the whole of her reign taken together, it would not be found so favourable to the rights of subjects as noble lords appeared to consider it ; but as to the period of the house of Stuart, the danger to be apprehended was from English Jacobites at home, and not from French Jacobins who might resort here. He believed that, after all, no sound foreigner would ever be intimidated from or prevented in settling here ; and, indeed, some thousands of aliens had so settled within a short space. America was adverted to, as if she was not in a very different state to us, separated from Europe by a great ocean, and removed from its turmoils and hostilities.

tilities. But what description of men did it behove us to receive with open arms? Not, surely, the admirers of Buonaparte, who had supported his invasions abroad and his despotism at home. But owing to the vicinity of England and France, it was likely that such persons would flock here unless prevented, and therefore he hoped their lordships would interpose the present bill.

Their lordships now divided on the question for committing the bill.—Contents 34;—Non-contents 15:—Majority 19.

The house then went into the committee, when lord Melville moved a clause, excepting aliens from the benefit of the act, as far as related to the bank of Scotland. This produced a long debate, in which the earl of Lauderdale, the duke of Sussex, lord Holland, earl Grey, and the earl of Carnarvon opposed the clause; and the lord chancellor, the earl of Liverpool, and lord Redesdale, supported it. The clause, at length, was agreed to without a division.

Earl Grey then moved an amendment, limiting the time of the operation of the bill, which, after a good deal of discussion, was likewise rejected without any division.

An amendment was then moved by the earl of Lauderdale, the object of which was to suspend the operation of the bill to the sixth week after the commencement of the next session. This amendment was likewise negatived without a division.

A clause to exempt from the operation such aliens and their children as had been naturalised five years, was negatived in like manner.

The lord chancellor moved a clause, the intent of which was, to prevent aliens from availing themselves of the ancient laws relative to the bank of Scotland at any time subsequent to the 28th of last April.

This clause was opposed by the marquis of Lansdowne, who moved as an amendment to the clause, that instead of the words "the 28th of April," the words "from the date of the passing of the present bill" be inserted.

This produced a very long discussion, in which the earl of Lauderdale, lord Holland, and the earl of Rosslyn supported the amendment; and the earl of Liverpool, lord Melville, and lord Redesdale opposed it.

A division took place on the question of the amendment, which was rejected by a majority of 20; the numbers being, in favour of it 40; against it 20.

The clause was then put and agreed to.

Lord Gage moved, that a clause be inserted, giving the alien a month's notice, and that he should be embarked at any port he might desire.

For the clause 20;—Against it 42:—Majority 22.

House of commons, June 1.—Lord Castlereagh moved the order of the day for the second reading of the regency act amendment bill.

The order of the day being read, the noble lord said he would open to the house in a few words what the object of the bill was. There was no necessity for entering into any argument upon it. The best course for him to pursue would be merely to explain the provisions of the measure. The bill might be divided

divided into two branches. The object of the first part was to afford such assistance and such facilities to her majesty as the nature of her trust required. Upon this point there would be, he apprehended, no difference of opinion. The object in view was to provide such an addition to the queen's council as was essential to the comfort, if not to the necessities, of his majesty. Some of the distinguished characters who at present formed the council found it inconvenient, if not impossible, from the nature of their public duties, to attend at all times when their presence was required. When her majesty was absent upon any occasion that might call her from Windsor, it would be necessary that one or more of the council should be resident there. Neither the present number of which it consisted nor their avocations would always allow of this. The object of the first part of the bill was to remedy the inconvenience. As to the other branch of the bill, which went to preclude the necessity of an immediate meeting of parliament in the event of her majesty's death, it was impossible not to see, that if more attention had been paid to the regency bill when it was in progress through the house, the provision which required an immediate meeting would not have been passed. The inconvenience that might arise from it was first noticed when late events rendered it necessary to consider the subject. It was then felt that it would be prudent to make some alteration in the regency act. This would neither alter nor infringe upon the other regulations and provisions of that act. The principle of the constitution was, that par-

liament should assemble immediately upon the demise of the crown, and that where there was no new parliament the old one should meet. There were, it was true, other contingencies, as well as the demise of the crown, of great importance, but they were not considered so pressing as to call for an immediate meeting of parliament. This bill provided, that in the event of her majesty's death the care of the king should reside in the council until such time as parliament should order it otherwise. The whole question involved in the measure was one of time and not of principle. If an election for a new parliament had made some progress, it would be highly inconvenient that the whole effect of it should be lost in consequence of any contingency. This might be the effect if the provision in the former regency bill was allowed to stand. It was enough that the new parliament should meet within a reasonable time; by the regency bill the contingency of the queen's death was provided for in the same way as the demise of the crown and the cessation of the executive power. This it appeared proper to alter, and the repeal of this provision was the second object of the present bill.

Mr. Tierney said, he had no objection to the appointment of additional commissioners, but he could not approve of the feelings which seemed to have regulated the choice of them. It appeared to have been too much of a party business. All were excluded from the council who entertained sentiments in political matters different from those of his majesty's government. The persons lately named

named were closely connected with ministers. In this they had not acted in such a manner as to render the measure more palatable to the public. Her majesty being now in a great measure restored to health, the subject might be discussed with less fear of transgressing against delicacy. No person rejoiced more than he did at her recovery. The bill provided, that in the event of her death, the care of his majesty's person should reside in the council until parliament determined otherwise. This was an important provision. It placed his majesty in a situation in which a court of law would place no other individual in the country. It deprived him of the care of his own family for sixty days. This bill proceeded upon the assumption that her majesty's state of health might require additional assistance in the care of the king. At the time the queen's council was appointed, it was not the intention of parliament that they should be intrusted with the care of his majesty. Such a power was never recognised in them by law. Their duty was merely to advise and assist her majesty. But the truth was, that this bill had nothing to do with the topics upon which he had been speaking. The object of it merely was, to prepare a dissolution of parliament. When that event was determined upon by ministers, the difficulty of the regency bill stared them in the face, because it provided for the meeting of the old parliament. The regency bill was discussed with great attention before it passed, and yet the present difficulty was never pointed out. He would admit that inconvenience might

arise from it; that the expense of an election might be lost in consequence; but when they talked of the death of her majesty, why were they altogether silent upon that of the king, which, from his age, was much more likely? Were he to die, there would be no remedy; the old parliament must be called back. This would occasion more delay than the meeting of a new one, for some days must elapse after the issuing of the proclamation for assembling. The present bill contained no provision with reference to the death of the regent, an event which, as circumstances stood at present, would immediately put an end to all executive government. In what manner were magistrates to act then? This most important point was left quite unprovided for by the present measure. No person entertained a doubt, that, in the event of the present regent's death, the duke of York would succeed him. But why not settle the point now? Why should not parliament at present discharge the function, which, sooner or later, they would be called upon to perform? He wished the noble lord (Castlereagh) would consider whether something might not be done upon the subject. There was another matter of considerable importance upon which not a single word was spoken; he meant the Windsor establishment. The pretence for such unnecessary expenditure was, that his majesty might find himself, upon recovery, surrounded with every thing necessary as well to his comfort as to his dignity. Unfortunately, there was little prospect of that event. Nothing necessary to his comfort should be touched,

touched, but much of the present expense was unnecessary. At the same time that he made these remarks, he would not be willing that her majesty should be put to the inconvenience of seeing any thing withdrawn that she considered requisite under present circumstances. He was desirous that some of the royal family might be introduced into the commission, and that the death of the regent, as well as other contingencies, should be provided for.

Mr. Canning said, that the right honourable gentleman (Mr. Tierney) had stated his objections to the measure with the utmost fairness. No provision was made in the bill for some cases to which he alluded, because they were not in the contemplation of government at present. They only meant to provide for the one particular case mentioned in the bill. It was not meant in the present session to revive the consideration of the whole of the regency act. The ground upon which parliament was called upon to assent to the bill was a deep-rooted principle of the constitution. His majesty's ministers had reason to know what would be the sense of the house; if they should at present propose any provision having reference to another regent. It was thrown out in the last session of parliament, but there seemed no disposition in the house to entertain it. With respect to the demise of the regent, it was the collective sense of parliament upon a former occasion, that no proposition should be made in contemplation of such an event. It was no doubt true, that the duke of York would be regent; but in legislating for the future, it would be necessary to

make provision for variation of circumstances. He would not dispute that the establishment at Windsor might be a subject for consideration under other circumstances; but it was not necessary to go into the discussion of it at present. It was said, that the present bill was brought forward rather late in the session; that a matter so important should not have been so long omitted. Such things, however, occurred in private as well as public life. Able men should make their will in proper time, but they frequently neglected it. The circumstances which suggested the bill occurred but lately, and the provisions of it were such as could excite little difference of opinion. No undue latitude was given to the duration of the council's power. The names of the persons who had been added to it were selected without any view to party feelings. He hoped, therefore, that the second reading of the bill would not be opposed.

Sir S. Romilly could not think that the provision of the regency act which this bill went to repeal had been lightly inserted. He had no desire, however, that an immediate meeting of parliament should follow upon the contingency of her majesty's death. The Windsor establishment should be looked into. It was attended with much expense, not necessary either to the comfort or to the dignity of the king. It might have been allowed while hope remained of his recovery; but when all hope was vanished, what use was there for such an establishment? If his majesty could know what was passing among his subjects at present, he would
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the first to desire that all unnecessary expense should be withdrawn. He wished the subject had been brought forward at an earlier period of the session, when the regency act might have been altered upon other points as well as this.

Mr. W. Wynne approved of the present bill. He should have been glad, however, if some of the royal family had been appointed to constitute a part of the council.

The bill was then read a second time, and ordered to be committed.

June 2.—Sir F. Burdett stated, that in rising pursuant to the notice he had given for a reform of parliament, he should submit a motion to the house, in itself agreeable to all the notions of common justice, and connected with all those principles of the constitution, that had exalted this country to so high a rank among the nations of Europe. He would indeed willingly suppose that the motion was of such a nature that it could hardly be objected to by any man who was capable of comprehending its object. The principles upon which the motion was founded, were not drawn from the actual reasoners, nor from old political writers; but he had limited himself to one source, and that was the authority of the person filling the highest official station in the country, as appeared in the speeches from the throne, professing those principles that he wished earnestly to impress upon the house. It had always appeared to him that the interest of the king and the people, when properly understood, would be found to coincide; and there was no reason for entertaining jea-

lousy of the crown, if the power of that estate was duly balanced by the check and control of a fair representation of the people in the commons house of parliament. The resolutions he intended to move might be thought long, but they would not be found too long, nor had they been advanced without a due consideration of the subject, and, as far as authority went, would be found undeniable. The subject appeared to him to be so plain, that he was at a loss what means of illustration to employ, as the subject seemed to him to call for universal assent. That, he was aware, was not the case; and he was desirous of stating to all unbiassed minds, what appeared to him to be just. It would no doubt be difficult to embrace all the topics in the compass of a single speech; but the main points might be stated. Upon the subject of parliamentary reform, the cry of innovation had some years ago been very generally raised; but the principle of annual parliaments and extended suffrage had been acted upon by our fathers, and that suffrage had been commonly called universal. Had the principle of suffrage been limited to those who paid taxes to the king, the church, and the poor, the returns made to that house from the body of the people at large, would have been very different from what they had actually been. He had traced the state of the representation to a remote period in the history of the country, and he conceived that the antiquity of the practice for which he contended, was a strong presumption in favour of the popular rights. It would be found upon looking back to the practice of our ancestors,

ancestors, that a principle of freedom was the ruling principle of the government of the country. By that ancient practice, there were free elections, and parliaments were to be held thrice in the year, at Easter, Michaelmas, and Christmas. At the time of the conquest, king William had been sworn to govern agreeably to the laws of the realm, and by the constitution of Edward the Confessor, and to that more than to the success of his arms he had been indebted for his crown. That such oaths had been neglected by many princes, was no argument against that obligation, especially when it was taken into the account, that the neglect of free principles had always thrown the country into confusion, and that was a convincing proof of the attachment of the people to their free constitution. The next question for consideration was, the Great Charter. Had the enactment in it been adhered to strictly, without its being oppressed by a multiplicity of other laws, the statute book would have been spared much of its present bulk, and the people would have enjoyed greater freedom. Had that original document been more carefully consulted, it never would have been asserted that the principle of annual parliaments was a novel doctrine that had been first broached in the writings of the late Granville Sharp. The practice of the times showed that prerogations were but of short continuance, and the laws upon the subject of the assembling of parliaments evidently implied more than that they should meet frequently. What was the object in the speeches from the throne up-

on the subject of the meeting of parliament? The declared object always was, that by the means of parliament the king might learn the wishes of his people; for the interest of the crown and the subject could not be separated. It should also be remembered, that a seat in parliament was not in those days a situation leading to profit and emolument, but one of considerable difficulty and labour. — There was nothing novel or subversive of the constitution, in annual parliaments, for all the history of former times spoke of the benefits that had resulted from them. After the question of annual parliaments, the next obviously was, who were the electors to those annual parliaments? He was prepared to admit, that on the subject of the right of voting for a member to sit in parliament, the state of the country should be taken into the account. But if no bad effects had at any time been found to arise from the extension of the right of suffrage, the claims of the people for an extended suffrage would be greatly strengthened. The best possible mode of learning the original constitution of the country, was by looking into the common law. It was a principle as old as the time of the chancellor Fortescue, that no man could be taxed without his own consent. A law for annual parliaments had been enacted by Edward II., and by the neglect of that, and of the other laws of the kingdom, he had forfeited his life. In the time of his successor, many salutary and constitutional laws had been enacted, and the statute book showed the then state of the country on the subject in question. The rights of the people consisted in

in security of person and security of property; and it was obvious and rational that these were fair demands on the part of the people. The conduct of the first Charles had been incompatible with these rights; yet that conduct had been sanctioned by the lawyers of that day, under colour of the royal prerogative. Parliaments had in consequence fallen into long disuse, but when they met again, the old principles were re-vindicated. That, however, was not sufficient; and in a kind of mania for legislation, they proceeded to new enactments. The old laws were embedded in the Petition of Right; but even that did not afford security to the subject on account of the faithlessness of the king. Acts of parliament were of no more real importance than pieces of parchment, and a continuance of such conduct at last led to the death of that unfortunate monarch. Liberty did not revive till the restoration of Charles II., who soon began to have recourse to acts of pretended prerogative. At that time the habeas corpus act was made, which had been afterwards so often suspended, and showed how little security could be derived from acts of parliament, when opposed to the wishes of the executive government. After the Revolution came the Bill of Rights. But a declaration of William had been made public before he came to the throne, which contained a full admission of the rights of the people. In a pamphlet by Mr. Fawkes, that bill had been termed a bill of fare, but no dinner. The Bill of Rights had declared all the acts of James to be illegal, and prohibited them

in future, but at the same time added six little words that undid the whole—"except with the consent of parliament." By these six words the whole fabric of English freedom, cemented by the best blood of our ancestors, had been destroyed. What was it to the subject, whether the arbitrary acts of the last twenty years had been done by the power of the prerogative, or by a corrupt parliament? In one sense the present generation were in a worse state than their ancestors, for now the watchmen had become a party with the thieves. He had rather there should be no house of commons, than that house should be no check upon the power of the crown. But instead of the power of the prerogative, all now was accomplished under the forms of law. But liberty was an inalienable right, and there could exist no power to take it away. When the people had the right of choosing all public officers except those of the executive government, was it a wild demand on their part, that they should place in that house those in whom they could confide? Yet that demand had been treated as wild and visionary and dangerous, though the people had lost so much. The representation of the people in that house should protect the whole of the country.—The honourable baronet then referred to the coronation oath, and contended that both in the original and in the French, his view of the subject was borne out. In the reign of Henry IV. a statute had been made upon a complaint of the commons of interference in cases of election. By that statute it had been enacted that all duly

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summoned should proceed to the election of a knight of the shire. Such was the practice in the reign of Henry IV. The restrictive statute was only introduced under the weak reign of his grandson. Another restriction of the elective franchise took place in the time of Henry VI., under the false pretence that the great numbers who assembled for the purpose of electing members to serve in parliament, gave rise to disorder, riot, and sometimes manslaughter. It was then that the right of voting was confined to forty-shilling freeholders, which, at that period, was a considerable sum. The statute introduced at that time did not say that riot and manslaughter were the actual consequences of the numbers who met to exercise their rights, but that they might be the consequences. Even admitting that such effects really followed, it formed no ground for depriving the people of their privileges. Riot and disturbance should have been put down by the arm of the law. They afforded neither then nor now any reason for infringing upon liberty. The state of election at present was productive of more shameful consequences than at the period alluded to. What was it now but all confusion—one scene of perjury, riot, drunkenness, and rascality, which did not exist at all, or at least not nearly to the same degree, in the time of Henry VI.? To this general disorder, however, there was one exception, which proved that the elective franchise might be exercised very nearly to the degree of universal suffrage without producing the least confusion. The exception was the city of Westminster.

There elections were conducted with as little confusion and riot as attended the proceedings of a parish vestry. In this instance they had practical experience of the effects likely to follow from extending the right of suffrage to great numbers. The example of Westminster proved that it might be done without producing any of that danger which many apprehended or pretended to apprehend. These opinions he stated not as his own. They rested upon authority of a much higher kind, upon that of the most able men which the country had produced, men the best informed both in the theory and practice of the constitution. When the subject of parliamentary reform was investigated some time back, a committee was appointed in Westminster to inquire into the state of the representation. Mr. Sheridan sat as chairman of the sub-committee. They examined into the construction of the house, and a petition was presented, the allegations of which were the result of their inquiries. They found that 6,000 votes returned no less than 257 members, that was a majority of the house of commons as it then stood. So that the representation was more inadequate even with respect to property than population. The inquiries pursued upon this subject at the time alluded to were the occasion of Mr. Fox's declaration, that annual parliaments were the right of the people. He could not say whether this was actually the opinion of Mr. Fox himself; he had indeed heard that it was not, but that he merely signed such a resolution as chairman of the committee; it was at least the opinion of
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of a majority of that committee. Mr. Fox, however, could not have looked upon such principles as dangerous, otherwise he never would have subscribed to them; had he considered them pernicious, he would not have given them the sanction of his name as chairman. But whether Mr. Fox held such opinions or not, it could not at least be denied that they were entertained by many other able men. The duke of Richmond in his letter to colonel Sharman, showed that he apprehended no danger from universal suffrage. Why, if the reasoning in that letter was wrong, did not some person undertake to refute it? The man who could refute his arguments upon solid principles, would do more service to the cause of those who opposed universal suffrage, than by merely crying it down as a dangerous scheme, and productive of anarchy, and its supporters as mere visionary politicians. A conclusion might be drawn as to Mr. Fox's opinion of universal suffrage, from the language held by him in the year 1797, upon a motion for parliamentary reform. He then stated, that it was obvious no persons could be contented under a system of things by which they were excluded from being a constituent part of the government, and he therefore declared, that the best mode of parliamentary reform was that which would include the greatest number of independent votes. His only reason for excluding any persons from a vote was, that in some situations they could not be expected to give an independent one. If this, however, was the only difficulty, means might be easily de-

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vised for removing it. Could a plan be introduced, by which no person with the desire of giving an interested vote could have the power, or with the power could have the desire, then it might be said that Mr. Fox would have been friendly to the greatest possible extent of suffrage, comprehending none but independent votes. At present there were no independent votes. A majority of the house of commons was now nominated by persons who should not interfere at all in elections. Such interference, in cases where it was carried to the greatest extent, remained quite unnoticed, while it was punished in those who were only the mere humble tools and agents. For such interference they sent a poor man to Newgate the other day. If any persons were excluded from a right of voting, it ought to be the very men who at present sent a majority to the house of commons. As they stood now, the great mass of the people were excluded from any right of suffrage, and those returned a majority who ought to have no vote at all. Annual parliaments, and a more extended right of suffrage, were the only remedies against corruption. If a new parliament was chosen every year, and that four or five thousand were to vote for every member, who would attempt to corrupt such a number? Who could afford to purchase them? Or who would be at the expense of it when his tenure was so short—when he knew he could hold his place only for a year? The gentlemen at the opposite side of the house would not then have such power of influencing elections as they had at present, because they

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would not have the power of rewarding so many for their votes: they would be far too numerous. But even though this plan should be judged ineffectual, there was another still remaining. Additional security might be derived from election by ballot. Though he did not think that ballot could be necessary, when the voters were numerous enough, still he saw no objection against taking the votes in that way as well as by poll. This was the part of the subject which was most important, the manner of collecting the votes. It was of the essence of the constitution that there should be an election in some way or other, but it was not essential that, as was the case at present, it should be attended with perjury, with riots, and gluttony. It was said by speculative reasoners upon the constitution, that scenes such as now occurred at every election, tended, by the collision of parties, to keep alive the spirit of liberty; that, if it was conducted by ballot, the whole business would be soon over, in a quiet, easy manner; that the support of liberty required numerous bodies to come together at stated periods. He was far from being of this opinion. Such assemblies were not necessary to keep up a spirit of liberty; they only tended to riot, to drunkenness, and disturbance. In the republic of America, they never heard of any riots taking place at elections; they never heard of those political contentions which here filled the whole country, as well as private families, with disputes; they never heard of those nonsensical distinctions and differences of interest which sowed distrust and enmity between

man and man. An illiberality of spirit and hostility of disposition was kept alive in this country by the struggles which regularly took place at least once in seven years. The evils of the present system of representation were as great as could well be imagined. Under such a system, no honest man in high station, however great his talent, or however well he might be disposed, could render any effectual service to his country. Such was the opinion of Mr. Pitt before he came into power. Such also was the conviction expressed by Mr. Burke. No man better understood, or more forcibly expressed the inconveniencies resulting from it. Sir William Jones, whom Dr. Johnson called the most enlightened of men, in a speech delivered, not upon the spur of the occasion, and liable to the errors which must occur from the unprepared manner in which speeches were generally delivered in that house,—in a speech preserved by lord Teignmouth, said that annual parliaments were the ancient law. His opinion was, that annual parliaments, and a more extended right of suffrage, were necessary to radical reform. It might be said, that the man would not act with prudence who should endeavour to advance the cause of parliamentary reform upon such principles. It was true that many persons of good intention might think that he pushed the subject of reform too far by taking such a ground. To such he could only say, that all modes of reconciling them to a reform had been tried, but without any effect; every thing had been done, except relinquishing the principle, to bring them over to the measure.

sure. Seeing the consequence of the motion which had been brought forward the other night for a repeal of the septennial act—an act which Dr. Johnson represented as the greatest inroad upon the constitution which had occurred since the time of queen Elizabeth; seeing the result of this, as well as of all former propositions upon the subject, he could only say to those who were desirous of proceeding step by step, that it was useless. It was better at once to offer such principles of reform as could bear the test of reason. In the first place, election should be as free as it was declared to be by the Bill of Rights, and no great man should interfere in elections. The objection against extending the right of suffrage was, that it would occasion the sending of incompetent persons, of no education or respectability, and of course unfit for the duties they would have occasion to discharge. The experience of the whole world, both ancient and modern, was against this argument. However the right of election might be extended, there was no danger that any person not of respectable station and good character would be elected into a place of trust and distinction. People of character were they alone whom the majority of the nation would be willing to select, if they were vested with the power of doing so. This was proved by experience. It was the opinion of a man who was not a mere visionary character, a mere speculative politician, it was that of Machiavel. He showed, that after the people of Rome had obtained from the patricians a right of electing their own order to the

great dignities of the state, they no sooner obtained it, than they elected patricians as usual. Machiavel argued, that the people were more fit to select proper persons for posts of honour than any individual, and that for 400 years, while they exercised that right, the people of Rome had no cause to repent of their choice, except in one or two instances. From those facts this able writer came to the conclusion, that the best mode of electing public officers was by the people. The truth was, that the people were essentially aristocratic. They always looked up to those who were of a higher order than themselves; persons who to the other advantages of character and talent, added that also of high station, were the most likely to be chosen by them. Every man in society should have some share in making those laws by which he was governed. This was the principle of the constitution. It was upon this principle that Blackstone justified the punishment of death, on the supposition that every man was present at the making of these laws by which his conduct was to be governed, on the supposition also that they were promulgated. On the latter point, however, Blackstone was mistaken. No care was taken now in the promulgation of the laws. Their ancestors were careful in this respect. New laws were regularly sent down to the sheriffs of each county, and by them communicated to the people. That all persons were present at the framing of laws was a mere fiction, but yet upon such a fiction as this the lives and properties of the people were taken away; they were forced on so

feeble a principle into the militia or navy, and compelled to become slaves without having any voice in the state. At present it might, by possibility, happen that a man should have no vote at all, let his property be ever so great. How, he would ask, could it produce mischief to extend the right of suffrage? For this purpose it would be necessary, in the first place, that the electors should choose a mischievous person; that person upon coming into the house must be supposed capable of persuading them to mischievous measures; and not only that, but it would be necessary to persuade the house of peers also to the same measures. When they considered the usual motives by which human conduct was influenced, it was quite vain to apprehend any such results, unless they supposed all the people determined upon a national suicide. All experience proved, that the people were happy in proportion to the degree of influence they exercised in the government, and in the inverse ratio when the government was despotic, or under the control of a few. Having now proved that annual parliaments were no innovation, that suffrage was, and ought to be more universal; having argued the subject upon the equitable principle of the universal benefit that would result from reform, he hoped it would not be objected to him that he advocated principles of anarchy, or of an unattainable and visionary perfection. If such was the case, at least he supported such principles in good company, in company with men whose integrity and talent ought to be sufficient to pro-

tect him at least against the imputation of evil designs. Having no other wish but to place this question on the ground of reason, he would now proceed to offer some resolutions upon it.—The honourable baronet having then read a string of resolutions,

Lord Cochrane rose to second the resolutions. After what he had seen take place on so many occasions, in the house, on the subject of reform, he could not have any sanguine expectations as to the result of the resolutions which his honourable friend had submitted. They would, however, have this good effect, that they would teach the people what it was for which they were to petition. He would not, on the present occasion, say, that the house was influenced in its decisions by particular motives, such as the power of ministers, or that interest which they possessed, of making places the reward of votes in a certain way that would not be parliamentary for him to express; but if honourable members looked to what was done in former times, if they looked back not only to the abuses of power which had been committed under the sanction of the Roman senate, but even to those acts which had been authorized by the bodies calling themselves representative in this country, at other periods, and compared them with the acts of the present representative body, they would not believe that our ancestors, nor their ancient predecessors, were the only persons who were to be blamed for their acts. They would, on the contrary, think that the smaller fault lay with the former; for the greater the trust reposed in any body,

body; the greater was their crime in abusing that trust, as the willing ministers of a despotic government had less to answer for their conduct than they who pretended to act as the agents of a free people. He gave his general and unequivocal assent to the resolutions proposed by the honourable baronet. They were, in his opinion, such as the house ought to receive and agree to; and here, as probably it might be the last time he should ever have the honour of addressing the house on any subject—[Here the noble lord shed tears, and appeared so overpowered by his feelings as not to be able to proceed for some seconds.]—As this, he continued, might be the last time he should have the honour of addressing the house, he was anxious to state to them what his opinions were of their conduct. It was now nearly eleven years since he had the honour of a seat in the house, and since then there were very few acts of theirs in which he could agree with the opinions of the majority. To say that these acts so voted were contrary to justice would not be parliamentary in him. He would not even go into the inquiry whether they tended to the national good or not; but he would merely appeal to the feelings of the landholders present—he would appeal to the knowledge of those members who were engaged in commerce, and ask them, whether the acts of the legislative body were not of a description, during the late war, that would, if not for the timely intervention of the use of machinery, have sent this nation to total ruin? The country was burthened to a state which, but for that intervention,

it would have been impossible for the people to bear. The cause of these measures having such an effect upon the country, was examined, and the source gone into by the resolutions of his honourable colleague. They were to be traced, as had been so well observed, to that patronage and influence which a number of powerful individuals possessed over the nomination of a great number of the members of that house; a power which, devolving on a few, became thereby the more liable to be affected by the influence of the crown; and which had, in fact, been rendered almost entirely subservient to that influence. To reform the abuses which arose out of this system was the object of his honourable friend's motion. He would not, he could not anticipate the success of that motion; but he should say, as had before been said by the great Chatham, the father of Mr. Pitt, that if the house did not reform itself from within, it would be reformed with a vengeance from without. The people would take the subject up, and a reform would take place which would make many members regret their apathy in refusing that reform which might be rendered efficient and permanent. But unfortunately in the present state of the house, in its present formation, it appeared to him, that from within no reform could be expected; and for the truth of this he appealed to the experience of nearly 100 members who were then present, nearly 600 being absent; he appealed to their experience, whether they ever knew of any one instance where any petition of the people for reform was taken into consi-

deration, or any redress afforded in consequence of such petition? This he regretted, because he foresaw the consequence which would necessarily result from it. He trusted and hoped, that members would see in time the necessity of adopting some step towards regaining the confidence of the people, which they had, he conceived, entirely lost; for unless they did so, they would have, he believed, occasion to repent it when it would be too late. [Here the noble lord's utterance was again choked for a time, and he again gave way to tears.] He had, he observed, no interest in making these observations, but that of the country. What he said was dictated by conscientious feeling. He was fully convinced of a great evil in the state, and he wished to see it remedied, in order that the consequences which he believed would result from its continuance might be avoided. He had for more than ten years the honour of a seat in the house, and he felt deeply the confidence which was reposed in him by the electors of Westminster, not only in giving him a seat in the house, but, because on a late occasion it showed their feelings of abhorrence of the foul and horrible conspiracy which had been raised against him. [Here again the noble lord was prevented from going on for some seconds by an effusion of tears.] He begged to be understood as not wishing on the present occasion to cast any aspersions upon his majesty's ministers, he was unwilling now to speak with asperity of any of them; but he begged that they might take warning in time. He hoped they would see the impropriety of the course they

had so long pursued, and give it up, before it was too late for themselves and the country. They yet had it in their power to do away a part of the evil which they had created; his caution to them was that they should do it in time.

The resolutions being then put from the chair,—

Mr. Brougham rose and observed, that it was far from his intention to find fault with that feeling or opinion of his honourable friend which had produced the resolutions before the house; but differing as he did from the opinions expressed in those resolutions, with respect to universal suffrage and annual parliaments, he wished to state a few of the reasons upon which that difference was founded. At the same time he was anxious to be understood as not meaning to convey the slightest disrespect to the few within the house, and the much greater number without, who were of the same opinion with the honourable baronet upon these subjects. There were, he knew, some in the house, and there were great numbers outside, who firmly adhered to the principles laid down by the resolutions on these subjects. Far be it from him to treat the great body of them with ridicule or contempt. He believed they conceived that they were right, and that they meant well; but he also believed that they were led away by the writings and speeches of persons out of doors, who had, in his opinion, taken up the subject without ever having given it due consideration, or almost any consideration at all. When he made this allowance for the feelings and opinions of others, he hoped that the same charity would

would be extended towards himself in the opinions which he himself had formed, and he the more expected this from his honourable friend (sir F. Burdett), as the opinion which he at present put forth on these subjects was one which he had but lately taken up. [Here sir Francis Burdett seemed to dissent from the observation.] Mr. Brougham, in continuation, said, that the honourable baronet did not admit what he had observed, yet he could state that this was not only his own impression but that of several other members in the house, and that by them, as well as by himself, he had been understood on a late occasion to disavow one part of the doctrine which he at present so warmly advocated; but whether he had or not, he should still claim his indulgence for the difference of opinion which existed on this subject between them—an indulgence which, on his part, he freely granted to the honourable baronet and to those who believed with him. One of his objects in rising was, that it might not be understood that because he was hostile to that mode of reform which the honourable baronet proposed, he was therefore averse to the general principle of reform altogether. Nothing was more erroneous than to suppose, that because a man refused to support the one he must therefore be adverse to the other. He professed himself to be an advocate for reform, but it was, though in his opinion an efficient, yet a moderate one, when compared with the plan which the house had just heard. And here he wished to observe, that they who were most hostile to that species of reform

which he had mentioned, or to any kind of reform, were themselves at one time the most violent reformers. They were in Ireland the advocates of large reform. They on one day admitted one class of persons to the elective franchise, and the next excluded another. They furnished one of the strongest instances of parliamentary reform, and he might call it, of parliamentary revolution, which was on record in the history of this country, in depriving Ireland of her separate legislative authority, and uniting her to this kingdom. He was not one of those who found fault with this measure; on the contrary he thanked those who were instrumental to its enactment, for he was convinced that no measure was ever fraught with more advantage to both countries, or tended more to their mutual strength and prosperity than that. But still, however fruitful that act might have been in advantage to the two countries, it was one which recognised, in its fullest extent, the principle of reform. He said this, to guard against the imputation that all persons who were favourable to reform were therefore innovators. He should now come to the question before the house. He had heard of several arguments, and had often heard conclusive ones from his honourable friend, but he begged at present to be allowed to say without any disrespect, that never were arguments more inconclusive than those which he had used. He had not drawn them from those authorities which were so often quoted on the question of reform. He had passed by the statutes, he had not touched Magna Charta, he

overlooked the book of the celebrated Prynne, and all the dicta of all the great law authorities who had spoken upon the subject; and omitting these, what had the honourable baronet recourse to? The very worst authority which he could have quoted — the speeches of sovereigns from the throne. He had taken these authorities, as he had been pleased to call them, beginning from the reign of James the First, that great and wise legislator, and coming down to the very happy, or at least the very long reign of his present majesty; and these were quoted, for what? Because they recommended the necessity of uniting the interest of the sovereign with that of the people; of showing the propriety of their being closely blended together, in order to insure the welfare of the state. But this was a principle which no man ever doubted. If all those royal personages had never said a word upon the subject, no one would ever have doubted the propriety and necessity of having the interest of the sovereign blended with that of his subjects, in order to insure the safety and prosperity of the state. But then, independently of these considerations, what weight was to be attached to these declarations from the throne might be guessed from the circumstance that they were delivered when these sovereigns had occasion to apply to their loving subjects for money, and then, of course, it was their wish to make the interest of the sovereign and the people appear as one. But how the honourable baronet could have drawn from these expressions of regard on the part of the sove-

reigns for their loving subjects, the conclusion that parliaments ought to be of short duration, was to him inexplicable. Did his honourable friend imagine that these expressions were really meant to convey a wish for short parliaments! He surely could not quote them for that purpose, for it was known that few, if any, of their royal majesties had any real wish for the frequent recurrence of parliaments beyond that which particular circumstances had rendered indispensably necessary. One of his honourable friend's arguments was, that the speeches of kings went to recommend short parliaments, because they wished that parliament should do that which was most for the interest of the people; but it should be recollected that if this wish was said to be very strong on the part of the sovereign, there often elapsed seven years between the expression of these sentiments. They were made for the occasions, and their real import might be easily collected from the circumstance, that none of those who were said from such speeches to be advocates for short parliaments, ever seemed anxious to carry forward any measure which might really bring about that cordial wish which they were described to have. He spoke with respect to his honourable friend's arguments, but in point of logic, as well as in point of fact, they could not be borne out; and he conceived that the person who could so conclude from such premises must have taken the speeches *secundum modum recipientis*, which, he need not observe, was contrary to the general practice of strict reasoning.—He was surprised that

that his honourable friend (Sir F. B.) in taking his arguments from speeches from the throne had omitted the only one which might have, if any of them could, borne him out in any part of his conclusion. That was, the speech which had been put into the mouth of his present majesty by lord Chatham, in his speech on his accession to the throne—that was, that he should feel proud in being the first citizen of a free people. This, if any thing was to be drawn from speeches from the throne, was worth all the others which the honourable member had quoted; but this he had omitted, though even this would not have added to the strength of his argument. He should say one word more on the subject of royal speeches before he dismissed it. It should be recollected, that whether favourable to the people or not, they were the work of ministers, and in every discussion, and in every address which went as the very echo of such speech, it was always considered that the assent to it did not pledge any member to any particular measure in consequence. The addresses upon the speeches were always voted as a matter of courtesy to the crown. The honourable baronet had laid a stress upon one argument, that in calling upon the house to adopt the principle of annual parliaments and universal suffrage, he only called for the revival of that which existed before. He would not for a moment examine into that which he thought to be essential to the support of this principle—namely, the proof that such things had before been recognised by the law and practice of the constitution; but he should

inquire whether it was fit to revive every custom which had existed with our ancestors, merely because it had so existed. It might be visionary, and he maintained it was so, to call for the adoption of such principles as those which had been embraced in the resolutions; but he should contend, that it might be equally and even more visionary to wish for the revival of many laws and customs of our ancestors. It would be visionary and grossly absurd to wish for a return to a state of barbarism in which we once were. It would be visionary to wish for the restoration even of that state of society which was once called the golden age, because it must be absurd to have recurrence to any law which was different from the manners and customs in the present state of the country.—It would be absurd and visionary to recur to the practice of domestic slavery, or that state of villenage which had once existed in the country, because they would be here useless, unless the nature of men could be changed. He had said thus much as to the absurdity of giving weight to any practice or to any law, merely because it had been adopted by our ancestors; but having thus shown the absurdity of the conclusions upon the temporary admission of the premises, he should now come to the premises themselves, and he denied them altogether. The honourable baronet, in his zeal for universal suffrage, had overlooked the meaning of that very passage in Magna Charta, upon which he seemed to rely. The words were—“*Nullus liber homo capiatur*,” &c.; it was not “*nullus homo*,” which

which might mean every man in the country, but "*nullus liber homo*," by which a particular class of men were pointed out, and by which it was admitted, that even in those days of eminent purity, a state of slavery and bondage were admitted.—This showed clearly the absurdity of recurring to any law or custom, because it was ancient; for according to the arguments of those who were advocates for the revival of some of the ancient practices of the constitution, these very practices would be quite inconsistent with the present state of society. It was once considered extremely absurd on the part of Fletcher of Saltoun, that he should propose the return to the Grecian system of domestic slavery; yet that was as much according to the ancient practice of society as the proposed system of annual parliaments and universal suffrage was. But as he had before observed, he denied the facts as asserted. He denied that parliaments were regularly summoned once in the year; as it had been mentioned. The whole stream of authorities was against the assertion. Parliament might have been summoned once, they might have been summoned more than once in the year; and though he saw no such danger in short parliaments as that which seemed to be impressed upon members at the other side of the house, yet he could not agree in the principle, because a case had occurred where parliament was summoned once in the year, or more than once, that therefore it should be held that annual parliaments were according to the strict letter of the constitution. It should be recol-

lected, that in those days, when the parliaments were summoned, few persons were willing to attend, and even these were obliged to be bribed or paid for their attendance. They sat together for a few days, but there was no such thing known as a sitting of the same length as our session. They were called at the will of the prince for a few days to answer his purpose, but there was no defined time for their being continued together, nor no fixed period when their labours should terminate, and a new election be had. With respect then to universal suffrage, he should maintain, that it was equally erroneous, and the arguments upon which it was founded equally inconclusive. The authority of the king's speeches was not more doubtful than that upon which it rested. The honourable baronet had in a great degree rested it upon the words, that "all freemen and others" should be allowed to vote. Now, if the meaning of this was, that all men should be allowed to vote, where was the necessity of using so many words where one only would have sufficed and be much more explicit? Our ancestors were not remarkable for that repetition which distinguished the draftsman of the present day; but even with all the technical repetitions of the present time, the words "all freemen and others" would not be used to convey an idea of universal suffrage, when the word "all" might be fully sufficient. Where was the necessity of using "all freemen and others" if it were not meant that some persons were excluded? The courts of law had laid it down as a maxim, that
when

when in any law there was a particular description followed by a general term, the interpretation should be, not according to the general term, but according to the previous particular description.—This was the opinion of Blackstone, who, in this respect, had at least equal weight with the authority of the king's speeches.—The words "*plebs*," "*vulgus*," "*commune*," and "*commonalty*," then might be construed as they were; but they left the question of universal suffrage just where they found it.—The honourable and learned gentleman then alluded to the argument which had been used by the honourable baronet respecting Mr. Fox's assent to the principle of universal suffrage, from the circumstance of his having put his name as chairman to certain resolutions. He had only done so in his capacity as chairman, and the speaker of the house of commons might as well be said to give his assent to every bill which passed the house while he was in the chair.—His honourable friend had gone to small places to show that there were in some instances but few electors, but he ought to recollect that in Westminster there was as great an overplus of electors as there were too few in Old Sarum. The honourable baronet seemed to think, that because the householders who voted in the capital or in Westminster demeaned themselves properly, therefore all other persons who should be allowed to vote would act in the same manner; but his reasoning on that point was not quite so conclusive as he seemed to imagine.—He should now look to the capital part of the proposition, and should only observe on an in-

consistency or two, as he did not wish to fatigue the house by going into the detail. He wished in his desire for parliamentary reform to have a line drawn somewhere; and on that point he agreed with the statement of lord Grey in 1797; but the honourable baronet seemed to think that no line should be drawn, as it would have an appearance of inconsistency. For instance, if a master tradesman had a right to vote, why should not a journeyman have an equal right; and if you allow it to him, why should not a labourer; why, in fact, should not all classes of persons be upon an equal footing? If he even admitted this, he should turn round on his friend (sir Francis Burdett) and say "You also draw a line, but on a lower scale; you say all have an equal right to vote, and yet let me inquire on what grounds you exclude persons under twenty-one years of age? Great acts have been performed by persons under the age of twenty-one." Many such arguments could be adduced, and among others he recollected that a noble friend of his who had distinguished himself much on the question of the slave trade had done so before he attained the age of twenty-one. Many of the most celebrated mathematicians and logicians of the age, and of other ages, had displayed their genius before that age. The celebrated Fox, who had illuminated that house with the power of his genius, a genius which, unlike others of an early date, had continued and strengthened during his maturer years, had done so before he arrived at such an age as qualified a man to vote, according to the honourable baronet's

net's doctrine. Many men had served their country, and had ventured their lives in its defence, at an earlier period of life. Many young persons had contributed their fortunes to its support; and yet the honourable baronet, who did not wish to make any distinction, lest he should be charged with inconsistency, would, by his motion, exclude a set of persons whom he knew to be equally deserving of liberty with the rest of mankind. When he considered this point, arguments poured in upon him from all points of the compass in such a manner that he found it difficult to select them. He could not, however, overlook the injustice which his honourable friend was about to do all the infants of the kingdom. The honourable baronet said, all who supported the country had a right to a share of its freedom; but these infants contributed by their purse and defended by their persons the liberties of the country; and yet the honourable baronet had the cruelty to deprive all those persons of any share of the blessings which he was about to bestow on all other classes of society.—Those persons though of much service to the state were to have no power to oppose a tax or a standing army, though they were to pay for both, and were also liable to serve in the latter. And here he should observe, that the celebrated Mr. Bentham had been quoted in support of the honourable member's motion. He (Mr. Brougham) had the greatest respect for that gentleman: he knew that there existed not a more honest or better disposed mind than he possessed; that he had devoted a long life to the subject,

removed from the turmoil of business; and that he had now arrived at a venerable, though he hoped, not a last old age; but he hoped he should not be deemed disrespectful if he said, that he (Mr. Bentham) had studied books more than men, that his doctrines were at least to be considered as speculative, and to use the words of a friend of his, it was a pity he had ever published his last work. But Mr. Bentham was a more sturdy, a more consistent reformer than even the honourable baronet, as he gave votes not only to all men, but to all women also.—He drew no line, he tossed away the scale, and, without restriction, let in all, young or old, men or women, sane or insane, all must vote—all must have a voice in electing their representatives. The moment a person, of either sex, was able to put a pellet into a box, no matter whether he were mad, and had one of the keepers of a mad-house to guide him, still Mr. Bentham said, that though he did not advocate the allowing mad persons to vote, yet, rather than make any distinction, he would allow them, as they could not do any harm, and they might do some good.—He did not mean any offence to the gentleman, but he had certainly dealt more in theory than practice. As to the statement, that Mr. Fox had consented to the wish of universal suffrage, he should show the contrary. Mr. Fox had, as chairman on one occasion, signed his name to a set of resolutions, one of which was for universal suffrage. He was met by Mr. Burke, who observed to him, "You have signed your name to universal suffrage, but, believe

believe me, you will soon be beaten by the 'and oftener if need be.'" He was aware that many gentlemen did not understand what was meant by this observation; but it meant to convey, that if he were to advocate annual parliaments or universal suffrage on the ground of former acts, which said that parliaments were to be held at stated times, 'and oftener if need be,' there would be no end to these innovations, and that one concession would only lead to the claim for another.—He knew his honourable friend was one of this sect; and when such claims were made, they had a right to make a stand, and to be guided not by what had been, but by what they in their consciences thought was for the good of the country, as one step to-day would only lead to another to-morrow, by which means there would, if the proposed measures were granted, be a market open for favour, not to the best and most upright persons, but to those who were most capable of descending to the wishes of a mob; and instead of purchasing their seats with that pure gold which ought ever to be the only current coin used for such a purpose, they should descend to that impure and base dross which it was contamination to touch. He should speak plainly.—If there were to be indiscriminate votes, there might be a set of persons who were only capable of amusing the weakness of those who did not understand them further than by the violence and impropriety of their language and the dishonesty of their conduct; but it was their duty to guard against such a step being taken.—He should here beg leave

to say, that if his opinions with respect to these points had changed, it was from his conviction, not certainly from a desire or a possibility of any personal motive. He could not be benefited by change of opinion. It was unpleasant to talk on such a point. But as his remarks might give rise to observations of a personal nature, he wished to make himself understood at once.—He wished to advocate reform, but a fair and constitutional reform, such as triennial parliaments. He knew he might be laughed at by some because he went so far, and by those also who said that he did not go far enough; but still he should state, that his opinions were the effect of long and mature deliberation. He had heard it said, that with respect to the Revolution there had been a bill of fare and no dinner; but if the honourable baronet had considered, he must have known that the driving a bigoted tyrant from the throne, and the getting rid of the catholic religion, were, if no more had been done, a great advantage to this country.—He had trespassed on the house at some length.—He should conclude by observing, that he who attempted to eradicate every evil of the constitution at once, was equally unworthy to bring about reform, as he who should state that no reform was necessary.—[The honourable member sat down amidst loud and continued cheers.]

Mr. Canning observed, that he should, before he sat down, move for the other orders of the day. He wished, however, to offer an observation or two on the measure before them, as, after the very able and eloquent speech which the

the honourable and learned member (Mr. Brougham) had made, he did not feel it necessary to go at length into the subject. He had always observed that a moderate reform was the forerunner of stronger claims; and though the present subject had been brought before them without any of those intermediate lines, still it was their duty to look to it. If there was any honourable member in the house who wished to go a little way in reform, and there stop, let him look to what was now proposed, and he would perceive that all the former propositions which had been made to the house on this subject were merely stepping-stones, intended to be laid down in order to obtain the present demand more securely and by degrees.—He was against all reform, and for this reason, that he saw each demand was only a preliminary step to another and more serious demand. In proposing parliamentary reform there were two modes to be adopted, either to carry back the constitution to some former period when it was in its most flourishing state, or else to re-construct it altogether. If the first of these was to be adopted, let the period when the constitution was in a more flourishing state be named; if the second, let the principles of reconstruction be stated to the house.—Many arguments had been used on the subject without its having been stated which of these or what other plan of reform it was intended to adopt. The honourable baronet seemed to mix both, yet he did not say, as to the first part, to what period of the British constitution he wished to refer as his model, though

he said generally that there was some one period from which the constitution had degenerated. In all this, however, he had been so well answered, that it was unnecessary to weaken the arguments of the honourable and learned member (Mr. Brougham), by adding any thing to what he had said. He should, however, wish to ask the honourable baronet, at what period the British constitution was in a more flourishing state than it now was? When annual parliaments were used, the constitution of the country was entirely different from what it now was; there was then but a small territory to legislate for, whereas they had now to govern an extensive empire; and if the errors of that constitution were not pointed out, and such measures as the present were adopted, they would be thrown on a wide field of theory to find a new constitution, and on this ground it was that the honourable baronet called upon the house to concur with him. If such was not the case, why was the present motion made? Where was there a set of men whose interests were not at present attended to by the legislature, not only with care, but with an assiduity and an information worth yof the house of commons? Another argument used to support the measure was, that the will of the people was not consulted in the present constitution of parliament. But happily they lived under a constitution composed of three estates; and such was the state of the constitution, that not only the will of the monarch, but the will of each separate state was curbed by the others in such a manner as not to have a free

free will of its own. The next complaint he had heard was, that in many places there were but few electors, and that certain persons were returned for those places without fairly representing the people,—but how could this be remedied by more frequent elections? Frequent elections would have the very effect now complained of, as those persons returned for small boroughs would incur but a trifling expense, if any, while persons for other places would be obliged to stand for their elections naturally at some expense: besides, nothing could tend more to demoralize the people than such a measure. He thanked the honourable baronet for having at length brought under their notice in a tangible shape, a subject which had been much talked of, but the objects of which had not been fully defined until now. There could be no danger anticipated from a specific plan of reform, the danger was from having a set of declaimers going about without pointing out what real reform they wished. Let any man come with his plan of reform in his hand, and he was convinced that it would not stand a moment's competition.—The honourable baronet next said, that the people were not fully represented. If he meant to say that they had not a preponderating power in the constitution, he was right; as the powers were, and so they ought to be, so blended, as to bear equally on all sides, and no one part could presume to represent the whole. If it was to be admitted that the people ought to govern, and that a house of commons of such a nature was to be appointed, the king and the

lords would in fact be useless. They might tolerate the king, but it would be, as had been said, by allowing him to be the first citizen of a free people, though by the way he did not know where such an expression was to be found. The lords also might be tolerated, but not as part of the legislature. Let them look to the resolutions adopted by the long parliament in 1648, and they would see what the effects of such doctrines as the present were.—They would find that the parliament, as a preliminary step, stated, that all power was derived from the people by whom they were elected; next, that being so elected, they had a right to legislate with a view to the rights of the people; and, lastly, that the laws so enacted were to be binding, though not assented to by the king or lords. Theories such as those of the honourable baronet had given rise to such doctrines, and which had finally led the king to the scaffold. Where would be now the British constitution if they had given way to the every day clamours which had been made for parliamentary reform, and which, if carried, were only intended to make way for a motion like that before them? If any honourable member believed that the hon. member's motion was practicable, he had a right to listen to it; if any one believed that it ought to be carried into effect, he had a right to support it; but as he was convinced that no such motion ought to be entertained, and that the public mind ought not to be put into a ferment on the subject, he should move, "That the other orders of the day be now read."—On the question being put from the chair,—

Mr.

Mr. Lamb would not, after the able discussion which the subject had received, trespass long on the attention of the house; but there were several points on which he was anxious that the house should know his opinion. He agreed with the honourable baronet that no ridicule ought to be thrown on persons holding the doctrine of the necessity of parliamentary reform, for it was evident from the numerous petitions before the house, that such opinions were held by many, although he deeply regretted that, in consequence of the expressions of several petitions, the valuable right of petitioning was in some measure about to fall into disrepute. Universal suffrage was impossible; for it could not exist in boroughs, as the persons who were to elect there were particular individuals, which was inconsistent with such doctrine, and it was evident that universal suffrage could not exist in counties. Annual parliaments never were the practical constitution of this country; for although in the reign of Edward III. it was enacted that parliaments should annually be holden, yet in the same reign no parliament was assembled for a period of twenty-one years. Parliament was assembled when the exigencies of the state required its attendance, but not until the Revolution was it determined that parliament should annually be assembled. The wise and learned men, who brought forward this measure, did not enact that parliament should be independent of the king; but that, in case of the king neglecting or refusing to assemble parliament, measures should be adopted for its assembling. He did not doubt

that the hon. baronet brought forward this measure from a persuasion of its utility to the country; but there were many other individuals who interested themselves in this measure, men of great knowledge of the various springs of human action, of deep reasoning, who wished to throw the whole fabric of the monarchy into ruins, that they might fly with eclat on the fragments. From them, and from their machinations, dangers were to be feared.

Mr. W. Smith expressed his conviction that the discussion would prove eventually useful, inasmuch as it would lead to the consideration of the matter, and from considerations to the most beneficial results.

Sir F. Burdett replied at considerable length.

The house divided on Mr. Canning's motion: Ayes, 106; Noes, none.

House of Lords, June 3.—The marquis of Lansdowne rose, pursuant to notice, to lay the foundation of an inquiry into the condition of the prisons, in order to such future measures of amelioration and reform as the result of such an investigation should authorize. The general state of the prisons in this country he considered as imperiously calling for legislative interference, having read in the admirable work of Mr. Buxton such details concerning them, as were sufficient to convince any candid and feeling mind that enormous evils not only had existed, but still continued, and ought forthwith to be remedied. That gentleman's description of the gaol at Bristol was revolting to every principle of humanity; but the mischief and misery of the

the system were not confined to that city, for they extended to London itself, in the prisons of which, notwithstanding some late reforms, there existed such disorders as tended much to vitiate the healthiness of the state. If their lordships had consulted the production he before had alluded to, they could not have overlooked the description of the borough compter, which was represented as mixing the untried culprit with the convicted offender, the youthful in vice with the hardened in crime, and where the effect of this contaminating approximation was such, that the gaoler had declared, that during an experience of nine years, he had never known an instance of reformation in the prisoners; but, on the contrary, if one hundred were let out, he was certain to have from twenty to thirty back within a very short time. Such was the evidence as to this prison; and, notwithstanding that one of the prisons of the metropolis had held out an example of improvement which might have been expected to have been followed, that accommodation was not to be found even in Newgate for more than twelve condemned criminals, and, consequently, those unfortunate persons were compelled to sleep two or more together. He did not mention this as derogating in any degree from the merits of that noble woman who, guided by the genius of a Howard, had succeeded in effecting one of the most extraordinary reforms that perhaps had ever been known within so short a period of time. If a female who moved in the middle rank of life, unassisted by affluence and influence, could ac-

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complish so much, what, he would ask their lordships, might not finally be expected from persons of another sex, who possessed both intelligence and ascendancy?—Something had already been undertaken in this way, since the Penitentiary was to be regarded as the commencement of a system where correction was substituted for punishment; and those who had inspected the manner in which this establishment was conducted, must hail it as one general step towards the progress of reformation in offenders. It was stated, and he believed correctly, that forty per centum was the general return of crime upon the London prisons, whereas in other gaols it averaged but five. How important was it to the community if any thing like a proportion as between the amount of forty and five could be saved, and restored to virtue! It was, therefore, for the purpose of informing their lordships more fully and accurately on this subject, with a view to what the wisdom of parliament might be enabled to attempt in another session, that he had now brought his motion to bear; and if upon due inquiry it should appear, that by the prison system at present pursued, the professors of crime were continually brought in contact with the disciples of it, tending thus to increase and create offences, while, on the other hand, such institutions as penitentiaries had a tendency to diminish crime in every stage, he felt confident that parliament would be induced to enact prompt remedies for the errors and evils to which their attention had been drawn. He had intended to have moved an address

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to

to the crown, connected with some queries on this subject; but as he understood that it was unusual to tack queries in such a form, and no opposition would be offered to the motion he was about to make, he would simply move an humble address to the prince regent, for an account of all gaols, prisons, and penitentiaries in the united kingdom, their condition and regulations, the number of persons who were committed to them, tried and untried, their classification, clothing, and allowance, and stating what alteration had taken place as to the conduct of prisons, and treatment of prisoners, in the present year.

Lord Sidmouth said, there could be nothing like an objection felt to the present motion, by those persons with whom he had the honour to act; and, indeed, it was upon the same views as those expressed so eloquently by the noble marquis who had just sat down, that he himself had moved an address for papers in readiness to be laid before that house. Convinced of the importance of such an inquiry at the present time, conducted with the sanction of parliament, he could assure their lordships, that it was already the intention of his majesty's government to have made their inquiries during the recess, for the purpose of taking some legislative steps as speedily as practicable. While he was upon such a subject as this, he could not help noticing the increase of crime which was well known to have taken place within the last eight or nine years. Perhaps it might be in vain to inquire the cause; perhaps it might be misfortune, or might have ori-

ginated in a complication of causes. But within the last two years it appeared to him that the increase of crime had an ostensible cause. Welcomed though it deserved to be for the blessings it brought, and for the calamities it terminated at the same time, the return of peace had thrown an amount of crime upon society; but, after the moment, the average of crime proved not to exceed that of the four or five years preceding. At the close of the late war, the distress felt, owing to the high price of provisions, was greater than at any former time, while the uncommonly large reduction in our naval and military establishments added to that distress. But when estimating the causes of the increase of general crimes, it certainly could not be denied, that the diminished dread of punishment was one cause, and that even the virtue of philanthropy in improving the condition of prisons had diminished the horror of confinement. Besides, the alteration of circumstances had rendered a transportation to New South Wales no longer that punishment it was once considered. While this state of things was going on, the improvement of prisons as now practised was neglected, so that prisons were nurseries of vice, instead of correction, and led to the reproduction and dissemination of crime. There was another fact, which, under these circumstances, was deserving of notice. If their lordships were to look back for some twenty years, they would perceive that while offences were multiplied, the number of capital punishments had diminished; for, about that period, one half who were sentenced

tenced to die suffered the punishment of death, while the proportion so suffering was fourteen to eighty-six in the succeeding seven years. Latterly but one eighth of those who were condemned had suffered. He mentioned this circumstance in order to show how little ground there was for charging our laws with being executed in a sanguinary way. Terror being thus lost, however, the legislature must, for the purposes of law, either at once recur to an increased system of rigour, which he should sincerely deprecate, or, what he ardently desired to see, endeavour to arrest the progress of crime by improving the management of gaols, by so correcting, disciplining, and reforming their inmates, as to prevent them in their career from reaching that pitch of criminality which must terminate in death. Under such impressions and prospects as these, he thanked the noble marquis for having brought the subject before their lordships. He was satisfied that they would feel it their duty to take the information which was the object of the motion into their immediate consideration, and that their report would lead to an improvement of the system. For these reasons, he most cordially concurred in the motion.

The marq. of Lansdowne's motion was then put, and agreed to.

House of commons, June 3.—Mr. Brougham brought up the report of the committee upon the education of the poor bill, which was laid on the table, and ordered to be printed.—Mr. Brougham then proceeded to state, that he had upon a former occasion given notice of a motion relative to this bill. But certain material changes

that had been made in another place on what had at first been in contemplation, had brought back the bill to somewhat of its original likeness, and on that account he should forbear to move that the house should not agree to the amendments. Before the changes alluded to had taken place, the measure had been made a mere nullity, had lost all its energy, and would have become a powerless instrument in the hands of unknown individuals, prohibited to inquire or to correct abuses. Had the house assented to such amendments, it would have been a party to the frustration of its own measure. Many of the alterations that had originally been intended elsewhere had been omitted, and the bill had consequently regained a certain portion of its pristine vigour, though much inferior in point of probable efficiency to what it had been before; he, however, should persist in his plan. The first change that had been made upon the bill as it had gone up from that house, had been to limit its object to one description of characters—those connected with the subject of education. But it was evident that abuses were not confined to charities connected with the education of the poor, and it was difficult to see why the commissioners should not be permitted to inquire into co-existent abuses, especially as these other abuses might have taken place upon the same spot with those connected with the funds for the education of the poor. But the superior intelligence of other legislators, had struck that out of the bill, and said, Your inquiries shall be limited to funds connected with the education of

the poor. Though the commissioners might be upon the very spot where the abuses had been committed, and though different charities might be founded by the same deed, still they were only to inquire into one description of these charities. Such had been the decree of superior intelligencers, from which, at that period of the session, there could be no appeal. The reason of the case he was unable to discern; he only saw its necessity at that period of the session. The fact would turn out to be, that a second and a third commission must be sent where one would have been perfectly sufficient; somewhat in manner of a man who having two cats, a larger and a less, made two holes of proportionate dimensions through which they might pass, though a very little reflection would have shown him that one would have been sufficient. The powers vested in the commissioners by the bill, as it had originally been framed, had been, by the subsequent changes made in another place, not only altered and abridged, but wholly abrogated, as they had not the power to compel the attendance of any persons, or even the production of a single paper. He must not suppose that such an alteration had been made with a view to get rid of inquiry. But though the powers of the commissioners were to be so fettered in this case, lord St. Vincent's bill, whose object had been to inquire into naval abuses, had passed with all those powers to the commissioners that were denied them in the present case; and no limitation had been imposed upon them as to the direction of their inquiries. In the Irish education bill, the commissioners had been authorized to impose a fine to the amount of 20*l*. But the commissioners by the present bill would have to call for voluntary evidence; and what chance was there that any men would come forward to accuse themselves, unless a power should be given by the house to compel answers to questions? He had observed that in all the inquiries instituted by order of the house, it was usual for the parties to express the most deference for the house, as well as the most anxious desire to assist the inquiry, as being what they had courted, and wished to be exercised with no sparing hand. But that desire on their part was quickly succeeded by satiety, and the appetite for inquiry soon began to pall. Upon the second or third question the obligation of an oath was usually pleaded in bar to answering the questions proposed. That had taken place in the case of Winchester college, when an account had been demanded of the balance of their funds for the last year. The answer had been, that they had taken an oath not to divulge their statutes. The statutes were then ordered to be produced, and it appeared that they were not to be divulged, except for a just and necessary cause. It was also admitted, that they would have no objection to produce them in a court of justice. Such would be the necessary result of voluntary evidence. The remedy was uncertain, as he believed his honourable friend (the attorney-general) would hardly be able to produce an instance of indictment in a similar case. The commissioners would thus be obliged to find their

their way in the best manner they could. The only hope was, that the commissioners would report the names who should refuse to answer; and the committee being re-appointed, would call upon those who had acted in that manner to appear and to state their reasons. In that way the measure might be restored to something like its former state. By the bill as it had at first been framed, eight commissioners had been appointed, from whom four boards were to be formed. But in another place, though the principle had been retained, the mode of its operation had been changed, as the house of lords had thought three a better division of eight than two. In that way, instead of four boards there would be only two, while at the same time there would be two useless commissioners. One commissioner more had afterwards been added; but still there would be only three boards instead of four; and thus there would be an addition of one-ninth to the expense, and a deduction of one-fourth from the work. The house of commons had excepted from the powers of the commissioners, the two universities, and the four great public schools. An attempt had been made to exempt Harrow, in consequence of which a number of other exceptions had been proposed, and all had been negatived in that house; together with Harrow. But the house of lords had exempted both Harrow and Rugby, together with all charities that were subject to a special visitation. But in no description of charities had such abuses taken place as in these. The visitor often did not reside upon the spot,

and sometimes the same person was both the patron and the visitor of the school; he was sometimes the heir at law of the founder, and could not be expected to visit his own sins upon his own head. To special visitors had likewise been added governors and overseers. In the cases that had been brought before the committee, it appeared in many of the charities subject to special visitation, that no visitorial power had been exercised for 20 years. His resource was in the wisdom and vigilance of the house of commons. The appointment of another committee was also to be looked to, to whom the commissioners should report the names of all those who refused to answer the questions that had been proposed to them. He wished to remind the house, with reference to any future measures which they may be inclined to adopt, that the commission appointed at the suggestion of lord St. Vincent had not only full powers to inquire into all abuses pointed out to them, but also to overhaul the books and accounts of all merchants and others, where they had reason to believe that such inquiry was by them deemed necessary to the furtherance of their object. He had heard of many objections to the present bill. It was said, that there was no penalty clause in it; and this, he allowed, might be a cause of objection: that there were too many exceptions was another ground of complaint; —but who ever heard of a bill being objected to on the ground that it contained no hinting clause? Who ever heard it stated before now, that a bill should be rejected because it did not contain, not only what ought to be done now,

but what was to be done in future? The fault of this bill seemed to be, that it was one bill, and not twenty. It was to be laughed at, and tattered to rags; it was to be tortured, and then destroyed, because it was a whole in all its parts, and because it did not contain an appendix, stating what was to be expected in future from its present operation. But this bill would be of the greatest service, were it only by its correcting some abuses, and by threatening others from continuing them. There were other points which it was intended to embrace; but on these he was not so sanguine. With respect to the court of chancery, he could not say much, as he was not fully acquainted with that court: he should, however, allow it to possess those qualities of cheapness and dispatch in its proceedings, and that every possible step was taken for the benefit of the unhappy suitor who was engaged in it. There were, however, some inquiries lately made as to the abuses existing in the disposal of a particular charity in Westmoreland. This charity was stated to be about 40*l.* or 50*l.* per annum. The parties who attempted to recover it were examined, and were asked, why they did not go into chancery. They replied that they had done so. On being questioned as to the result of that application, or how the case had been decided, they replied that they had been almost ruined by it, and that the case had not been yet decided. One of the parties said, that since the application to the court of chancery, he had frequently wished himself out of the world, for such was the expense of that court, that

though possessed of a trade of from 400*l.* to 500*l.* a-year when the inquiry commenced, he was now almost ruined in consequence of it. The second person who was questioned said, that he had already expended 500*l.* in the court of chancery, and that the case was not yet decided; that he therefore expected still further expense would be incurred. The third person who was connected with this business stated, that he was almost broken-hearted from the delay and the expense he had been put to; that his nerves had been so shaken by the losses he had sustained, that he scarcely knew what he was then speaking about. He had a wife and family to provide for, which made his losses more severely felt.—Another case in chancery, was that instituted by sir George Hall (we believe). This charity amounted to 50*l.* a-year; it was to have come on the 20th of December; at that time it was put on the paper, and ordered to stand over from time to time till the 21st of January; on that day it was called on, and the court made up its mind not to make up its mind until April; and when the next day of hearing came, the court determined that it should not determine on the case, and so on for several days until the 13th of May, and then it was decided, that further time was to be taken; and so it went on until January following, and in that month the case was put off until the 24th, from that to the 27th, 28th, and 29th of that month, and from that to the 25th of February, on which day it was mentioned. Mentioned might seem a light word, and was easily pronounced; but when it was

was known that the case being *mentioned* in the court of chancery was attended with the expenses of counsel, writers, clerks, &c. it would be seen that this being *mentioned* was not so light a matter as was supposed. On the 28th of that month, however, the court allowed that the papers relating to the case had been mislaid, and that a new brief was to be furnished. And here he should observe, that what was in this case called a *brief*, was by no means short; on the contrary, it was a voluminous and expensive article to the suitor, at whose expense it was to be furnished. The case, however, was not decided on the 17th March last, nor was it yet, though probably the charity to be inquired into was swallowed up by the expenses incurred. And he should observe, that the main objection to this bill in another quarter, was, the great expense which inquiry into small charities would give rise to; yet the expense in the court of chancery would be twenty times greater than any which could be incurred by commissioners. He begged to be distinctly understood as not applying in any manner to the noble lord who presided in that court; for he was aware, and so was the house, that since law and equity had been first invented, there had not been a more able and learned lawyer, there had not been a more sagacious and intelligent mind, than that of the noble and learned lord who now presided in the court of chancery. He was a man who, from one end of Westminster-hall to the other, was allowed to possess, not only the most superior and distinguished talent, but he was also possessed

of the most kind and good-natured feeling, and the strongest desire to administer justice with purity, and without prejudice. This he had a right to state, as, from his personal knowledge alone, he was convinced of its truth. But at the same time he felt it his duty to assert, that there existed an abuse, not a new one, he granted, but such an one as justified the irony of Dean Swift, where he made Gulliver inform his master, one of the *Houyhnhnms*, that his father had been ruined by having gained a suit in chancery, with full costs. It was the duty of the house to investigate closely and attentively into the different charities; as, if they sent forth a commission without supporting them and enforcing their acts, they would only send forth a fictitious hope to the country; as, however fit those gentlemen may be, however anxious to perform their duties, yet they could not of themselves attain their object. It would be in vain to appoint them, unless the house were determined to do their duty, and that duty they must do unless they wished to inflame the public mind. The attention of all places and of all persons was turned to this object; the public were fixed upon it, and they expected that a proper inquiry should be made. This feeling and interest existed in every parish and hamlet, in the breasts of the poor, whom the measure would more immediately relieve, as well as of the rich who should support those poor, if they were to be defrauded of the support allotted them. In a word, there was a sort of local interest felt all over the kingdom on this subject, as all parties were interested in it.

He hoped and trusted, then, that the measure would be attended to; and the most effectual way of doing so would be by appointing a committee in the early part of next session, with full powers for the purpose; and if such a measure were to be carried, he cared not what mutilations the present bill underwent. The object of his motion now was, to supply the defects of that bill; and he called upon the house, who daily saw how those charities were applied, to protect the country from the disgrace of having those monuments of the honour of our ancestors destroyed without an attempt to save them: he called on them to protect those pious offerings from the hand of time, and by so doing they would achieve victories over the enemy of the human race—victories unstained by blood—as they, by appropriating those charities as they were intended, would conquer ignorance and immorality, and this would be of more real service to the country than any others which could be gained:—They would, by adopting his motion, show, that the speculator who had heretofore deprived the poor of their rights, would not henceforward be allowed to do so with impunity. He should now move, “That an humble address be presented to his royal highness the prince regent, praying that his royal highness might be graciously pleased to appoint a commission of inquiry into the abuses of charitable donations for the education of the poor in England and Wales, which commission should report to the house, from time to time, the discoveries they might make.”

Lord Castlereagh next addressed

the house. He gave credit to the honourable member for the candid manner in which he had treated the question generally. He agreed with that honourable member that this was a question of importance, and one which ought to be treated with the most particular attention. He (Mr. Brougham) had complained that the bill had not been fairly treated in the lords; but he ought to have been aware that a measure new in itself, and of a complicated and delicate nature, would not all at once have met an unconditional assent. Other members had their opinions on the subject as well as he had, and had an equal right to exercise them. If the honourable member looked to the nature of his own measures, he would find this to be the case: in fact, it would not have been wise or prudent to have adopted such a measure all at once, without a proper consideration. With respect to the observations made on a noble and learned lord (the lord chancellor), he could see no cause for blaming him for the casual delay of any cause in the court of chancery. How would it be if any person were to look over the journals of that house, and to see that, on several occasions, motions of great importance had frequently been put off from day to day, and had remained undecided for a considerable time? Could this be used as an imputation on the ability or attention of the house of commons to its duties? He certainly knew it could not, as the motives for such postponement could be easily explained, as no doubt could those cases mentioned by the honourable and learned member with respect to the court of chancery; and

and he hoped that those gentlemen who were more acquainted with that court than he could be supposed to be, would defend it from such unmerited imputations. It was no argument against the court of chancery to say, that the proceedings in the court of chancery were expensive and inconvenient, as it would hold equally good with respect to the sessions-house of the smallest town, with the courts of king's bench or common pleas, or in short with any court of law or equity which could be mentioned. Besides, if the present inquiry was to be followed up, and that any difficulty should arise, it was intended by the honourable and learned member (Mr. Brougham) to have recourse to this very court which he now found so much fault with for its delay and expense. He thought that by running counter to the other house, he (Mr. B.) would only retard the object he wished to facilitate. As to the hint which had been given of renewing the motion next session, he should not at present enter into it, as proper time would probably come for such a subject; but he should observe, that it would be rather injudicious to have a committee of the house, a commission under the great seal, and a commission appointed by the house, all at once inquiring into this subject. It appeared to him the wiser way to appoint the commission at present, and early in the next session they could ascertain what the operation of that commission had been, or was likely to be, and they could at pleasure either give them further powers if it was found necessary, or else they might take such other steps as should then

seem advisable. It was necessary that they should speedily adopt some measure; none was more likely to answer the intended purpose at present than the bill as amended. Nothing could be more fatal to harmony in the legislative bodies than, at this late period of the session, to introduce a conflict of authority between two branches, by opposing the present motion to the bill as it had been sanctioned by the house of lords. There were forty or fifty thousand charitable institutions in the country which would come under the consideration of the bill, as it was intended; and it could not, therefore, be surprising that the house of lords should, at the late period of the session at which it was proposed to them, contract its operation, when, matters of such importance being at stake, time was afforded to give serious and sufficient consideration to the subject. In some part of his speech the honourable and learned gentleman had spoken of the equity part of the courts distributing justice, not in a manner which tended to remove the entire difficulties, but which rather tended to reduce it to disgrace. He conceived that nothing could prove more injurious; that the unnecessary complication which must necessarily be introduced, if in compliance with the present motion application was made to the crown to introduce commissioners by royal authority; and from conviction that it would be infinitely more expedient towards gaining the point in view if the subject was postponed for more mature deliberation during the next sessions; he therefore moved the previous question.

Sir S. Romilly felt himself called

called upon by the observations of the noble lord, to answer for the court of chancery, in which he was convinced no sufficient remedy existed for the removal of the abuses respecting which much had been spoken. If a private individual gave information concerning any abuses in which he was not connected, he was first required to advance great sums for supporting the suit, which, if ever returned to him, would, after years of contested litigation, be liable to the most exact and severe taxation. This man, who thus attempted to remedy the evil of public charities, would subject himself to the greatest odium, to the enmity of the persons who lived around him; for it was futile to suppose that any man, except he who lived in the country, contiguous to the charities, could attempt to substantiate any charges against such institutions. He was convinced of the impossibility of a remedy in the court of chancery, and, under that impression, had assisted in bringing in a bill to assist persons presenting petitions, by relieving them from many charges to which a chancery cause was liable. This bill had been productive of beneficial results: but it was decided in the court of chancery, that the lands which were connected with charitable institutions did not come under the operation of this bill. Great delay certainly existed in the court of chancery, the removal of which, if effected, would prove of great utility.

Mr. B. Bathurst expressed his surprise at the motion with which the honourable and learned gentleman had concluded, which could not but produce results of an un-

satisfactory nature, inasmuch as, if agreed to, it would place the two houses of parliament on different opinions. The motion of the honourable member seemed to require the assistance of an act of the legislature; for it first required the sanction of the house of commons, and afterwards that of the crown. The commissioners who were to be appointed should be designated by the house, and the approbation of the crown was required; why therefore was the other house of the legislature not to interfere? To the manner of demanding questions from the respectable persons who were frequently to be witnesses before the commissioners, he could not but be averse; for if these men, in whatever situation, hesitated in reply, they became liable to be committed to prison. He therefore was of opinion, that the postponing of the matter for more deliberate investigation, during the next session, would be the means best adapted to the promotion of the object contemplated.

Colonel Ellison thought the abuses scandalous, and he would not suffer the people to be abused. The appointment of commissioners to investigate the state of the funds for education was useful, but he could not conceive why charitable institutions which afforded sources of comfort and support to old age should be neglected. He was a trustee to many charitable institutions, and if he was guilty he was willing to undergo the punishment which his errors deserved; but he would not vote for the bill in its present disgraceful state.

Mr. Abercromby was of opinion that expense should be avoided; and

and as it was admitted on every side that abuses existed, he thought the union of the double powers of investigating the abuses of both descriptions would prove useful. If the lords were consistent, they would next year reject the bill in case it should be proposed to them. The house would be grossly deficient in the fulfilment of its duty, if, after the existence of the evils was allowed, it should fail to adopt the speediest and most efficient means for their removal.

Mr. Lockhart said, that it had been objected, that no persons of respectability would undertake the situation of trustees. This objection related to trustees for present or future charities; it was evident, that no individual, who was possessed of information respecting the present abuses, would be desirous of dedicating any funds to a charitable purpose, when he was certain that his intention would be abused; and it was equally evident, that the office of trustees was not at present in general in the hands of men of honour; that the objection was completely answered. The noble lord stated, that the matter was novel; but it did not seem such to him, for nearly thirty years since it had been brought under the consideration of the house, and since that period he (Mr. L.) had introduced a bill, which allowed persons to present full statements of the situation of the charitable institutions with which they were connected, and yet out of forty thousand not more than six hundred sent memorials into the enrolment office.

The chancellor of the exchequer conceived, that it would be

much better to suffer the amendments of the lords to be negatived directly, than to consent to such an address as that which the honourable and learned gentleman had moved. The inquiry which was proposed by the bill as it now stood, would, in his opinion, have a most beneficial effect; and if all that was originally intended was not carried into execution, yet a great deal might be done upon which important legislative measures might be founded. The present inquiry would go to see how the funds were applied, and if abuses, which no doubt existed, were fully made known, such measures might be founded upon them as would effectually tend to place the charities upon their original foundation. The appointment of another set of commissioners besides those which were contemplated by the present bill, would only tend to create embarrassments, and besides be attended with a vast expense, which was a consideration by no means to be overlooked.

Mr. John Smith observed, that it would be wholly out of the power of the legislature to apply any adequate remedy to the evil which was said to exist, unless they were fully and accurately informed of the nature and extent of that evil; and this they could never expect to be without the most minute inquiry into it. The cases of some of the charities alluded to were of such a glaring nature, that it was impossible to shut one's eyes upon them. And with these facts before the house, what was the argument used by some who opposed some parts of the inquiry? That if it were gone into

so minutely, it would deter many very honourable men from acting as trustees to charitable institutions. This, he conceived, to be a most absurd reason. It was absurd to suppose that any man would shrink from inquiry into that conduct which he was conscious to himself was upright and honourable.—A clause had been inserted in the bill to exempt from investigation the charitable establishments belonging to Quakers. Now he knew several of that respectable body who came to town preparatory to their annual meeting, and he was authorized to state that, so far from their objecting to an inquiry into their charitable institutions, there was nothing for which they were more anxious; and this he conceived must be the case with every trustee of a charity who was conscious of having discharged his duty.

Sir F. Burdett said, that if any thing were calculated to give greater weight to the motion of his honourable and learned friend (Mr. Brougham), it would be the fair and manly statement which had been made by the honourable gentleman who spoke last; for he could not conceive that any thing was more natural, than that he who had conscientiously discharged his duty should not shrink from inquiry. With respect to the impropriety of the present motion, he could not agree with gentlemen on the other side; for he thought there was nothing either improper or unparliamentary in moving an address to the crown, after what had been done on the subject of the bill in the other house, to which he knew it was not quite proper to allude

by name. There were these such objections to this measure, as quite astonished him, coming as they did from the head of one great court of equity, who ought rather to be, and who was understood in law to be, the guardian of those charities, which were for the relief of the poor and the protection of those who had no one else to be their advocate. He was, he observed, astonished to find that any obstruction to this measure came from that quarter, from which there was so little reason to expect it. As, however, the fact was so, that these objections were thrown in the way, as a sort of bar was put to the execution of what had before seemed to be the almost unanimous wish of the house, he trusted, that on the present occasion they would feel the propriety of agreeing to the motion of his honourable and learned friend, and thereby set the measure as it were upon the same footing upon which they had before placed it. He thought this was a case which no technical objection ought to obstruct. It was an exertion to rescue that property which was intended for the benefit of the poor from the hands of those who seemed only anxious to live by its plunder; and here he could not forbear expressing his thanks, and that which he conceived ought to be the thanks and gratitude of the house and the country, to his honourable and learned friend (Mr. Brougham) for the zeal, the ability, and perseverance with which he had begun and followed up this great and important undertaking; for the great labour he had bestowed upon it, and the masterly manner in

in which he had urged it in the house. He trusted the house would appreciate these circumstances, and not consent to an object of such importance being defeated. He regretted, indeed, that it had ever gone out of the house, for he should much more depend upon a committee of the house itself, than upon the exertions of any commissioners who might be appointed. When he saw the abuses which existed in almost every department in the country, when he recollected those which had crept in even in the management of commissioners themselves, when he saw that his majesty's ministers never proposed any inquiry of their own accord, and even took it as a sort of praise when they had not opposed those which were proposed by others; when he reflected upon these circumstances, and still further, when he saw that the result of some commissions was a baffled inquiry and increased expense, he could not but regret that the matter was not, as was originally intended, kept within the control of the house itself, and not made, as the appointment of the commissioners now was, a source of additional patronage to the crown. But the benefits which were originally intended by this bill were almost entirely done away with, by the amendments, or rather the emasculation, which it had suffered in another place.—The honourable baronet then alluded to the delays which he observed existed in the court of chancery. He would not, he said, call them abuses, for he rather thought the whole system was an abuse in itself; and it was evident that such delays existed to a terrible extent, from

the immense sum to which at the present moment the unclaimed property in chancery amounted; a sum so great, that he was almost afraid to name the millions to which it amounted. This was, he conceived, contrary to that part of the king's oath which said, "*nulli negabimus, nulli deferemus, nulli vendemus, rectum vel justitiam.*" He did not mean to impute any blame for those delays, and consequent expenses, which amounted to almost a negation of justice, and which involved so many families in ruin; he did not mean to charge the blame of them upon any particular individual connected with the court of chancery; but the blame must exist somewhere, and he had adverted to it in order to express a hope, that the zeal, activity, and great intelligence of his honourable and learned friend might be applied to the consideration of the subject, and the bringing forward some adequate remedy for the evils with which it abounded.—Returning to the subject before the house, he begged of honourable members to reflect upon the number and extent of the abuses of several charities, which had been already discovered—to consider the evils which those abuses were calculated to entail upon a large portion of society—the many hundreds, he might say thousands of young persons who were left in ignorance, and the numbers of the aged who were suffered to pine in poverty in their declining years, while the funds intended for their support were put into the pockets and converted to the use of a set of beings who fattened upon instead of applying them to their original purpose.

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He begged the house would consider these circumstances, and he was satisfied they would pause before they consented to throw any obstruction in the way of a motion whose object was to come at the speediest method the case afforded of checking those evils in their progress. The country were interested in the measure, and would not, he was satisfied, be content with any thing short of a minute inquiry into it.

Mr. Canning wished to say a few words to the real question immediately before the house; and as it was only to the question he intended to speak, he trusted he should not be thought to have any disrespect for the honourable baronet or the honourable gentleman who preceded him, if he passed over their speeches without any notice. To prevent misconception, he should however set out with stating, that he was from the beginning of the discussions on the question, a friend to the inquiry; but here again he should remark, that friendly as he was to such inquiry, he would have given his decided opposition to the measure altogether, if it had continued in the shape in which the honourable and learned gentleman had first produced it. He had, however, given his support to the bill as it had been sent to the other house. The right honourable gentleman then went into a review of the progress of the bill, from the day on which it was introduced up to the present stage, for the purpose, he observed, of more clearly showing how the question stood. The house of lords had, it was true, made some very considerable alterations in the bill, but they still agreed in the

principle of inquiry. Did it follow, that because they did not see the necessity of carrying that inquiry beyond a certain extent at the present moment, they could therefore be said to have given a negative to it? By no means. They conceived, he would not say, whether wisely or not, that enough had been done for the present in agreeing to the first part of the bill; and all that could be said of their not agreeing to the second part was, that it was left as a matter for future consideration. The house of lords had received the bill from the commons in that shape in which it had pleased them to agree to it, and they, exercising that discretion, with which as a distinct branch of the legislature they were invested, chose to differ from certain parts of that bill. Would any person deny that in doing this, they had overstepped the bounds of that authority which the constitution gave them? Certainly not. But how was it proposed to act in this case? Not to dissent from the amendments of the house of lords, which would be following the ancient practice of the constitution in such cases; no, but to call upon the crown by an address, to do that by its own authority, which the house of lords had been requested to assent to as a law and had refused. The right honourable gentleman then continued, and contended, that the motion of the honourable and learned gentleman would have the effect of passing by the house of lords altogether, and putting the whole power of the legislature into those of the commons and the crown—that there was no precedent for such

such a proceeding—and in a late instance where the other house had negatived the bill respecting places in reversion, the commons had agreed to an address to the crown, not embodying the object of the bill, but praying that no other places might be given in reversion until such time as the house should have the opportunity of again considering the question. If, he contended, this system of moving addresses to the crown, to do that which the lords refused to concur in, were followed up, it would be dispensing with their power altogether, and be establishing a precedent which he was satisfied the honourable and learned gentleman would himself most heartily regret. He also contended that no practical inconvenience could occur to the public from the one part of the bill being delayed for the next

six months, for that the commissioners to be appointed would be fully engaged in examining into those matters for the inquiry into which their lordships had consented.

Mr. Brougham replied in defence of his motion: after which the house divided; when there appeared: For the motion, 29;—Against it, 54.—Majority, 25.

Mr. Brougham's other motion was put and negatived.

After a short conversation between Mr. Brougham, Mr. Canning, Mr. Ward, Mr. F. Robinson, and Mr. B. Bathurst—

Lord Castlereagh proposed that the amendments of the lords be agreed to.

This was, after a few words from Mr. Brougham and Mr. Canning, put and carried, and the bill ordered to the lords.

CHAPTER VIII.

Difference between the Lords and Commons on the Subject of the Alien Bill—Conference between the two Houses respecting it: and consequent Proceedings—Dissolution of Parliament.

HOUSE of commons, June 6. —Sir J. Mackintosh said, he had a petition to present from certain persons holding stock in the bank of Scotland, and in consequence of holding such stock naturalised, by virtue of an act of the parliament of Scotland. The subject was to be discussed that evening, and the measure in contemplation appeared to him to be a glaring breach of all justice. The petition was deserving of all

attention, and the petitioners were deserving of relief, inasmuch as they were entitled to all the privileges of natural born subjects. The act of the Scotch parliament had passed in 1695, and had been confirmed by five acts of the parliament of Great Britain. Several of the petitioners had been long in the country, and had many children, and were not suitors for favour, but claimants for justice. The petitioners also (which appeared

peared to him a degree of unnecessary humility on their part) had offered to bring proofs of their loyalty and attachment to the British constitution. They had bought stock on the faith of the act of parliament, and were about to be deprived of their rights by a retrospective regulation. The prayer of the petitioners was, that they might not be denationalised and disfranchised.

The petition was then read, and laid on the table.

Mr. Bennet rose; when lord Castlereagh observed, that it was unnecessary to debate the petition, as the subject to which it referred was about to be discussed.

Mr. Tierney moved that the petition be referred to a committee to inquire into the facts, and to report upon them to the house.

Lord Castlereagh said that he should oppose the motion as wholly unnecessary, since the house was in possession of the facts of the case, and they were admitted by those who supported the amendment. The old law of the Scotch parliament was to be superseded by the operation of the alien act, while it continued in force. No measure could be more absurd than what flowed from the obsolete law, and the admitted facts of the case; and the arguments against it were drawn from these facts. The question was, could or could not parliament suspend the operation of a law which gave to aliens all the privileges of natural born subjects? It was a surprise both to the house and the parties that such a law was in existence.—The number of proprietors in the bank of Scotland petitioning against the clause

was 49, 17 or 18 of whom had been refused the means of obtaining naturalization in the country. By this obsolete provision in the law of Scotland, any person having a share to the amount of 80*l*. in the bank of Scotland became a subject of Scotland, and by virtue of the act of union he became a subject of the united kingdom. He might sell the stock next day, which might travel all over the continent, and make every man a British subject who had bought that share. All the provisions of that law would in that manner be evaded, and natives of foreign countries would in that way obtain rights which they could do in no other. Could it be supposed that the bank of Scotland could have the right, by a simple transfer of a certain quantity of their stock, to render all acts upon the subject of aliens inoperative? The principle of naturalization was different in this country from what it was in some others. In America, in particular, it was the policy of the government to naturalize as great a number of foreigners as possible. But the policy of this country had been of a different kind; and foreigners, when naturalized, were still debarred from some of the most important privileges of a natural-born subject. In the case of the prince of Saxe-Cobourg, when about to be married to the princess Charlotte, a distinct act had been necessary for the purpose of omitting the disqualifications usual in similar cases. In an act of George the First, there was a clause, by which no foreigner could have a seat in parliament; and by an act of George the Third, no naturalized foreigner could

could claim the benefits of a British subject in foreign parts. Without these clauses no naturalization bill could pass, and as he had before stated, there had been in the case of the prince of Saxe-Coburg a special act, in order to leave out the clauses, and to take the case out of the usual course. But all these acts were, it appeared, to be rendered nugatory by an obsolete law of the parliament of Scotland. By the law of the land, no person could be naturalized without taking the oath of allegiance, and the other oaths prescribed by law. But by means of this obsolete act, the most notorious delinquent might, without having taken the oath of allegiance, become naturalized. Such a state of things could not be suffered to remain, and perhaps a special enactment should have been made upon the subject. The act of George III. was a virtual repeal of the old act, and foreigners had no right to complain of a clause directed against a right that had been obtained in fraud. The house could not allow such a principle to stand in the way of acts of parliament. Nothing was so common in parliamentary practice as retrospective regulations; which often took place in the imposition of taxes; the tax being laid on from the time of the introduction of the bill, and not from the passing of the act. That had taken place in the bill for regulating the residence of the clergy, upon the principle that the law, as it at first stood, had been unjust. None of the facts in the present case had been disputed. The existence of the old Scotch law had been admitted, and it was equally
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admitted that subjects of Scotland were subjects of the empire. A committee was, therefore, wholly unnecessary. The present question did not relate to the merit or demerit of individuals, but was a question of general policy, whether an old act of the parliament of Scotland was to repeal all the laws on the subject of aliens, as by that short way all the continent might be naturalized. As the whole question was before the house, he should oppose the motion as unnecessary.

Sir S. Romilly felt it to be his duty to support the petition, and should therefore assent to the motion, which he conceived the house was bound to entertain, unless all the obligations of justice and good faith were intended to be violated. Since he had the honour of a seat in parliament, he recollected no question before the house of more importance than the present. The noble lord had opposed the motion of his right honourable friend, upon the ground that all the facts in the case were known. But the reverse was the case. None of the facts appeared to be known to the noble lord, who could not even read the act of the Scotch parliament. If the noble lord had the act in his possession, then let him produce it; but in order to get rid of that act, no less than five acts of the British parliament in substance re-enacting that were to be repealed. The right arose from the acts of the British parliament. The bank of Scotland had been erected in the year 1695, with a capital of 100,000*l*. But in 1774 that capital had been doubled by the act of the 14th of Geo. III. by which act the provisions of the act of the Scotch
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parliament respecting the original capital were extended to the additional stock. The same took place by the acts of the 32d and 34th of the King, and there were in all five acts of the parliament of Great Britain confirmatory of the act of the parliament of Scotland. The right was thus secured by the acts of the British parliament, and yet the noble lord had chosen to describe the purchases made under those acts as being made in fraud, a strong statement which would carry weight with it as coming from that quarter. Such a boon had been originally granted with the view of inducing foreigners to purchase stock, and when purchases had been made in consequence, they had been said to be made in fraud. But if fraud existed, it was fraud not on the part of the purchasers, but of parliament. In the time of queen Anne the policy of the country was very different from that of the present day. An act had passed in the 7th year of that sovereign, by which all foreign protestants were declared to be naturalized in England. In consequence of certain inconveniences attendant upon it, that act had been repealed in the 10th year of the same reign.—The noble lord would hear how different the course then adopted was from the policy of the present day. Instead of a retrospective, a prospective act was made, and the space of three months was allowed to those who might be on their way to this country, with the intention of taking the benefit of the act. The present clause had emanated from that house, which was regarded by the constitution

as the fountain of equity, and which in cases of equity was the last resort. But the amendment had nothing to do with the bill, as it had originally gone up from that house, and was in fact alien to the spirit of the bill, and seemed to have been made in the hope that, at the close of the session, it might pass without much observation. He could not agree to the amendment, as many would, in consequence of it, be made subject to the duties imposed upon aliens. To him it was immaterial whether there were only 49 persons likely to be affected by the bill as it then stood. The principle upon which it went was the same. But how did the house know whether there were only 49 persons? What evidence had they to prove that the number might be 49? There was none whatever; and this was another ground why a committee should be appointed. He never could, as a member of that house, consent to the house of lords imposing a tax upon the people in any shape. The jealousy of the house in this respect was long known. He should only mention the one instance of the bill for the building of Horsham gaol. A clause was inserted in that bill, that the gaol should be raised as all others were—that was by a county rate; but even this clause, indirect as it was, was sufficient to procure the rejection of the bill by the house of commons. But the present case was a much stronger one; for here was a direct imposition of a tax by the other house, and a consequent violation of the privilege of the house of commons. The noble lord (Castlereagh) had said, that
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naturalization was never granted to any person, without particular obligations and certain qualifications on their part—but he should recollect, that in times of war, foreigners became naturalized by a certain time of servitude on board our ships; that in the American war, foreigners who served there as engineers became naturalized. [Lord Castlereagh observed across the table, that these cases were with particular limitations, and requiring from the parties other things than mere servitude.] Sir S. Romilly contended, that though some of them might be so, yet that by the act of Anne (a clause of which he read) naturalization followed of course upon the performance of certain services. But he had another objection to the clauses, as added by the lords. They deprived certain individuals of rights which had been granted by due course of law, and to which they were as much entitled, as any man in that house was to the rights which he enjoyed; and they did this, without at all knowing whether these persons deserved this treatment or not. They were ignorant of those persons; and as nothing bad was imputed to them, the house should naturally presume that they were innocent. On former occasions the house never deprived any man of any right which he possessed, without first hearing what objections he had to make. Why should not the same course be followed in the present instance? Why should not a committee be appointed to examine the circumstances of the case, and report upon it to the house? He protested strongly against the conduct which he

feared the house were about to adopt. He was not certain as to the determination they might come to; but from the eagerness with which the question was taken up on the other side, he had but little doubt as to what would be the result. He was afraid that the last act of the session and of the parliament would be one of gross injustice. The house were at that moment upon the eve, they were within a few hours of terminating their political existence. He begged then of members to consider what it was they were about to do—to reflect that they were then about to render to their constituents an account, not only of their recent conduct, but of their career from the commencement of the parliament. It might on this moment of approaching dissolution be proper for them to reflect upon their past conduct. They should think, that they were the same parliament which had twice suspended that great bulwark of personal liberty, the habeas corpus, and that too in a time of peace with the whole world, and without any of those circumstances with respect to internal tranquillity, which had called for such a measure in former times; that they were the same house of commons which had granted to the noble lord and his colleagues an indemnity, without stopping to inquire whether their conduct had merited it or not; that they were the same which had, in so many instances, not only neglected the petitions of the people, but that, in some cases, these petitions were the source of amusement and ridicule; that they were the same parliament which had consented to a system of

spies and informers; that had sunk our system of government nearly on a level with that of the French police; that they had consented to the opinions of attorneys and solicitors general being sent into the country as the law of the land; that they had admitted the principle of persons being confined in gaols and houses of correction upon the suspicion of libel. They should reflect on these circumstances, and think that they were at that moment about to finish their career with an act, which, to say the least of it, was one of manifest injustice to those who were to be affected by it, and an admission of a direct encroachment upon one of their dearest privileges.—After what he had seen of the conduct of the present parliament, he trusted in God, that the people would never again have one so negligent of their rights and careless of their privileges.

Lord Castlereagh explained.

The attorney-general said he would not in the observations he had to make, follow all the arguments of the honourable and learned gentleman who had just sat down, because he thought that many of them were not quite to the subject then before the house. With respect to the rights of the holders of property in the Scotch bank, he contended that they were not derived from any English acts, but from the act of the Scotch parliament alone. With respect to the law of 1695, he should say, that though it might have given naturalization to foreigners under particular circumstances, yet that it was contrary to all the grounds upon which aliens were ever naturalized, to

say that they should enjoy the rights of British subjects, without any restraint, or taking those qualifying oaths which were required on all other occasions. His honourable and learned friend had said, that in some certain cases, persons were naturalized for particular services; but then it should be recollected, that before they could enjoy such benefit, they were in all instances to take the oath of allegiance, in many cases to reside for a certain time in the country, and in others it was required that the parties should become protestants. Now what was the case of those aliens who sought the protection of this Scotch law? They were not by that law required to take oaths of allegiance. They had only to put a certain sum, which he believed was lower than was generally imagined, into the Scotch bank, and they became thereby as natural-born subjects. Would the house consent to the principle, that every character on the continent, however depraved, might come and reside in this country, and by a small purchase in the Scotch bank, render himself entitled to all the protection of a British subject? With respect to the case of foreign seamen employed on board of British ships of war, that did not depend so much upon their servitude, as upon the proclamation of the king. The crown, at the commencement of a war, might issue a proclamation, granting the right of British subjects to such foreigners as should serve for a certain time on board of any ship of war, and they got such rights by their service, and taking the oaths of allegiance. The statute (7th of Anne, cap. 5.) recognised that certain

certain qualifications should be necessary, besides mere service. The preamble to that act was, "that whereas the number of the people increased the prosperity of a country," and then it went on to give certain inducements to foreigners coming into this kingdom: these were the rights of natural-born subjects for particular services; but besides those services it was required, that they should take the oaths of allegiance and become protestants; but this act, which was so general in its nature, was repealed by the 10th of Anne, the preamble to which stated, that certain bad consequences had resulted from it. It was true that this law, which repealed the 7th, was not a retrospective one. It was not, he observed, a retrospective law, and the reason was, that an encouragement had been given to persons to come into the country, and it would not have been just to deprive them of the rights which they had acquired on the faith of that encouragement. But he would ask, whether this was the case with the alien purchasers into the Scotch bank? The law of which they had taken the advantage, was one which, though not quite obsolete, was one scarcely known, and never acted upon, from the passing of the first alien bill, in 1793, to the present year. He put it to any honourable members on the other side, whether they had ever known an instance before the last month of the benefit of that law having been claimed by any alien? As then it appeared that this law was only had recourse to for the protection of persons upon whom the laws of the country could not have

that control which it had over natural-born subjects, he saw no ground for going into a committee on the petitions. He should not trespass longer on the house at present, but should reserve any thing further till the clauses, as added by the other house, came to be considered.

Mr. W. Smith observed, that in the few observations he had to make, he should, for argument sake, concede, that the act of the Scotch parliament was one of great imprudence; and he should also admit, that it was not sanctioned by any English statute; but then he should object to the clauses as proposed by the other house, on the ground that they would have the operation of an *ex post facto* law. It was not denied on either side that these aliens had, by the effect of a statute, obtained the rights and privileges of natural-born subjects. Now, he contended, that unless something was proved against them whereby these rights became forfeited, they ought not to be deprived of them. It would, without such cause, be a most gross violation of all law and justice. It was only a case of the strongest necessity which could at all justify such a proceeding. Now let that case be made out. Let it be proved, that these forty-nine men had been guilty of such misconduct; that they had engaged in such plots or conspiracies as that, it would be better even to violate the privilege of the house, than to suffer them to continue in the country. If these things could be proved, he should willingly give up the point; but where could such proof be better given than in the committee which was asked for? At present, no-

thing like such proof was attempted to be offered to the house, and in the absence of it, he should most decidedly give his vote for the motion.

The chancellor of the exchequer said, that it would appear as if the objections to the clause were in consequence of alien merchants being thought to be subject to particular duties, from which British subjects were exempt.

Sir S. Romilly put it to the right honourable gentleman to state whether aliens were not as such liable to particular duties from which foreign merchants were exempt? What would the right honourable gentleman say as to aliens purchasing land?

The chancellor of the exchequer would not take upon himself to say that aliens were not liable to particular duties. Such duties had existed, but he believed that they had been gradually repealed.

Mr. F. Douglas observed, that as the right honourable gentleman was uncertain whether any particular duties existed as applying solely to aliens, and as he must in consequence be uncertain whether the additional clauses of the other house were money clauses or not, he conceived these were the best grounds why the subject of the petitions should be referred to a committee.

Sir A. Pigott said, the subject before the house was one of a very delicate nature, and required the most mature deliberation before a decision was come to upon it. The right honourable gentleman opposite (the chancellor of the exchequer) could not take upon himself to say, that there were no duties existing as applicable to aliens only; but would he deny that there

were not certain duties in London which aliens alone were obliged to pay? There might be, for aught the right honourable gentleman seemed to know, such duties in existence; why not then in this state of uncertainty, and upon so delicate a point, refer the matter to a committee, where the fullest information might be had upon it? But leaving this part of the subject for a moment, would the right honourable gentleman, would his honourable and learned friend (the attorney general) deny, that an alien purchasing land, held it only as the trustee for the crown, and that he might be dispossessed of it at the pleasure of his majesty? And if he could not deny this, would he come forward and call upon the house of commons, which had at all times been so jealous of its privileges on the subject of money matters, first, to agree with amendments which evidently involved that question, and secondly, to decide upon the rights of certain individuals, without any information before them on the subject? The privilege of the house in money clauses, was one of which they had upon all occasions been jealous, almost to a degree of pedantry. He well remembered an instance of it in 1807. It was the case of a catholic officer who had accepted a commission in the army in Ireland, where he was not subject to the penalties of the test act, and who afterwards came over to England in the king's service. In England he was liable to the penalties, and in consequence a bill was brought in, in the other house, to prevent those penalties; but it was thrown out in the house of commons; in consequence of the then speaker saying, that as it interfered

terfered in a money concern it ought not to be agreed to, coming from the other house. He also objected to these clauses, as not stating any grounds for their enactment. They went to repeal certain laws without even stating what those laws were.—He would appeal to the experience of the gentlemen on the other side, whether they had ever known of a bill being brought in for the repeal of any acts, without naming those acts?—These acts had now existed for a long period, and no bad consequence had ever resulted from them, and now the house were called upon to repeal them without any reason being assigned, or their being so much as named. The fact was, they did not seem to know the name of the act or acts, for they were even ignorant, as it would seem, whether there were more than one, which they were going to repeal. The clause said, “Be it enacted, that any person or persons, who may have been naturalized, or have a claim to become naturalized.” These were two distinct propositions; for, being naturalized, and having a claim to being so, were quite distinct in their nature. But the clause went on to state, that any person having such rights, or having a claim to them from purchases in the bank of Scotland, since the 28th of April, should not be exempted, &c. Now he wanted to know why the 28th of April was fixed upon more than any other precise period? Why not before that time, or why not since? For these no one reason was assigned, but that it was so agreed to by the other house, and that the house of commons should also agree to it. Why was he, he would ask, upon such grounds to

vote away the right of a man to that to which he had as legal a claim, as he (sir Arthur Pigott) had to any right which he possessed? The right of the alien purchaser in the Scotch bank was granted to him by law, and under that law he had as strong a claim to it as any member of that house had to his estate, or property. The attorney general had said, that the general principle of naturalization acts was, besides of certain services, also the incurring of certain obligations on the part of the aliens naturalized; but if that was the case in some instances, it was the will of parliament, and the same reason applied to the acts, applying to the alien purchasers in the Scotch bank. Parliament had so enacted, and they who fulfilled the act had a clear right to all its benefits. It was said that only forty-nine persons could be affected by the clause. That might be the case, or there might be only nine persons. But whether the forty-nine or four hundred and ninety be the only persons, the principle was still the same, and the arguments against it equally unanswerable. If they were to be deprived of their rights, let some ground be shown. Let it be proved that they were engaged in some dangerous conspiracies, which rendered their presence in the country detrimental to the state; but let them not be condemned without a cause, or even a well-grounded suspicion.—He denied that part of the attorney general’s argument, which said that this right of naturalization depended only on the Scotch law. He maintained, that it was guaranteed by several English statutes; for when the privileges granted by the Scotch

legislature were recognised generally by the Union, they were as fully and as particularly sanctioned as if every one of them had been especially mentioned, and all their clauses stated item by item. But independently of these considerations, there was one which gave him an insuperable objection to the clauses, and that was, that they were money clauses, and that the assent to them, as coming from the house of lords, would compromise the most valuable privilege of the house of commons.

Mr. Canning said, he rose only for the purpose of observing upon the concluding point of the honourable and learned gentleman's speech, not that he thought the entire of it unworthy of notice, but that if the question upon that point were settled, he conceived it would not be difficult to come to a conclusion upon the others. It was a point clearly ruled that the privileges of that house were not to be interfered with by the other. If these amendments were such as interfered with their privileges, they could not, of course, be agreed to with propriety, and any further debate could be of no use. He would therefore beg leave to call upon the chair.

The speaker said, he took the general rule to be, that the other house was not permitted to interfere in the imposition of duties and taxes, or to interfere with them in any way. He did not know the state of the law so far as respected the imposition of duties upon aliens; but as duties and penalties attached to them, it would seem that the effect of the clause would be, to reimpose these duties; that of course it was an interference with the privileges of

the house. Thus far was clear, if the rule laid down was good. It was a case which affected one of those duties of which they were most jealous. The only point which could excite any doubt, was, that a bill of naturalization might originate in the lords. The case seemed to him to fall under the general rule at first laid down.

Mr. Wynn said, that a naturalization bill originating in the lords, affected no confiscation. It tended, on the contrary, to the acquisition of rights. By this bill, as amended, aliens would be deprived of rights in place of obtaining any.

Lord Castlereagh said, that after the opinion delivered from the chair, he could of course feel no disposition to persevere in the amendments. No man could be less disposed than himself to admit of any encroachment upon the privileges of the house. Even if the matter were more doubtful, he should not press it upon such a subject.

Mr. Brougham begged leave to express the sense he entertained of the propriety of what had fallen from the noble lord, that even if the matter were more doubtful, he should be disposed to yield.

Mr. Tierney then withdrew his motion.

The order of the day being then read for taking the amendments into consideration,

Sir S. Romilly submitted, that the bill should be rejected altogether. He spoke with diffidence, but he believed it was the usual mode when amendments of this kind were proposed by the lords. Such was the case in 1771, with respect to a bill for regulating the duties upon the exportation of corn;

corn; in 1772, with respect to a bill for the preservation of game; and also in 1787, when the lords proposed some amendments in a bill for the repair of gaols.

Mr. Wynn felt some doubts upon the subject. If it was exclusively a money bill, any amendment by the lords, except a mere verbal one, became fatal to it. He doubted whether a mere money clause had the same effect.

Mr. Bathurst saw no occasion to throw out the bill altogether; it would be enough to get rid of the amendment which involved penalties and forfeitures.

Mr. Brougham thought, that as the matter was doubtful, it would be better to postpone it until to-morrow for further consideration. This would give them an opportunity of obtaining further information on the subject.

Lord Castlereagh said, that not having particularly directed his mind to questions of order, he spoke with much diffidence upon them. It did not, however, appear to him necessary to reject the bill altogether on account of the objectionable clause.

Sir James Mackintosh did not know the precedents on both sides, but on grounds of reason he thought the bill ought to be rejected. It would be a dangerous precedent to allow any bill to pass in which the lords had attempted, not to amend a money bill sent up to them by the commons, but to make grants of duties to the crown, which grants were never contemplated by that house in the present measure, and in which they were least to be expected.

The speaker said, there was a distinction between a money bill and a money clause. With re-

spect to a money bill, any alteration by the lords, except a mere verbal one, was fatal to it. The same strictness was observed with respect to a money clause in any bill, but it did not extend to the other parts of it. In 1818, the lords introduced a money clause into a militia bill, and this amendment was the only part of it which they were called upon by the committee of that house not to insist upon.

After a few words from Mr. Wynn and Mr. Bathurst, the amendments were put and negatived.

A committee was then appointed to draw up reasons for disagreeing with the lords' amendments.

The report of the committee upon the lords' amendments was brought up, and a conference ordered with their lordships.

House of lords, June 6.—Lord Binning and others deputed from the commons, presented themselves at the bar, requesting to have a conference with their lordships in the painted chamber, on the subject of the alien bill recently returned to that house with amendments therein made by their lordships.

The message having been communicated to the house, the lord chancellor said, their lordships would send an answer by a messenger of their own,—and the deputation from the commons withdrew.

The consent of their lordships being then communicated in the usual form to the commons, a message was in a few minutes afterwards brought up from that house, signifying that a deputation of members which they had appointed

appointed to manage the question for them, was ready, and waiting for their lordships in the painted chamber.

The following noblemen were then deputed on the part of their lordships' house to meet the commons.

The marquis of Lansdowne, earl Graham (duke of Montrose), earl Grey, the earl of Liverpool, earl Manvers, lord viscount (duke of) Leinster, and lord Redesdale.

The noble deputation having proceeded to the conference, returned soon after, when the marquis of Lansdowne informed the house, that the managers for the lords had met the commons in the painted chamber, and that lord Binning, on the part of the managers for the other house, had delivered to them the alien bill, stating at the same time, that the commons disagreed to an amendment made by their lordships in that bill, and that they declined giving any reason for their disagreement, except that they considered the amendment inexpedient.

The report having then been read by the clerk of the house,

The earl of Liverpool rose and moved, "that this house do not insist on its amendment."

The question having been put by the lord chancellor accordingly,

Earl Grey rose, and expressed his surprise at the manner in which the report just read had been received. The bill alluded to had been sent from that house to the commons with a clause that had been introduced on a specific allegation that it was indispensably necessary to give the bill effect, and so very important was that

clause then considered, that for the sake of it their lordships were required to dispense with their usual forms, in order that the bill might be passed with the greater celerity. Yet after such an extraordinary proceeding, now that the commons had thought fit to reject the clause, their lordships were called on, without any kind of explanation or reason given, to subscribe to a resolution which was at utter variance with their previous opinions so recently declared. For his own part, he thought the bill much improved by the omission of the clause, for he considered it to be radically impolitic, as well as unjust; and he must think that any thing and every thing which had a tendency to render the bill abortive, would be productive of some public advantage. Yet when he considered that a majority of that house had agreed to the bill in its amended shape, he felt that the preservation of their dignity as a great branch of the legislature, required a different course of proceeding from that which was proposed. The other house had not condescended to offer the slightest reason for their rejection of the amending clause, and yet their lordships were required, without a word of argument or explanation, to abandon that clause which they had but just before pronounced to be indispensable, and one without which the bill itself would be nugatory. Besides, it ought to have occurred to the noble earl, that it was hardly decorous or fair to urge the house to such a determination in the absence of many of those peers who had with him supported the amendment, and who, to preserve their
own

own consistency, ought at least to have an opportunity of explaining the grounds upon which they might be led to accede to the new proposition. With those impressions, and desirous that the house should take the subject into their serious consideration, he should move, as an amendment to the noble earl's motion, "That the further consideration of this report be deferred to Monday next, and that their lordships be summoned on the occasion."

The question on this amendment having been put from the woolsack,

The earl of Liverpool said, that he felt not the least disposition to retract or qualify one word of what he had previously advanced concerning the importance of the clause which had again come under their lordships' consideration. It appeared to him, both in point of policy and justice, as absolutely necessary to the security and protection of the natural rights of British subjects. He knew that there prevailed some difference of opinion among intelligent men respecting the exemption of aliens holding deposits in the bank of Scotland. For his own part, he believed that no legal act to that effect was in existence. Some persons thought otherwise. The object originally with respect to the bank was to encourage foreigners to settle with their property in Scotland. But who could ever imagine that the legislature should give to an alien the privilege of setting at defiance, by a trick, all those laws which had been framed for the security of his majesty's subjects and the peace of the realm? He believed that no man in that house, or in

the kingdom, did suppose that before the occurrence of the circumstances referred to, any alien could become a natural-born subject of his majesty barely on the consideration of his depositing 80*l.* in the Scotch bank, which sum of 80*l.* he might, for sinister ends, transfer to another alien, and he again to a third, and so on. If so, what would be the utility or the meaning of all the acts of naturalization, of all those orders by both houses that they would not admit a naturalization bill to be entered into without prescribed forms, and having certain testimonials produced on the part of the applicants? It was not for him to call in question the propriety of the motives of the other house in what they had done. The fact appeared strange to him, and the principle on which he acceded to the abandonment of the clause was not from any persuasion of its impolicy, but from a conviction that the good sense and wisdom of the commons would not fail to perceive and acknowledge its importance, although they thought fit to object to the form in which it had been introduced to them. He was fortified in that opinion by the expression which had been used on the occasion by the commons, for they said, "it was not *expedient* that the amendment should have been made in *this* bill," from which he inferred, that though they objected to the form of the proceeding, they would not fail to originate a clause to the self-same effect.

Lord Holland said, even admitting that the argument of the noble lord (Liverpool) was not subversive of justice, it was at least

least calculated to excite mirth and pleasantry. He said, that upon this subject he had retracted no opinion, but yet he would call upon their lordships to retract all theirs. He could not but consider these as proceedings of deep humiliation in their lordships. It was not the crime, but the principle, which occasioned this humiliation. The retrospective part of the act was the main point. Let them not "lay the flattering unction to their soul," that this was merely an act of the Scotch parliament. It was no such thing. It originated with them, but it was re-enacted by the British parliament in the year 1774. The noble lord (Liverpool) said, he would call upon any person to say, whether he knew of the existence of this act before the month of April last? Why should the noble earl ask that question, or why suppose that the act was unknown? Was it because the noble earl himself was in ignorance of it, that it should be unknown to every other person? The fact of this measure showed that violence and injustice were often sufficient to defeat themselves. It was said, that such an act could not be looked upon as tending to an infraction of the rights of property; that the law being long unknown and dormant, the repeal of it could produce no injury to individuals. He denied that the law was unknown. No person had proved that it was so; but even admitting the fact, as an ignorance of the law was not sufficient to protect criminals, why should it be an excuse for the destruction of rights? The foreigner who bought land under this act was as completely in possession of it as any

of their lordships was of his estate. The present bill would go to convert foreigners so possessed of property into mere trustees for the crown. The noble earl (Liverpool) said he was quite impatient under the existence of a law, the effect of which was, if acted upon, to give the rights of free-born subjects to any foreigner, without being compelled to take an oath of allegiance, or without an obligation to perform any of the duties of a subject. He was before anxious for its repeal, not only prospectively, but retrospectively. Now, however, he seemed willing to mix a little water with his wine, and to make it merely a prospective measure. On these grounds he would support the motion of his noble friend (lord Grey).

The marquis of Lansdowne said, that upon a former occasion, he admitted that the facility allowed to foreigners by this act of the Scotch parliament should not be allowed to exist. He was still of the same opinion; but he never thought that, in justice, the repeal of it should be retrospective, not prospective. It would be a great injustice, a complete spoliation of rights, to deprive foreigners of the advantages they enjoyed under an act passed for many years, recognised by the British parliament, and under which they had acquired property. Foreigners became possessed of rights under this act, in the same way as all other rights were obtained—by law. It was attempted to justify the repeal of this act, upon the ground that it had fallen into disuse, and was quite unknown. Such was not the case. The existence of the law was well known; and though persons not immediately

agely interested in it might not have been aware of its existence, it was familiar to many, as well to those who had acquired property under it as to others. The best mode, in his opinion, would be to adjourn the consideration of this question to a future period. By that means they would give time for the introduction of a new bill, which might be carried regularly through all the stages in both houses.

Lord Harrowby supported the proposition of his noble friend (lord Liverpool). Such an act should not be allowed to continue in existence. It was now brought under their lordships' notice for a particular purpose, after having for a long time remained forgotten, and almost completely unknown. He did not blame those who made the discovery of the acts upon which the objection to their lordships' amendments was founded. The law, however, which afforded such facilities to foreigners should no longer be allowed to continue in existence. When the act of 1774 passed, it must have been that the tendency of this law was unobserved, or else the British parliament would have never given their sanction to it.

Lord Holland could not believe that the British parliament were ignorant of what they were doing when the act of 1774 passed both houses.

The earl of Lauderdale said, that he should not have troubled their lordships with any observations, were it not for some ideas that were thrown out, which he could not allow to pass in silence. The noble earl (Liverpool) defied any person to say, that he knew this to be the law of the

land in April last. He could assure that noble earl, that he was well aware of the existence of such a law. A noble lord, a friend of his, knew that he (lord Lauderdale) had stated to him, many months back, that such was the law. There was not a single director of the bank of Scotland, nor an eminent lawyer connected with that bank, who was not aware of it. It was not a mere dormant act, or one merely emanating from the parliament of Scotland: It was recognised and confirmed by various acts of the British parliament. It was said to be a private act: it was no such thing. It had been long acted upon. Many foreigners had purchased property upon the faith of it, and it would be most unjust to deprive them retrospectively of its benefits. It was as public as any act upon the statute book; but, like many others in which persons were not immediately interested, it had not been adverted to. The noble earl (Liverpool) should not conclude, from his own ignorance of it, that others were in the same predicament. For his own part, he was well aware that a law of the kind existed; but he did not consider himself called upon to communicate the circumstance; and he was not sorry that he had given an opportunity for proposing the amendment, which was rejected by the other house.

The house then divided upon lord Grey's amendment, as follows:—Ayes 21; — Noes 32.—Majority 11.

The original motion by lord Liverpool, "That this house do not insist on its amendment," was agreed to.

House

House of commons, June 8.— Lord Castlereagh said that it was necessary to call the attention of the house to the state of the law on the subject of aliens, as the house had on account of their peculiar privileges disagreed with the amendments made by the lords, and also on account of the retrospective operation of the bill. No doubt could exist that naturalization should not be allowed to take place on account of partnership in a trading company. In the case of the naturalization of foreigners, parliament had imposed a restriction upon itself, and an alien could not sit or vote in parliament, except in consequence of a special law made for that purpose. The crown had not the power of granting a military commission to an alien, without an act of parliament. But the crown might employ any number of foreigners in consequence of their becoming partners in the bank of Scotland, by the law as it then stood. But as to that state of the law, there could be but one opinion. But for the time of the session, he should have proposed a more extended arrangement, which would, however, come before the house at an early period of the next. In the event of a permanent arrangement, it would be fit to look at the different acts of parliament; but that would not be necessary at the present moment, and might involve the house in embarrassing discussions, which would be better reserved for another session. It might be objected that sufficient notice had not been given to the corporate bodies, for perhaps more than one body corporate might possess such a privilege. But no notice could be so satisfactory as a short bill.

Should the principle of notice be pushed to a greater extent, it might lead to much political mischief. He hoped that no delay would take place in passing the bill, and that in such a case the house would dispense with the regular course of proceeding. The directors of the bank of Scotland had lately called the attention of the directors of the bank of England to the number of foreigners that had lately acquired stock in the bank of Scotland. The noble lord concluded by moving for leave to bring in a bill to prevent, for a time to be limited, aliens from being naturalized, becoming or being made denizens except in certain cases.

Sir. J. Mackintosh should not object to the present measure, as no retrospective operation was intended. The former bill would have been a most gross violation of all public faith, and his opinion upon that head had undergone no change. But he looked to the present measure with a different eye, and must admit, that such a mode of naturalization as was meant to be suspended, was undoubtedly inconvenient. Many discoveries had lately been made, of which ministers had been previously in total ignorance. First the existence of the old act of parliament had been discovered. 2dly, it was discovered that the amendments of the lords involved a money clause; and it had been since found out, that other public bodies had similar privileges. What would the house say to a government making such mistakes and blunders? Had the house trusted to the statement of the noble lord, the measure would have been a blot upon the statute book. Some more discoveries remained still to be made.

It

It had been asserted with much confidence, that an alien might, by virtue of this act of the Scotch parliament, sit and vote in the legislature. But that assertion had been made in the face of an act of parliament, drawn up by lord Somers, the year after the Union, (the 6th of Anne, chap. 7, sec. 30,) by which it was enacted, that no person disqualified to sit in the parliament of England could hold a seat in the parliament of Great Britain. That information was probably new to the noble lord, in whose way it did not lie, though he might have been informed of it by others. He could not believe that the bill was meant to be passed in such a vague state. The corporate bodies alluded to should be named in the bill; if not in the preamble, at least in the enactments of it. Should the corporate bodies not be named, they ought at least to be described, as the only reason for a contrary procedure must arise from the ignorance of ministers. He should therefore move a clause to that effect in the committee.

The attorney general said, that doubts existed if the act of the Scotch parliament had been abrogated by the act of king William, commonly called the act of settlement. If parliament were aware of the act of the Scotch parliament, then the acts that had passed subsequently were contrary to the law of the land. But for the last twenty-four years that old act had been unknown. An act of the Irish parliament gave a right to foreigners to demand the freedom of the corporation of Dublin, in consequence of which they acquired the right of denizenship.

The operation of such rights should be suspended for a short time.

Mr. W. Smith saw no material objection to the present measure, and he would state that opinion equally explicitly as he had stated his disapprobation of the former. He could see no harm in suspending for nine months a right, the existence of which had been so long unknown.

Mr. Wynn characterized the former measure as against all justice, and as in effect a measure of confiscation. To the present measure he saw no objection. The attachment of king William to foreigners had been a source of jealousy, and had caused restrictions upon the principle of naturalization. By the acts of 1780 and 1786, all foreign protestants became naturalized by taking the oath of allegiance; and in Ireland a foreigner, upon a license from the lord lieutenant, might go before a magistrate and become naturalized upon taking the oaths. He hoped that next session the state of the law upon that point would be thoroughly examined. Many foreigners had been naturalized after the seven-years war, and that conduct was, in certain cases, worthy of imitation. He saw no objection to the motion.

Sir W. Burroughs had no objection to the measure, which was altogether different from the former. He hoped his honourable and learned friend (sir J. Mackintosh) would not persist in his amendment, which might counteract the whole effect of the bill, and which, therefore, with whatever reluctance, he should feel it his duty to oppose.

Mr.

Mr. Brougham said that the present measure was purely prospective, and it was that circumstance that constituted the difference between the present and the former bill. He begged leave to suggest to the noble lord, that instead of the words "from and after the passing of this act," he would fix a certain day as the time whence the operation of the act was to commence. If an individual, from ignorance of what had taken place in that house on account of his residing at a distance, should purchase an estate on Wednesday, after the bill had passed, that estate would be considered liable to forfeiture. He did not conceive it too much to do this, because a person might purchase on the very day when the act was passed, who could not have any knowledge of what was at present going on in London. With respect to the suspension of the standing orders, for the purpose of passing the bill through all its stages in the present evening, he should have no objection to it, but he begged to be understood as protesting against its being brought into a precedent. He conceived that nothing could be more dangerous to the liberties of the people than any such practice being brought into a precedent.

General Michel could not agree with the suggestion of the honourable and learned gentleman as to the date from which the bill should be operative. He had been in the city in the course of the day, and seen orders given not two hours back by some aliens for the purchase in Edinburgh, of stock, for the purpose of evading the bill, which it was known would be

brought forward in the course of the day.

Leave was then given to bring in the bill, which was immediately brought in and read a first time.

Lord Castlereagh then said, that in moving for the second reading of the bill, he wished to offer one or two remarks on what had fallen from the honourable and learned gentleman (Mr. Brougham). It would not be denied that the object of this bill was to prevent a great number of aliens from becoming naturalized in the country; and the question then was, whether parliament would suffer that object to be defeated by persons who well knew the measures which were about to be adopted, and who would therefore be anxious to take advantage of them? There might, he would admit, be a few persons who should purchase Scotch stock in the ignorance of what measures were about to be adopted upon it; but then this was only assumption, and he had an equal right to assume that persons of the very worst class might take advantage of the law as it now stood, and that too for the worst of purposes. He had on Saturday evening given notice of his intention to bring in such a bill as was then before the house, and an opportunity was given to aliens to know what was in contemplation. He would then put it to the house, whether, on a question on which parliament was deliberating, they would suffer an advantage to be taken, and their own object defeated? The honourable and learned gentleman was himself an advocate for the bill in its principle, and he trusted he would see the necessity of not opening a door by which its object might

might be in a great degree defeated. The noble lord concluded by moving, that the bill be read a second time, and adding, that he intended to follow that up by moving for the bill going immediately through all its other stages.

Mr. Brougham said he was sorry, as he agreed in the principle of the bill with the noble lord, that he should be obliged to differ from him on some of the points which he had advanced. He entered his protest against such an argument as that which the noble lord had made, from the circumstance of his having given a notice of what he intended to do. The noble lord did give a notice, but his notice was no more than the notice of any other member of that house. The notice of any measure in prospect in the house was not binding upon any subject. It was nothing to the individuals to whom the noble lord seemed to wish it should have been known. Their property was concerned; and if they took advantage of the law as it stood with a *bonâ fide* intention of securing certain rights to themselves, they ought to enjoy those rights unmolested. The law, as it was now proposed, was not much different from the clauses which were negatived on Friday. For whether it had a retrospective effect of a month or of forty-eight hours, the principle was still the same. As to the notice, if it were maintained to have any force, it might as well be said that every bill which was brought into that house should operate from the day on which it was first brought in, because some knowledge of its object was then made public. He begged of the house to see what it was they were about to do in 1818.

this bill, and he particularly wished to call the attention of Scottish members to it. It would, in fact, unless with the alteration which he had suggested, be a violation of the act of union; for by the 18th section of the act confirming the union, it was enacted, that no public right which had previously existed should be altered, unless for the good of the whole kingdom, but that no private right—and here was a material distinction between public and private rights—that no private right should be infringed upon, unless it was particularly for the good of Scotland itself. He would ask then how this bill, which might infringe upon a private right, was particularly for the good of Scotland? As the bill was now proposed, a person who might purchase stock on Wednesday, the day when probably it would pass into a law, would be as much affected by its retrospective operation as if that operation were to extend a month back. On the ground that it would be dangerous in its operation in this respect, he trusted the noble lord would not press its being carried into effect on so early a day.

Mr. Canning observed, that he was as anxious as the honourable and learned gentleman could be, that the bill should not have a retrospective effect; but no such thing was intended by it, and to any person who had purchased Scotch stock in ignorance of what the legislature was doing, up to the day of passing the act, such a right as he had acquired would of course be held sacred. It was he imagined a mistake to say that any person could conceive, that because the amendments were negatived

tived on Friday night, they had been so negatived in consequence of their retrospective effect; or if any persons so understood it, they were extremely in error; for it was well known to the house, that they were negatived on quite different grounds. As to what the honourable and learned gentleman had said, upon the question of a notice not being binding upon any subject, he fully agreed; but then the house should recollect how differently the present case stood from that supposed by the honourable and learned member. Here was a law, upon the absurdity of which all were agreed. It was admitted on all sides, that it ought to be repealed, and the only question was, as to the manner of getting rid of it. Now after the first clauses, which went virtually to repeal it, had been negatived upon peculiar grounds, and quite distinct from any question as to the impropriety of the law itself, a notice was given, that a bill having the same, or nearly the same effect as the clause, would be brought in. He would ask, whether an alien, knowing what was done, and taking advantage of the law as it stood, could make a *bonâ fide* claim for any right which he might obtain after the day on which the bill should pass? There could be no mistake in this case, as to what was the intention of parliament, and no claim generally upon that head. It was true that there might be a few instances where the bill might interfere with a private right, and he would agree with the honourable and learned gentleman, that ought not to be interfered with, except for a public good; but then would it be for a moment con-

tended, that this bill was not for a public good? It was a public measure, and if it interfered with a private right, he should say, as was urged upon that great question of the slave trade. In that question it was urged, and urged with truth, that a number of private interests were concerned, and would be injured by the passing of the abolition act; but this argument was fairly met in this way,—If there be private interests concerned, pass the bill, and give the parties who may be affected compensation for their losses.—He would say the same on the present occasion. Let the parties who may be injured have compensation—if they can show proper grounds. They might come in the next session, but then he should not pledge himself to give a favourable consideration to any such claim, unless it appeared that the party making it had become a purchaser of Scotch stock with a *bonâ fide* intention, and in ignorance of what was at present passing in the house.

Mr. Brougham explained.

Lord Folkestone objected to the precipitancy with which the bill was sought to be carried through the house, as irregular, and forming a dangerous precedent.

General Thornton rose amidst loud cries of "Question!" His object, he observed, was to ask a question on the subject of the bill. He had heard it said by some high authorities, that an alien naturalized by the purchase of Scotch stock, had a right to sit and vote in parliament; and he had also heard it declared by other high legal authorities, that no such right of sitting and voting in parliament was granted: now he wished to know

know how the fact was. If it were true that a foreigner so naturalized, as he had mentioned, was eligible to a seat and vote in parliament, he trusted the noble lord (Castlereagh) would introduce a clause into the bill for the purpose of preventing such a power being given to any alien under the circumstances.

The question was then put, and the bill read a second time. It then went through a committee, and the report was received and agreed to, after which it was read a third time and passed.

House of lords, June 9.—Lord Sidmouth moved for the first reading of the bill for regulating the naturalization of foreigners.

The bill having been read accordingly, his lordship moved for the suspension of the standing order, prohibitive of passing bills through more than one stage in the same day.

The motion having been agreed to, his lordship moved for the second reading of the bill then before the house. That motion being likewise agreed to, the bill was read the second time; and in the same manner, the forms of the committee and the report being omitted, he moved that the bill be then read the third time.

Lord Holland did not rise for the purpose of obstructing the progress of the bill, as it stood at present before the house, but rather to declare his decided disapprobation of the strange mode in which it had been brought forward. He then moved that the standing order, No. 24, be read. The same having been read accordingly, and being declarative of the established usage of the house, in the forwarding of bills

through the accustomed stages, the noble lord apprehended that the noble viscount had overstepped the proper line of parliamentary proceeding, and that house had been called on to countenance and sanction a proceeding founded on ignorance both of the laws and of the constitution. Their departure from the principles of the constitution need not be pointed out; but their ignorance of the legal enactments which existed was manifest in their having entirely overlooked an act of the 6th of queen Anne, chap. 7, which might have answered any or every rational and constitutional purpose designed in the present bill. The conduct of his majesty's ministers was really inexplicable. It certainly was directly at variance with the maxim of a person whose principles, precepts, and conduct, he had habitually regarded with esteem and veneration. That person had said, that "when politicians were in the dark, they ought to stand still." The present ministers reversed the maxim, and seemed to say, "Let us run on as fast as we can, no matter whom we may throw down, or what heads we may break." Ministers seemed by no means to have calculated duly on the effect of their proceedings, as they related to Ireland, which might be materially affected by it. He was not disposed to obstruct the progress of the bill, especially as the retrospective objection had been mainly removed. He said mainly, because he could not help perceiving that ministers still kept "a longing lingering look" towards that point. There was another point to which he must direct the attention of their lordships, and

that was, an obvious infringement on the prerogative of the crown, because, according to all the known usages of that house, the mode of proceeding should have been by an address to the throne. He certainly considered the conduct of ministers extremely wrong, unparliamentary and unconstitutional; and though he meant not to oppose the progress of the bill under the present circumstances, he felt it incumbent on him to declare his solemn protest against the measure.

Earl Grey could not abstain from declaring and delivering in the face of parliament his solemn protest against a measure which he considered as being at once unparliamentary and unconstitutional. Ministers had brought the country into such a state, that at the approaching dissolution of parliament that house was deprived of the opportunity of exercising a sound and deliberate discretion on the measure before them. He was not disposed to obstruct the progress of the bill under the present circumstances; yet if he were to choose, and were guided merely by his own mind, in the alternative he really should prefer all the apprehended evil which the bill professed to prevent, to the positive mischief which was inherent in the principle of the bill. With respect to Ireland, were ministers prepared to say that much injury and injustice might not accrue to persons who on the faith of government had deposited property in that country? To suspend the rights of any body of men was injurious, but to abrogate them was infinitely worse. During the mere suspension which their lordships were called upon

to authorize, what might happen? Why, misled by those instruments whom the present government still upheld, but from whom their ancestors would have shrunk with innate horror—led by the miscreants called spies, a foreigner who had acquired the rights of a subject, and honoured his adopted land, might be ousted from his settled home, and dismissed from this country, by the mandate of a secretary of state. But it was not his intention to make a pertinacious opposition to the present bill; he merely wished to enter his protest against it as a memento to future times, and an evidence of the sentiments he entertained on so impolitic an act.

The earl of Liverpool said, that the measure was attended with some inconvenience, in whatever way their lordships could contemplate it. Some noble lords had doubted, whether their standing orders could be suspended except in extreme cases; but if the fact were so, what was the meaning of that standing order which says—that the standing orders were not to be suspended without a day's notice? If there was meaning in words, this very declaration implied that those orders might be suspended at a day's notice; and he would confidently appeal to their lordships, whether those orders had not been suspended under circumstances of much less inconvenience than the present. He would not instance a solitary case, since their lordships' journals would furnish many cases in point. But he would not rest the argument on this ground only, broad and comprehensive as it was. Their lordships had formerly passed a bill, and renewed it towards the

the close of the present session ; a bill grounded on motives of state policy, and, he would add, of state necessity—he meant the alien bill—which bill empowered government to send aliens out of the kingdom. The policy and the benefits of this principle had never been disputed ; but if their lordships hesitated to pass the present bill, there would no longer be an alien in this country, as every individual comprised under that name, if the usual forms of the house were adhered to, might, by purchasing stock in the Scotch bank, become domiciliated in this country, unless the bill had a retrospective effect.—It was, however, far from being his intention to discuss the subject at length ; and therefore the act was intended to extend only to the 25th of March next, that their lordships might have an opportunity, in the next parliament, to pass some general and determinate law on the subject. Some exceptions must hereafter be made ; for it never could be endured as an abstract principle, that aliens should become regularly naturalized by a manner foreign to the constitution of this country.

Earl Spencer said, that if the bill had a retrospective effect, his objections would be much stronger. But still as it went altogether to suspend the rights of persons who had a property in the Scotch banks, and so far violated the principles of all law, he should enter his protest against it.

Lord Holland explained : after which the bill was read a third time, and passed.

June 10—At a few minutes past two o'clock the prince regent, attended by the great officers and

ministers of state (the foreign ambassadors and various other strangers of distinction being also present), entered the house, and took his seat on the throne. Sir Thomas Tyrwhitt, the usher of the black rod, was then sent to the commons, requesting the attendance of that house forthwith at the bar.

Soon after, the commons with the speaker at their head presented themselves accordingly ; when the speaker addressed his royal highness in the words following :

“ May it please your royal highness,—

“ We his majesty’s faithful commons of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, attend your royal highness with our last bill of supply.

“ In obedience, sir, to your royal highness’s recommendation, we have not failed to apply our anxious and continued attention to the state of the public income and expenditure ; and heavy unquestionably as the weight and pressure still remain upon our finances, we have the satisfaction to observe that the revenue in its most important branches is gradually and progressively improving.

“ Among the various duties, sir, in which we have been engaged, there is none perhaps that could have devolved upon us, more interesting in itself, or more in unison, we are persuaded, with the sincere and unfeigned sentiments of all classes of his majesty’s subjects, than the duty of adopting the necessary measures for the fulfilment of those engagements which your royal highness was graciously pleased to communicate to us, as having been concluded with the courts of Spain and

S 3 Portugal,

Portugal, on the subject of the slave trade.

"Nor, sir, have we been less attentive to another subject of great public importance, earnestly recommended by your royal highness to our early and particular consideration—the deficiency which has so long existed in the number of places of public worship belonging to the established church. To the remedy of this deficiency we have most readily afforded large and liberal assistance, well convinced that the first and dearest interests of this country, its truest happiness, its soundest prosperity, its surest independence, its proudest and most substantial national glory, are all involved and blended intimately and inseparably in the religious and moral habits of its people.

"The bill, sir, which it is now my duty humbly to present to your royal highness, is intituled 'An act for applying certain monies therein mentioned for the service of the year one thousand eight hundred and eighteen,' to which, with all humility, we pray his majesty's royal assent."

At the close of his speech the speaker presented the appropriation bill, as having passed the commons, and in order to its receiving the royal assent.

The prince regent then gave the royal assent to the appropriation, the aliens, the supplementary aliens, the slave trade abolition amendment, the Irish fisheries, the poor's education, and several private bills, and closed the session with the following speech:—

"My lords, and gentlemen,

"It is with deep regret that I am again under the necessity of announcing to you, that no altera-

tion has occurred in the state of his majesty's lamented indisposition.

"I continue to receive from foreign powers the strongest assurances of their friendly disposition towards this country, and of their desire to maintain the general tranquillity.

"I am fully sensible of the attention which you have paid to the many important objects which have been brought before you.

"I derive peculiar satisfaction from the measure which you have adopted, in pursuance of my recommendation, for augmenting the number of places of public worship belonging to the established church; and I confidently trust that this measure will be productive of the most beneficial effects on the religion and moral habits of the people.

"Gentlemen of the house of commons,

"I thank you for the supplies which you have granted to me for the service of the present year; and I highly approve of the steps you have taken with a view to the reduction of the unfunded debt.

"I am happy to be able to inform you that the revenue is in a course of continued improvement.

"My lords, and gentlemen,

"On closing this session, I think it proper to inform you that it is my intention forthwith to dissolve the present, and to give directions for calling a new parliament. In making this communication, I cannot refrain from adverting to the important change which has occurred in the situation of this country and of Europe since I first met you in this place.

"At that period, the dominion of the common enemy had been

so widely extended over the continent, that resistance to his power was by many deemed to be hopeless; and in the extremities of Europe alone was such resistance effectually maintained.

"By the unexampled exertions which you enabled me to make in aid of countries nobly contending for independence, and by the spirit which was kindled in so many nations, the continent was at length delivered from the most galling and oppressive tyranny under which it had ever laboured; and I had the happiness, by the blessing of Divine Providence, to terminate, in conjunction with his majesty's allies, the most eventful and sanguinary contest in which Europe had for centuries been engaged, with unparalleled success and glory.

"The prosecution of such a contest for so many years, and more particularly the efforts which marked the close of it, have been followed within our own country, as well as throughout the rest of Europe, by considerable internal difficulties and distress. But deeply as I felt for the immediate pressure upon his majesty's people, I nevertheless looked forward without dismay, having always the fullest confidence in the solidity

of the resources of the British empire, and in the relief which might be expected from a continuance of peace, and from the patience, public spirit, and energy of the nation.

"These expectations have not been disappointed.

"The improvement in the internal circumstances of the country is happily manifest, and promises to be steadily progressive; and I feel a perfect assurance that the continued loyalty and exertions of all classes of his majesty's subjects will confirm these growing indications of national prosperity, by promoting obedience to the laws and attachment to the constitution, from which all our blessings have been derived."

Shortly after the delivery of the speech of the prince regent, the lord chancellor, who had approached the throne to receive the royal commands on the occasion, came forward and addressed both houses in the following terms:—

"My lords, and gentlemen,

"It is the will and pleasure of his royal highness the prince regent, acting in the name and on the behalf of his majesty, that this parliament be now dissolved; and this parliament is dissolved accordingly."

CHAPTER IX.

State of Agriculture, Manufactures and Commerce, in Great Britain, during the Year 1818.

THE agricultural community of Great Britain and Ireland, including those who own the land, those who occupy it as

farmers, and those who cultivate it by their labour, under the direction and with the capital of those farmers, forms a much more

important class than the same description of persons in any other country of Europe; and a class, the well-being and interests of which are much more closely and deeply connected with the general interest of society.

There are however several striking circumstances in which the agricultural communities of England, Scotland, and Ireland, differ: we allude almost exclusively to the farmers and agricultural labourers of those different portions of the British empire. In many parts of England, we believe we may say the greater portion of it the farmers are neither very intelligent, very skilful, nor a rich and independent class of men. This arises from several causes:—they do not hold their farms on leases, or, if on leases, they are for a short period, and so clogged with restrictions as at once to prevent and impede improvement, and to expose them to the loss of their farms, from the neglect or violation of some clause in their leases: their farms are small, and consequently their situation and means have not enabled them to rise, either in point of information or of wealth, in the world. It is evident that any great and sudden reverse must be fatal to this class of farmers, and that from their want of skill and capital they are little able to cope long with low prices or bad crops, and especially with those united. In other parts of England, and through the whole of what may properly be called the agricultural part of Scotland, the farmers are a much more independent, skilful, and wealthy description of men: within these thirty years they have

advanced rapidly and greatly in society, with respect to manners, information, their general mode of life, a sense of their own importance to the community at large, and wealth. It is evident that such a description of men would be little affected by bad crops and low prices, or both united, if not in an extreme degree, provided they did not venture into rash speculations: but, unfortunately, the agricultural circumstances of this country have of late years presented too many and too strong temptations to rash undertakings. The extreme high price of corn brought about an excessive rent of land, and the cultivation of ground that, but for such high prices, could not have repaid the labour bestowed on it. Hence those who had acquired capital by their skill in agriculture, by embarking it in the farming of an increased quantity of land at an exorbitant rent, exposed themselves either to entire ruin, or to very great distress and embarrassment, when the prices of grain fell.

The farmers in Ireland, generally speaking, are, in every respect, below even the first class of those we have described in England: this arises partly from causes which operate on them and upon the political, intellectual and moral state of their country generally; and partly from causes the operation of which is confined solely to them. They are men of scarcely any capital, information, or skill; and even by the assistance of great labour, acting on a richer soil than either England or Scotland possesses, they can with difficulty obtain the bare necessities of life.

The

The circumstances and character of the agricultural labourers of a district are mainly formed by the same causes which act on the circumstances and character of the farmers who employ them, and greatly resemble them. Generally speaking, however, the agricultural labourers in the north of England, and in the south and south-east of Scotland (or perhaps in all the lowland country of Scotland), are much more comfortable and independent in their circumstances, better informed, and more conscientious dischargers of all the duties of life, as well as more independent in their sentiments, feelings and behaviour, than the agricultural labourers in the other parts of England. Three causes will present themselves to the most superficial observer to account for this. In the first place, their education is better: by the term *their bringing up*, is meant not merely that they learn more, but a better example is set them by their parents; their companions are better; and all having not only learned to read, but acquired a fondness for it, a source is opened which, by strengthening and expanding their mind, raises their character, and at the same time furnishes them with interesting occupation when not engaged in labour: in the second place, the baneful influence of the poor laws does not reach Scotland, and has not deeply affected the north of England: and lastly, the mode in which they are paid for their labour renders them almost entirely independent of the fluctuations in the price of provisions: they receive little or no money, but, in its stead, a house rent-free, the pasturage of a cow, and a certain

quantity of the kind of corn which forms their principal food.

As we proceed from the north to the south of England, a visible inferiority appears in the intellectual and moral character of the peasantry; and however just and true might have been formerly their claims to independence of feeling, sentiment, and conduct; certainly at present these claims are not, generally speaking, well founded; nor does their intellectual character stand much higher. There is about them a want of that quickness of apprehension, acuteness of intellect, and soundness of judgement for which the peasantry in Scotland and the north of England are justly characterized; and the prostration of their moral feelings is too evidently and strongly marked out, by the eagerness with which they prefer support from the parish to the maintenance obtained by their own labour. It would carry us far beyond our proper object, even briefly and generally to notice only the principal and most permanent consequences of the poor laws on the character and conduct of the peasantry in those parts of England, in which their necessary and unalterable tendency is not checked or counteracted by good education and good example; and we shall have a more proper occasion and opportunity in a subsequent chapter to notice the effects of those baneful laws. At present we shall merely notice such of their effects as are lamentably too apparent, whenever the state of agriculture is not prosperous: we then see too many instances of a total want, or a weak operation, of filial and parental affections and duties. In Scotland

land and the north of England, an agricultural peasant would deem himself disgraced beyond recovery, if he permitted his parents to derive their support either from private charity or the poor-rates:—it is scarcely necessary to add, that this is not the case in the south of England.

Another very striking and radical difference between the character of the northern and the southern peasant, consists in the little influence which present pleasures and gratifications have over the feelings and conduct of the former, and in the strong influence which they possess over the feelings and conduct of the latter. A northern peasant extends his views and his thoughts to all the probable circumstances of his life: as soon as he is able to work for himself, he relieves his parents from supporting him; he next endeavours to lay up what will either enable him to support them in their old age, or himself to marry, or perhaps both; and when married, he denies himself all gratifications which would in the smallest degree interfere with the proper bringing up and settling of his children. The very reverse of this picture is too generally applicable to the peasantry of the south of England.

Thus we perceive that the peasantry of Scotland and of the north of England are more favourably situated than those of the south of England, in so much that, being paid principally in kind, they are almost independent of the rise in the price of the necessaries of life, and from their education, &c. are better qualified to take advantage of the circumstances in which they are placed.

The peasantry of Ireland are, generally speaking, very far below even those of the south of England: they are poor and miserable, and they are satisfied to be so. It is foreign to our present object to penetrate into the causes of this condition of the Irish peasantry: it cannot arise, as some suppose, from the overpopulation of the country, because other parts of Europe, particularly Holland, are much more populous, and no such poverty and misery exist there. But, whatever other causes may operate towards the production of this state, there can be no doubt one cause is very active, and this cause lies so near the surface that it cannot be overlooked;—we allude to the circumstance that the Irish peasantry's wants are so very few and so very simple, that they can be supplied with the smallest possible portion of labour. No truth is better confirmed or more important than this, that the first step towards civilization and improvement of every kind consists in an expansion of desire:—the savage will be always a savage, if he never feels any desire to obtain what is the object of desire among more civilized nations, and what can be obtained only by additional exertion of body or mind, and by abstaining from and looking beyond the gratification of the moment, where it would in the least interfere with future and more permanent good.

Until, therefore, the Irish peasantry prefer domestic cleanliness and comfort, and the independence of themselves and their children, as well as their good education, to the indulgence of their idleness, it is in vain to expect that

that they will rise, in any respect, in the scale of society, or that they will not be liable to the utmost extremes of misery, arising from excessive poverty, want and sickness, whenever their country suffers under short crops or a languishing trade. They may exchange their contentedness for the simple fare of potatoes and milk, and for their wretched hovels, for a desire to live on animal food, and to dwell in respectable and comfortable cottages, and yet not advance much in the character of civilized life; and they may even remain satisfied with their present fare, and almost with their present dwellings, and yet, by being inspired with higher desires in other respects, become more respectable, and of a higher rank as civilized beings. That these observations are true, the cases of the English peasantry sufficiently prove: they in general, at least those of the south of England, are very nice about their food; and yet that very attention to what they eat, militates against their real respectability, independence, and happiness, since it leads them to prefer the gratification of their appetites to the obtaining and securing more permanent good:—whereas, on the other hand, the Scotch peasantry are almost as remarkable for the plainness of their diet as the Irish, and are certainly not accommodated with the neatest or most convenient cottages; yet by having their desires expanded—not to better food, but to their own independence in cases of sickness and old age, and to the good education of their children—we have already shown how high they rank in the scale of civilized being.

These preliminary observations, we trust, will not be deemed irrelevant to the object of the present chapter,—the state of agriculture in Great Britain during the year 1818. It has been our wish to sketch shortly, but truly, the state of agriculture, manufactures, and commerce, and the condition of the people employed in these several branches; because this, in our opinion, gives a more faithful picture of the real state and strength of a nation, than the narrative of those circumstances and events to which it has been customary to confine the labours of the historian and the annalist.—We shall now proceed to the state of agriculture.

In our volumes for the years 1816 and 1817, we noticed briefly the state of the seasons during those years: in 1816 we were afflicted with a worse harvest, and with a greater degree of continued cold and wet weather, than had been experienced for at least half a century. The harvest was not finished, even in the south of England, till the middle of the month of November; and with the exception of a week or two in September, the temperature was that of a backward spring,—while it rained almost continually. The consequence was, a very deficient crop of very bad quality. The year 1817, though itself not nearly so cold or rainy as the preceding year, yet felt the effects of it; and with some exceptions the crops were deficient and not of good quality. These two bad years coming after the year 1815, —when, though the crops were good and of good quality, the farmers had not reaped the expected advantage from them, in conse-

consequence of the immense importations, and their curtailment of their accommodating discounts by the provincial bankers,—inflicted a most serious wound on the agricultural interests. The farmers, still suffering under the effects of what was called the property tax,—but which, as we have shown in a former volume, was levied on them on the false idea that their gain must be high in proportion to their rent, and that so long as they paid rent they must gain in proportion,—were very generally unable to pay any rent, and were obliged to retrench very much, not merely in the expenses of their family (for that would have been rather a benefit than an evil) but in the improvement and even the necessary cultivation of their farms. The labourers thus thrown out of employ were obliged to be supported by the poor rates; these of course were increased; and thus the very step by which the farmer intended to benefit himself added to his evils, by increasing the poor rates he was obliged to pay.

Had short crops of bad quality at home, and large importations from abroad, come alone, they must have been nearly sufficient of themselves to strike a very deadly blow on the agricultural interest; but the force and effects of this blow were much increased and extended by the provincial banks drawing in their discounts: by this measure the farmer, before pressed for money, was still more pressed; and was therefore obliged to sell his corn, not when he was likely to obtain the highest price, but when his necessities obliged him—and thus the price fell still more; and with every fall of

price, the banker who had accommodated him with money became more urgent for it, and less willing to accommodate him any more.

It was hoped that agriculture would revive during the year 1818. The first part of this year till the middle or end of May was uncommonly boisterous and rainy; but from the middle of May even to nearly the middle of December, the temperature was higher than had been experienced for nearly a century, and the dryness was almost as remarkable. In the Principal Occurrences we have noticed several instances and proofs of the uncommon warmth of the summer, autumn, and beginning of winter, and of the luxuriance of vegetation, which continued even till the end of November. It might have been expected that such a season would have produced most abundant crops of corn: it is now proved, however, that this was not the case; and it is not difficult to account for the deficiency of the crops. In the first place, the ground was still suffering under the cold and wetness of the whole of the year 1816 and the greater part of the year 1817; and in the second place, the extreme wetness of the spring of the year 1818, followed as it was by extreme heat and the total want of rain for nearly five months, proved very injurious to vegetation, especially to the spring sown corn. Hence, even at harvest, it was known that barley and oats were a very unproductive crop in the middle and south of England, and that beans had totally failed there; and the experience of the barn-floor has subsequently proved that the wheat crop

crop was not nearly so abundant as it was expected to be:—the quality however of all the grains was most excellent. The crops in the north of England and in the low lands of Scotland were much better, in consequence of their not having had so much rain in the spring, nor so very dry and hot weather during the summer. But it was the highland farmers who derived the greatest benefit from the uncommon weather of 1818; and they of all the farmers of Great Britain needed most a good season to preserve them from utter ruin; for it must be evident that if the farmers in the south of England, with a fine climate and soil, suffered so much during the years 1816 and 1817, the farmers on the highlands of Scotland must have been able to reap scarcely any grain, and to preserve alive scarcely any cattle in this cold and wet climate. The extreme heat of 1818 ripened on their farms, at an unusually early period, more luxuriant crops than they had had within the memory of man; and being equally favourable to the cattle farms, enabled them to replenish their stock.

The extreme heat of this year was equally favourable to Ireland. It is well known that the climate of this island is considerably moister than that of England, while the soil is admirably adapted to a moist climate; extreme heat therefore alone is wanting to render Ireland, for its extent of cultivated land, much more fertile than England, notwithstanding the ignorance, want of skill, indolence and poverty of the generality of the farmers there. Generally speaking, however, the produce of Great Britain and Ire-

land, though most excellent in quality, did not reach an average crop in 1818, in any kind of grain, and in most kinds fell far short of it. The consequence was, that the price of corn continued much higher than was expected by those who merely looked to the wonderful fineness of the seasons. This high price might have been of great advantage to the farmers, had they been alive to their real interest; but being averse to sell while the prices were high, and by keeping back their produce enhancing the prices, the consequence was, that more abundant supplies of all kind of corn were poured in from foreign countries than had ever been imported during any preceding year. The whole of England had participated in the fine weather which we had enjoyed, but their crops do not seem to have suffered from the extreme wetness of the spring, succeeded by the extreme dryness and heat of the summer and autumn. From the accounts laid before parliament, it appears that the prime cost of the different kinds of grain imported into Great Britain during the year 1818, could not have been much short of six millions sterling; and that the value, as ascertained by the prices given for corn in our markets at the time of the several importations, was upwards of eleven millions.

This immense importation necessarily reduced the price of grain very much, even at a time when the British farmer held a considerable proportion of his crop. His stock being thus diminished in value, the provincial banker would no longer accommodate him so freely or to the same extent;

tent, as before. The banker had also another powerful motive for drawing in his accommodation: Government seemed, at length, seriously resolved to oblige the bank of England to resume payments in cash; and the provincial bankers knew that if this took place, or even was in serious contemplation, the bank of England must lessen its issues of paper, and of course its accommodation to country bankers. Thus the farmer was deprived of the resources he derived from the provincial banker at the very time he required them most; and after having refused a remunerating price for his produce, found himself obliged, by the importation of foreign corn and the measures adopted by his banker, to sell it much under such price.

Thus we see that the general picture which we may fairly draw of the state of agriculture in Great Britain and Ireland for the year 1818, is by no means a flattering one. The farmers, partly by their own fault, but principally by the operation of causes over which they have no control, are, generally speaking, so much reduced, and have before them such gloomy prospects, that they are again calling upon the legislature to protect and support them, by passing another corn bill.

The state of the manufacturing classes, on the other hand, during the year 1818, was so calamitous, that they, on their part, were calling for a repeal of the present corn law, declaring that unless we had provisions as cheap as they were in foreign countries, it was impossible that we should be able to compete with them in the sale of manufactured produce. We shall

afterwards consider the condition, wages, and conduct of the manufacturing labourers, and the measures proposed in parliament for their relief: at present we shall confine ourselves to the state of the principal branches of the manufacturers themselves.

When it was urged as an argument against the last long and expensive war, or rather as an argument to make peace, that our manufactures and trade were suffering dreadfully; it was frequently replied, that so far was this from being the case, they were flourishing by means of it. This was deemed a paradox; and it was contended that they were flourishing not by means of the war, but in spite of it; and that they would flourish much more if we were at peace. We have now been at peace nearly four years, and yet our manufactories are certainly not in such a steady and regular state of prosperity as they generally were during the war. The fact is; we had then a monopoly of the trade of nearly the whole world. But it may be said, though we had the monopoly, it must have been among people who, suffering under war, were much impoverished, and could not be so able to purchase as they now are when at peace. But a little reflection will convince us that, from the circumstances of the war, they were better able to purchase while it lasted, than they are at present; as well as that then they could only purchase from us. If we call to mind the immense foreign subsidies which were raised in Great Britain during the war, we shall be disposed to be of opinion that the inhabitants of foreign countries

tries were rendered able to purchase our goods by means of our own money: this source is now dried up; they have ceased from obtaining that wealth, which the war poured in upon them, and they have not yet regained those sources of wealth which peace opens. Peace, however, has enabled them to turn their labour and attention to the manufacturing of many articles which during the war they exclusively obtained from us:—hence by the operation of these two causes our manufactures have suffered; and it is no longer a paradox, that such a war as the last benefited them and those who were employed in them, though it did not the country at large, because from the country at large was drawn that money which enabled foreigners to purchase our manufactures.

The state of the principal branches of our manufactures during the year 1818 has been very fluctuating—at times there has been great briskness of demand; but this has soon been followed by great depression and languor. The cotton manufacture, at all times irregular and unsteady, has been remarkably so during the year 1818. With respect to the weaving branch of it, there can be no doubt that it has been gradually on the decline for some years, in consequence of there being large establishments for this purpose in different parts of the continent. The spinning branch has suffered, but from different causes:—the principal are, the immense increase in the number of manufactories, the very great improvements in the machinery, and the speculations of

the master manufacturers. The two first causes have brought such an immense accumulation of manufacturing power into action, that if all the manufacturers are set to work, they can produce more in a few months than the demand of the whole world will take off in the course of a whole year.

The third cause has operated most powerfully during 1818. The trade to India, which promised so well at first, and which would have continued advantageous, if it had been carried on with judgement, moderation and prudence, has been, and is likely to be, the source of ruin to many. So far as respects the cotton manufacturers, it has operated disadvantageously in two respects: in their having sent out to India a much larger quantity of goods than the market could take off; but chiefly, in their immense importations of East India cotton.

The woollen manufacture, which in general is much more steady and regular than the cotton manufacture, has not been, generally speaking, in a flourishing state. During the year 1818 the demands from abroad have fluctuated much; and the home demand, by far the most important, has not increased so much or so rapidly as was anticipated. The introduction of machinery, or the improvement of it, is undoubtedly the source of wealth to all classes of the community, when not carried too far, that is, when not carried on beyond the demand for the goods which it manufactures: but when machinery is introduced or improved at a time when demand is slack and limited, and when

when of course there must be a great many of the manufacturing labourers out of employ, it cannot fail to create much misery : and this, it is apprehended, is the case in the woollen manufacture.

The manufacture of silk has already been and must always be a forced and unnatural branch in this country : parliament ought never to have encouraged it, especially after we had made such advances in the manufacture of cotton : it is a branch that was likely to suffer severely during a peace with France ; and it has suffered, and must suffer.

Our hardware manufactures, especially those of Birmingham, are more flourishing than most other branches ; indeed, the ingenuity, variety, taste, and cheapness that distinguish the articles manufactured at Birmingham, adapted as they are to the wants and wishes of man in all ranks of society, and in all the various stages of knowledge, wealth, and civilization, cannot fail to command for these a market comparatively regular and steady : but the capital employed in this trade is very trifling ; and however it may be admired for affording the highest specimens of British ingenuity, it never can be regarded as a copious source of national wealth.

On the whole, the state of our manufactures during the year 1818 was not more flattering than that of our agriculture ; and both

must improve very much, and continue in an improved state, before our revenue can flourish, or our poor rates be diminished : indeed, with declining agriculture and manufactures, and with a consequent declining revenue, and increasing poor rates, our prospect must be very gloomy. The true nature of it will be further developed when we come to the consideration of the finances of the year 1818.

Our internal trade and our foreign commerce rise and fall with our agriculture and manufactures. But commercial men have suffered from other causes during the year 1818, besides the stagnation of trade. Their many dealings, arising from loans to foreign powers, have been very extensive, and have proved the ruin of many. But this also is a subject which will be considered more properly in a subsequent chapter. We shall merely add, that the embarrassments of most of the governments of Europe, and the consequent borrowing of money, and creation of stock, have much extended, increased, and aggravated that fondness for speculation, and that impatience of the old-fashioned mode of making a fortune, by the slow but sure measures, prudence and long continued industry and application, which for several years has too strongly characterized the British merchants.

CHAPTER X.

State of the Labouring Classes—Riots at Manchester, &c.—Remarks on the Bill for the Regulation of the Cotton Manufactories—On the Chimney Sweepers' Bill—On the Report of the Committee respecting the Education of the Poor—On the Poor Laws—Increase of Crime—Criminal Law—Emigration.

THE real strength as well as the most substantial happiness of a nation depends on the well being of the great mass of the people, including in this, the health of their intellectual and moral faculties, as well as of their bodies. But it is evident that wherever their situation is such, that they cannot command, even by excessive labour, sufficient to afford them the necessaries of life, they must be in a miserable state, and also, that, where they command much more than is requisite for this purpose, but spend it without prudence and foresight, they must, though in a different point of view, be equally miserable; and in both these cases, it cannot justly and truly be said that the nation is either strong or happy.

We have only to reflect on the circumstance that the sums levied on the labour of the people of Great Britain and Ireland, in the shape either of taxes to government or poor rates, amount to nearly 60 millions, to be convinced that excessive labour, without due remuneration, must be performed by some descriptions of the people; for it is self-evident that such an immense sum cannot be raised in addition to that necessary for the individual support of those who labour, without much additional labour; and it is equally evident that one of the most immediate

effects of such an immense sum being raised, is an increase in the price of all commodities.

If this increase only took place in the luxuries of life, or in those comforts to which the labouring classes do not aspire and are not accustomed, perhaps an increase of the public burdens would be a benefit to them; because in such a case there would be a greater demand for their labour to supply the sources of taxation, and consequently higher wages given for it, without any increase in the price of what the wages of their labour purchased for them. But the contrary is the fact: the price of all the necessaries of life, especially of those kinds of food on which the labouring classes principally live, has increased rapidly within the last thirty years, whereas on the other hand their wages have not increased nearly in the same proportion.

The following statements, provided they are accurate, (and which we see no ground for questioning,) are highly worthy of the consideration of those whose thoughts are turned to the present condition of the labouring poor: they are copied from a pamphlet entitled "Observations on the circumstances which influence the condition of the labouring classes of society."

Statement showing the proportion of the wages of the country labourer to the price of corn.

Periods	Weekly pay.	Wheat per quarter.	Wages in pints of wheat.
1742 to 1752 . . .	6s.	30s.	102
1761 to 1770 . . .	7s. 6d.	42s. 6d.	90
1780 to 1790 . . .	8s.	51s. 2d.	80
1795 to 1799 . . .	9s.	70s. 8d.	65
1800 to 1808 . . .	11s.	86s. 8d.	60

Table showing the progressive decrease of deaths in Great Britain since 1785; owing to the greater sobriety and comfort of the poor.

From 1785 to 1789 . . .	1 in 436	From 1795 to 1799 . . .	1 in 46 ⁵
1790 to 1794 . . .	1 in 447	1800 to 1804 . . .	1 in 474

The increase of our population does not appear to have been accompanied by an increased proportion of marriages:

From 1780 to 1789, marriages, compared to the whole population, were as 1 in 117

1790 to 1799 . . .	Ditto . . .	Ditto . . .	1 in 119 $\frac{1}{2}$
1800 to 1809 . . .	Ditto . . .	Ditto . . .	1 in 119 $\frac{1}{2}$

Table of the annual expenditure for the poor, computed with a reference to the price of corn.

From	Average price of wheat.	Expended on the poor.	Forming a charge per head on the whole population of the kingdom.
1772 to 1776 . . .	48s. 2d.	£1,556,804 .	44 pints of wheat.
1781 to 1785 . . .	49s. 2d.	2,004,238 .	53 ditto.
1799 to 1813 . . .	84s. 8d.	4,267,965 .	54 $\frac{1}{2}$ ditto.
1811 to 1815 . . .	93s. 2d.	5,072,028 .	50 ditto.

This calculation puts the question of our burdens on account of the poor in a different light from that in which it is generally viewed; exhibiting even a decrease in the amount of the charge for the last year; which is owing to two important circumstances, viz. the very considerable increase of population, which has the effect of reducing the charge per head, and the less satisfactory fact that the enhanced price of wheat makes an equal quantity of that article equivalent to a much larger sum of money.

Progressive increase of population, trade, and taxes, in the 21 years from 1790 to 1810, compared with the 29 years immediately before 1790.

Population . . .	27 $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.
Foreign trade . .	96 $\frac{1}{2}$ ditto.
Taxes and loans .	212 $\frac{1}{2}$ ditto.

A low rate of wages, that is so low that the labouring classes cannot support themselves and families without the assistance of the poor rates, is undoubtedly a great evil in several points of view; and where it exists generally and for a length of time, it must weaken the real strength as well as diminish

nish the real happiness of a nation. But, as we have more than once remarked in our former volumes, a fluctuating rate of wages is also a great evil, and the evil often takes place to an extreme degree in the cotton manufacture. One of its most mischievous effects consists in its accustoming the labourers to those indulgences which at once lower their morals, and render them unable to cope with diminished wages. So long as wages are high, they live either in comparative idleness or in comparative debauchery; so that when they become low, they are indisposed to work, and still less disposed to be deprived of their debaucheries.

In the summer of the year 1818, the cotton spinners and cotton weavers of Manchester and the neighbouring cotton manufacturing district *struck*, as it is called, for a rise of wages. The cases of these two descriptions of labourers were very different. The weaving of cotton (as we have already remarked in the preceding chapter) has lately become a very languid and unproductive trade, in consequence of the establishment of manufactories for weaving cotton on the continent: hence the wages of the cotton weavers have been very much reduced; and even when their trade is comparatively brisk, they are never so high as to enable them to support comfortably themselves and families, even with excessive labour, much less to lay by what may assist them in case of sickness or want of employment.

The case of the cotton spinners is different. Although their trade, on an average, has not been so good in 1818 as in many previ-

ous years, yet it still has had its periods of extreme briskness, when wages of course were high; but high wages, instead of a benefit, are rather a curse to men without economy, prudence, and foresight, and whose desires and thoughts are exclusively occupied with present enjoyments. Hence the cotton spinners are much less able and disposed to rest satisfied with low wages than the cotton weavers.

These manufacturers did not content themselves with refusing to work till their wages were raised, and with putting forth statements to prove that their condition was really deplorable, and that what they demanded was fair and equitable; but, parading the streets of Manchester in large bodies, they endeavoured to deter others from working by violence and outrage. It was found necessary therefore to call in the aid of the military; and the masters being better able to hold out than the workmen, (though the latter in this and other similar cases held out much longer than might have been expected, by means of funds the sources of which are not accurately known)—the labourers were obliged to yield almost entirely to the wishes of their masters; and the ringleaders were taken up, and afterwards tried and punished.—We have noticed this fact, principally to point out the unequal pressure of the law: even a peaceable union among workmen is held to be unlawful; whereas the masters, it is well known, combine in the most open and avowed manner to regulate and keep down wages, and no law prohibits this combination.

Connected with the state of the
T 2 cotton

cotton spinning labourers, and the riots at Manchester, may be noticed the bill introduced by sir Robert Peel into the house of commons, for the purpose of fixing the age at which children should be employed in the manufactories, the number of hours each day they should work, &c. Whoever has resided in Manchester or any other place where the cotton manufacture is extensively carried on, must have been struck with the swarms of sickly, half-starved, ragged, and vicious children, which pour out from them at the close of their daily labours. From the evidence laid before parliament, it appeared that till within these few years, children even of five or six years old were employed in these manufactories, sometimes for sixteen hours a-day, with no time allowed for their breakfast, they being obliged either to eat it before they went to work,—that is before five o'clock in the morning,—or while they were actively at work: it was also proved that the average heat in these manufactories was nearly, if not quite, 80 degrees. The interference of parliament and the humanity of some masters had excluded such very young children, rather abridged the length of daily labour, and in a small degree lowered the heat of the rooms:—still, however, it was contended there was a case made out which called for the interference of parliament. But the bill, after passing the commons, was thrown out in the house of lords, principally on the ground that the common law was sufficient to protect the children, if worked so as to injure their health and strength, and that the legislature ought

not further to interfere in such cases.

A similar attempt to diminish the number and lessen the evils of chimney-sweeping boys was equally unsuccessful, on the ground that if the machines invented to sweep chimneys, were forced by act of parliament to be employed, even in chimneys which could not be effectively swept in this manner, much more serious mischief would probably follow to the community at large, than could possibly be compensated by bettering the condition of the chimney-sweepers.

The increase of the poor rates and of crime has for some time impressed parliament and the nation at large with the conviction that the most effectual means to check both these dreadful evils must be by giving a better education to the poor. With this object in view, committees were appointed to inquire into the state of their education in the metropolis, and into the state of the schools in Ireland: and during the last session Mr. Brougham brought forward a motion to appoint a committee to examine evidence respecting the present state of all the endowed schools, &c. in England.

This committee (of which Mr. Brougham of course was the chairman) was very indefatigable in their labours; and it was soon evident that the state of the endowed schools required all the labour and investigation they could bestow. There are scattered in almost every part of England, more particularly in the northern counties, a great many endowed schools possessed of large landed property which was left for their support.

support. The object of the committee was to inquire, in the first place, into the extent of these funds, in whose hands they were, and whether as great a rent or profit was derived from them as they ought to yield; and in the second place, whether their produce was applied according to the intention of the persons who left the estates and endowed the schools.

It must be admitted that Mr. Brougham did not conduct the examination in the most proper manner; he seems to have permitted the feelings roused by his success in getting a committee appointed, to hurry him on to such a line of conduct and examination as alarmed ministers, and to have forgotten that moderation in the use of a victory is the principal means by which its benefits may be reaped. His examination of some very respectable witnesses was harsh and overbearing; and instead of contenting himself with taking his stand on cases of such gross abuse that they were evident to all, and could neither be concealed or justified, he brought forward many cases which would not bear examination, and thus afforded a plausible ground for throwing discredit on his good cases, and suspicion on his own motives and objects.

The report of the committee, however, brought to light so many flagrant instances of abuse, that ministers were obliged to appoint commissioners to inquire into the state of the charitable funds for education throughout the kingdom; and though the powers of these commissioners are limited too much both with respect to the institutions they are to investigate, and the particular objects of

their investigations; and moreover, though the members who compose it are (with few exceptions) men who believe whatever is established to be right, and almost habitually oppose all inquiry or change, yet it must do good, because there are cases so flagrant that they cannot formally be passed over.

In our last volume we gave the report of the committee of the house of commons on the state of the poor laws, and also a preliminary report from the general assembly of the church of Scotland on the state of the poor in that country. Before we proceed to notice the principal amendments introduced into the poor laws by Mr. Sturges Bourne during the session of 1818, we shall lay before our readers three documents, two of which relate to the poor rates of England, and the other to the Scottish poor.

POOR LAWS.

The select committee of the house of commons, appointed to consider of the poor laws, have given in a supplementary report, containing some important additions and corrections to their former comparative view of the assessments for the relief of the poor at different periods. The committee have been furnished with some returns, made in pursuance of orders of the house, of assessments in the years 1748, 1749, and 1750; which were not known to exist till they were discovered by the researches of the speaker into the records of the house during the recess; and also with the returns of the assessments for the years 1813, 1814, and 1815, embracing an abundant and valuable mass of materials. From the

new information thus obtained, the committee have been enabled to submit the following more cor-

rect view of the sums raised for and expended on the poor at different periods:

	Total raised.	Expended.
Average, 1748, 1749, 1750,	£730,135 .	£ 689,971
1776, ...	1,720,316 .	1,530,864
Average, 1783, 1784, 1785,	2,167,748 .	2,004,237
Year 1803	5,348,204 .	4,267,963
Average, 1813, 1814, 1815,	8,164,496 .	6,129,844

A very valuable appendix is annexed to this report.

It gives the assessment for the relief of the poor in 1748, 1749, and 1750; by which it appears, that on the average of those three years about 690,000*l.* per annum was applied to the relief of the poor; in the year 1776, the sum of 1,531,000*l.* was expended on account of the poor; in 1783, 4, and -5, the sum of 2,000,000*l.* per annum; in 1803, 4,268,000*l.*; and in 1813, 14, and 15, the average sum of about 6,130,000*l.* per annum was expended for the maintenance of the poor. But the sums raised by poors rates and any other rate or rates in these years was, in 1813, 8,651,438*l.*; in 1814, 8,392,728*l.*; in 1815, 7,460,855*l.* The number of paupers relieved in 1813 was 971,913; in 1814, 953,995; in 1815, 895,973.

The appendix closes with some important observations.

2. The number of persons relieved permanently, both in and out of any workhouse, on the average of the last three years, appears to be 516,963; ditto, occasionally, being parishioners, 423,663; total, 940,626; exclusive of any children of those permanently relieved out of the house.

3. Four thousand and ninety-four parishes or places maintain the greater part of the poor in

workhouses, averaging, for the last three years, 93,142 persons.

4. The population of England and Wales, as taken from the abstract laid before parliament in the year 1811, appears to have been 10,150,615; so that the number of persons relieved from the poors rates appears to have been 9*½* in each 100 of the population.

5. The total of the money raised by poors rates, or other rates, appears to have averaged, for the last three years, the sum of 8,168,340*l.* 13*s.* 9*½d.* being at the rate of 16*s.* 1*d.* per head on the population, or 3*s.* 1*½d.* in the pound, of the total amount of the sum of 51,898,423*l.* 12*s.* 6*½d.* as assessed to the property tax in the year 1813.

7. The amount of money expended in suits of law, removals, and expenses of parish officers, for militia purposes, and for all other purposes, is, independent of the maintenance of the poor, 2,162,799*l.*

8. The number of persons belonging to friendly societies appears to be, for the last three years, nearly 8*½* in the 100 of the resident population.

9. The area of England and Wales, according to the latest authorities, appears to be 57,960 square statute miles, or 37,094,400 statute acres; wherefore the number of inhabitants in each square mile

mile containing 640 acres, averages 175 persons.

10. The greater proportion of the population of England and Wales appears to be employed in trade and manufactures, there being 770,199 families returned employed in agriculture, and 959,632 in trade, manufactures, and handicraft; besides 413,316 other families.

Money raised by poor-rates, or other rate or rates, in England and

	Wales		
For the year ending Easter, 1813	.	£8,646,841	
1814	.	8,388,973	
1815	.	7,457,675	
Money expended for the maintenance of the poor	1813.	1814.	1815.
	£6,676,105	£6,294,583	£5,418,845
Expenditure in suits of law, removals, journeys, and expenses of overseers and other officers	324,956	332,663	324,596
Expenditure for militia purposes, viz.:			
Maintenance of the families of militiamen	156,898	145,284	91,101
All other militia charges	89,095	43,166	14,225
Expenditure for church rate, county rate, highway rate, &c.	1,614,356	1,692,369	1,657,082
	<u>£8,161,410</u>	<u>£8,508,065</u>	<u>£7,505,849</u>

Number of persons permanently relieved by the poor-rates, not including the children of such persons—

	1813.	1814.	1815.
Out of any workhouse	434,293	429,992	406,748
In any workhouse	97,222	94,084	88,115
Total number permanently relieved	<u>531,515</u>	<u>524,076</u>	<u>494,863</u>
Number of persons occasionally relieved, whether in or out of the workhouse, being parishioners	439,735	429,267	400,473
	<u>971,250</u>	<u>953,343</u>	<u>895,336</u>

Total amount of sums assessed to the property-tax, in and for the year ending 5th April, 1815 . . . £5,117,354

Total amount of the estimates of the annual value of the property on profits, upon which said assessments were made . . . £51,898,423

Average poor-rate in the pound, on real property, for . . . England 3s. 2d.
Wales 3s. 1½d.
T 4 Total

Total number of members in friendly societies, whether parishioners or not—

For the year ending Easter 1813	. 821,145 persons
1814	. 838,561 ditto
1815	. 925,264 ditto.

Average annual amount of charitable donations— £

For parish schools	 71,888
For other purposes	 166,374

£238,262

The Scottish poor.—In consequence of the inquiries which took place last year in the house of lords, regarding the state of the poor in England, a committee was appointed by the last meeting of the general assembly of the church of Scotland, for inquiring into the situation of the poor in this country. The following are a few of the statements in the committee's report :

A hundred parishes in Scotland have failed to make returns to the committee ; its statements, therefore, relate only to the remaining parishes, amounting perhaps to about 750. In these it appears that the annual amount of collections made at the church doors is 21,730*l.* ; of voluntary contributions by heritors, 35,438*l.*, and of assessments for the poor, 43,317*l.* : that where there is no assessment the poor's funds are managed gratuitously, though it is believed that it is a business which employs the active services of not fewer than 4000 individuals, while the expense of management where there is an assessment has amounted to 1400*l.* per annum. It further appears, that only three assessments for the poor existed prior to the year 1700 ; that in the course of the last century 98 were established ; and that during the seventeen years of the present

century, not fewer than 51 have been introduced. In all these cases of the establishment of assessments, their amount has been progressively, in some having doubled itself in ten years, in others even in four ; while the collections at the church doors have diminished, and the applications from paupers increased, in a similar proportion.

In the unassessed parishes, the average number of poor appears, from a very ingenious table, constructed by the reverend convener, to be two and a half in the hundred, and the expense of their maintenance 3*l.* 6*s.* 9*d.* ; while in the assessed parishes these sums are three and a half and 5*l.* 14*s.* The reluctance to apply for charity is universally stated as wearing off where there are assessments, and the total number of the poor now appears to be about 35,000, of whom one-third are males. Not one instance of involuntary or forced removal has ever taken place in Scotland ; and the expense of litigation has been, during the last ten years, 1640*l.* (this sum in England having been about two millions) of which 1230*l.* originated with the assessed parishes. Mendicity is represented as universal ; and it seems to be a prevailing opinion, that in each parish the stranger poor take

take away more than would be sufficient for the support of all those on the roll.

Some interesting statements are made upon subjects not immediately connected with the poor; such as the number of blind persons, which is represented as 745, and of deaf and dumb, as 542; that there are 130 saving banks, exclusive of Edinburgh and Glasgow, with 7000 depositors, and 30,000*l.* of funds; that there are 500 Sunday schools, &c.

But one fact is stated in the report of a most painful kind, which the people of Scotland will learn with astonishment, and for which indeed we were not at all prepared—that while in almost every parish of the low country the means of common and religious education are fully provided, there is in this respect a most lamentable deficiency in a great proportion of the northern and western districts. In several synods of the church (in the northern and western parts of Scotland) one-third, one-half, and three-fourths of the people, cannot read, while in one particular instance this proportion amounts up to eleven-twelfths. In those quarters it is gratifying, though very painful, to observe the deep sense which exists among the people of the disadvantages under which they labour, and their excessive desire of improvement.

We trust that the publication of this able, judicious, and most enlightened report may assist in remedying this great evil, and of extending to the poorest and remotest corners the inestimable blessing of education. Should it likewise tend, as it is admirably calculated to do, to alarm the

country against the danger of assessments, it will accomplish a purpose of the most desirable kind.

Though it is almost a universal sentiment that the poor laws have entailed on this country, and are likely to entail on it, the most dreadful evils, not so much from the rapidly increasing amount of the poor-rates, as from the evidence which the increase of those rates affords of the great proportion of the population that are paupers—yet many sensible and well-informed men are of opinion, that the poor-laws are not radically bad; that the principle, as well as the enactments of the original bill, passed in the reign of Elizabeth, were actually good, but that they have become injurious partly from alterations made in them, and partly from the circumstances and the character of that class of the people who are the object of them being materially changed since they were first passed.

Mr. Sturges Bourne therefore wished to touch them with a cautious hand; to introduce alterations, but none of radical importance, and all gradually. His principal alterations that were passed in the session of 1818, had reference to the mode of voting in vestries, and the relief of paupers not parishioners. By the first alteration, property assessed to the poor-rates was, under certain modifications, to give additional votes; that is, a person who paid a certain sum towards the support of the poor, was to have, as formerly, but one vote in the vestry; whereas a person paying double the amount was to have two votes. If this alteration will have the effect of throwing the
manage-

management of the poor into the hands of the more respectable classes in the parishes, it must be beneficial; for there is no doubt of two facts, that the number of unworthy paupers is increased under the present management of most parishes, and that the rate of their support is exorbitant and unnecessarily high.

But it may well be doubted whether any partial alterations in the poor laws will do away the present evil to which they give birth; and yet their total abolition, even if a remote period were fixed for it, would produce a dreadful extent and depth of misery. The great difficulty lies in supporting those who from old age or distress cannot work; in obtaining work for those who are able and disposed to work but cannot obtain employment; and in guarding against the funds set apart for these two descriptions of paupers being applied to such as are able to work and can procure it, but who prefer idleness and dependence to labour. The last description cannot possibly have any claim to support: the first description, namely, those who are unable from sickness or old age to work, it is allowed by all, have a just claim to support. But there is a difference of opinion with regard to the claims of the intermediate class; namely, those who cannot obtain work, though able and willing to work.

Mr. Malthus, in his celebrated book on population, seems disposed to recommend that a law should be passed, declaring that no support would be given to those who married after a fixed time; but that with respect to them and their children, the law

of nature must take its course; that is, having brought children into the world, without the means of supporting them, those children must starve. On this proposal of Mr. Malthus, Cobbett has lately poured forth an attack, strikingly distinguished by all the characteristics of that writer's heart and mind: it is bitter and contemptuous, even to malignancy; but at the same time most powerful, not merely in its detail of facts, but in its exposition of principles. He contends that if the law of nature is to be reverted to, and suffered to operate in the case of the paupers, it ought to be reverted to and applied universally; that if this were the case, there could be no property, as property is the creature of human laws; that if this were the case, power would constitute the only right; and therefore if the poor were the most powerful, they would possess the best right to the means of support. He further contends, that when society was formed, and property established for the good of that society, one of the most sacred conditions was, that while on the one hand property was exclusively to belong to a certain class, those who consented to give up all claims to the property resumed a right to bare support at least from that property, provided they could not obtain it from their own labour.

This is pushing the doctrine too far; but it is still sound at bottom. The institution of property, a difference in the character and conduct of individuals, and other causes over which laws and government have no control, and in which they do not in the slightest

est degree interfere or operate, must bring about a state of society in which there will be many able and disposed to work, and yet unable to procure it; and yet in such a state of society we doubt the claims of such to support, on this ground, however, alone, that support to them would increase the evil. But we have no doubt of the right of those who are able and disposed to work, and yet cannot obtain employment, in all cases where the laws, the acts of government, or the institutions of society, have increased or hastened the unavoidable tendency of all countries to be overpeopled, or where they have monopolized in a greater degree than could be effected by mere superior industry and intelligence, the sources of subsistence. For example, in countries where large tracts of land are locked up, as it were, and kept barren, from whatever cause, whether from the caprice or for the pleasure of the great landed proprietors, or from the want of interference of the legislature,—there those who cannot procure employment may justly say, You have no right to starve us, so long as there is an acre of land of no real use to you, but by exerting our industry on which we might support ourselves.—Again, where the measures of government have accelerated or increased the accumulation of property in the possession of individuals, those who cannot procure employment have a right to complain; because all such accumulation must have taken place at their expense, and to their loss; for it is evident, that where great riches and luxury prevail, land, capital, industry and skill are em-

ployed to produce the gratification of that luxury which, under a different state of society, would be employed in raising the mere necessities of life.

To apply these remarks to our own government:—There can be little doubt that the demand for men, during the late bloody and protracted war, brought into existence many who would not otherwise have been born: it is unjust therefore in government not to keep from starving those who, by their increased demand for men, were brought into existence. Again, What accumulation of wealth in individuals has taken place, in consequence of the lavish expenditure of government during the war? But it is evident that such an accumulation cannot exist, without draining off capital and labour from the production of the necessities to the production of the luxuries of life. Let us only reflect on one single point,—on the increased number of horses kept for pleasure: these, it is evident, cannot be kept, except by converting land formerly under the plough into pasture-land. If the money were not accumulated, but spread, it would be laid out in the necessities of life; when accumulated, it is laid out in the luxuries: or, in other words, those acres which in the one case would produce corn and other simple fare, now either support horses, or produce what will pamper distempered and sickly appetites.

But it is said, Those who cannot obtain support in this country ought to emigrate; and emigration is regarded by many who deem themselves enlightened politicians and deeply versed in the science of political œconomy, to be

be a benefit, instead of an evil. To us, in the present state of our country, it appears most decidedly an evil; and an evil of considerable magnitude.

In the first place, it must be admitted, that the strength and happiness of a nation consist in the number of its people, provided those people can obtain what they need and desire. The diminution in the number of the people, while they are in such a state, can never be a national benefit. Emigration cannot be a good, unless it be the emigration of the idle and vicious, or of those who cannot obtain work, and therefore must be supported by the labour of others. But we again contend, that Great Britain can maintain a greater population than she possesses at present: we have only to look at the immense tracts of uncultivated or ill cultivated land to be convinced of this; and we might as well contend that North America, while possessed by the Indians, was over-peopled, because they frequently perished for want, as contend that Britain is over-peopled: in the one case, the pressure of the population, though so very scanty, on the means of subsistence, arose from want of civilization and knowledge; and in the other case, it arises from improper legislation. And to say, that even if the wastes were brought into cultivation, the same evil of an overgrown population would ensue, is as rational as to say, that men should not be civilized, because, though thus they would be better cultivators, they would increase in numbers more rapidly.

Secondly, We much doubt whether the great mass of those who

are emigrating to the United States will benefit themselves: from all accounts, agricultural labour alone is in very great request; there is little and uncertain demand for manufacturing labour; while, on the other hand, almost every necessary of life, except provisions, is dearer than in England. And even with respect to agriculturists, it is evident that if they carry labourers with them, on whom they can depend, such as brothers or sons, or go to dispose of their own labour, they will succeed; but if they are obliged to purchase labour, its high price will counterbalance the extreme cheapness of land, and the nearly total absence of taxation.

Lastly, What weakens us, strengthens America; and the feelings of the United States towards Britain are such, that we cannot help regarding with apprehension whatever tends to increase their strength. For these reasons we lament the immense emigration to the United States which has taken place during 1818, from almost every part of England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland.

The increase of crime is as dreadful a symptom in the character of our age as the increase of pauperism. Many intelligent and humane men, particularly the lamented sir Samuel Romilly, attributed it principally to the rigour of our criminal laws; and we have, in more than one place, recorded his efforts to lessen that rigour. As ministers have agreed to the appointment of a committee to inquire into the state of our criminal law, that subject will come more properly under our consideration hereafter. We shall there-

therefore content ourselves with giving the following facts, which sufficiently prove that our criminal law needs revision.

Upwards of 200 crimes, very different in their degrees of enormity, are equally subject to the punishment of death, which is enacted not only for the most atrocious offences—for burglary, for rape, for murder, and for treason—but for many offences unattended with any cruelty or violence, for various minor crimes, and even for stealing privately to the amount of 5*s.* in a shop.

From returns to the house of commons it appears, that crimes have been for some years rapidly increasing, both in number and malignity, to the injury of the rising generation, and the debasement of the national character.

That there were committed for trial in the year

1812 . 1665	1815 . 2005
1813 . 1707	1816 . 2226
1814 . 1646	1817 . 2686

The capital convictions for Middlesex were, in the year

1812 . 132	1815 . 139
1813 . 138	1816 . 227
1814 . 158	1817 . 208

There were executed in Middlesex, in the year

1812 . 19	1815 . 11
1813 . 17	1816 . 29
1814 . 21	1817 . 16

There were confined in Newgate only, of boys of 17 years and under, in the year

1812 . 123	1816 . 247
1817 . 359	

There were committed for trial, in the different gaols of England and Wales, in the year

1805 . 4605	1814 . 6390
1806 . 6576	1815 . 7818
1813 . 7164	1816 . 9091
1817 . 13,932	

Many injured persons refuse to prosecute, because they cannot perform a duty which is repugnant to their natures, by being instrumental in the infliction of severity, contrary to their ideas of adequate retribution; and by such impunity young offenders, instead of being checked in their first departure from virtue, are suffered to advance from small offences to crimes of greater atrocity.

Some jurymen submit to fines rather than act as arbiters of life and death, in cases where they think the punishment of death ought not to be inflicted.

Some jurymen are deterred from a strict discharge of their duty, and acquit guilt, or mitigate the offence, so as not to subject the offender to the punishment of death, and thus assume a discretion never intended to be vested in juries, and relax the sanctity of a judicial oath, upon which the trial by jury much depends.

This determination by juries to oppose the severe enactments of our laws is of daily occurrence.

Amongst other instances, a jury, rather than be instrumental in inflicting the punishment of death for larceny to the amount of 4*s.* from a dwelling, found a 10*l.* note to be worth only 3*s.*

Another jury, influenced by the same motives, found two bills of exchange, value 10*l.* each, and eight bank-notes, value 10*l.* each, worth the same sum of 3*s.*

CHAPTER XI.

State of the Circulating Medium—Gold and Silver Coin—Mint Regulations—Gold and Silver Bullion—Foreign Exchanges—Bank of England Notes—Resumption of Cash Payments—Forgeries—Country Banks.

THE state of the circulating medium of every country of Europe suffered a very material and extensive derangement during the wars of the last twenty-five years: this has been more particularly the case with respect to Great Britain. Previous to the year 1797, our currency was chiefly metallic: the bank of England notes in circulation did not exceed ten millions; there were few country banks that issued provincial notes; and payments under the sum of 10*l.* were usually made in gold coin.

In consequence of a run on the bank of England in the year 1797, parliament passed an act preventing them from paying their notes in cash on demand; and this act, which after it had been renewed several times it was at length proposed should expire six months after the peace, still continues in force. A paper currency thus rendered independent of metallic money, soon had the usual consequences: gold coin disappeared; the amount of bank of England notes and of country bank notes greatly increased, and the price of all things rose in proportion to the amount of the circulating medium; the price of the precious metals rose with that of other commodities, and the foreign exchanges became unfavourable.

Government at length seemed disposed to put an end to this

state of things, and to restore to the country its sound, salutary, and ancient currency; and the bank of England said they were disposed to co-operate with government in bringing about this object. In the spring and summer of 1817 there was an issue from the bank of England of nearly six millions of gold coin, either sovereigns or guineas, and of more than half the amount of silver coin. At this time the price of gold bullion was about 3*l.* 18*s.* the ounce, very little above the mint price; and the foreign exchanges were nearly at par. This gold coin was thrown into circulation by the bank's paying all their 1*l.* notes issued prior to January 1817, in gold, and also the fractional parts of the dividends.

This issue of gold and silver coin had not taken place many months before the price of gold bullion gradually rose to about 4*l.* 2*s.* the ounce; and the foreign exchanges became unfavourable nearly in the same proportion. The necessary consequence followed; guineas and sovereigns were sold at a premium, and in a very short time scarcely one was to be seen. Hence it was evident, that if the bank were to resume cash payments generally, and after that event gold bullion were to rise to any extent above the mint price, the bank would be drained of all its specie, while the

the country would not be benefited by its remaining in circulation; for if the bank were to pay its notes in gold coin at the rate of 3*l.* 17*s.* 10½*d.* the ounce, which is the mint price, while gold bullion in the market was 4*l.* 2*s.* the ounce, it is evident that the guineas or sovereigns, as soon as procured from the bank, would be converted into bullion; and sold as such, for the sake of the profit. This actually took place with respect to the six millions issued in 1817.

Three distinct causes were assigned for this high price of gold bullion, and consequent disappearance of gold coin, and the unfavourable state of the exchanges: 1st, an over-issue of bank paper, 2d, the foreign loans, expenditure of our countrymen abroad, and the importation of foreign corn; and, lastly, the regulations of our mint.

As committees of both houses of parliament were appointed to inquire into the state of the bank of England and of the circulating medium during the session of 1819, the consideration of their labours will naturally lead us, in our volume for that year, to examine their opinions, and the general questions, at considerable length. At present we shall merely explain the mint regulations, a topic to which we briefly adverted in a former volume. The following extract gives such a very clear and explicit account of the relative value of gold and silver at different periods, and of the proportions adopted by our mint at present, that we shall offer no apology for inserting it.

The ideas of a mint, of its re-

gulations, and of the operations which result from them, are of very easy conception; and they principally consist in this:—that whoever has the direction of the coinage has this duty to perform, that he is to ascertain the exact, or nearly the exact, proportionate value of the precious metals, as compared with each other, and to regulate the coinage accordingly. This value is not to be fixed in an arbitrary manner, but is to be the result of combination and thought, and a minute investigation into their proportionate value, as compared with each other in different parts of the world, and particularly of Europe; for, as it is certain (and however it may vary at different periods) that a real proportionate value exists, and has at all times existed, between the precious metals, so it is equally certain, that from the small bulk of the precious metals, as compared with their value and their facility of transportation, he who should attempt to make that cheap, as compared with the other, which in the nature of things, and in the estimation of the rest of mankind, is dear as compared with the other—I say, whoever should do this would soon lose that commodity which other nations set a higher value upon than he does; and he would get in return that commodity upon which he sets a higher value than they do: or, in other words, the inaccuracy of the regulations which should establish the proportionate value between gold and silver different from other nations, would either cause gold to abound and silver to disappear, or silver to abound and gold to disappear, as the case might apply;

ply; and then the money system of such a nation would immediately be deranged,

After the master of a mint has performed his duty of ascertaining the proportionate value of the precious metals, the rest is of easy operation, and follows as a matter of course: and then, either a certain quantity of bullion is melted and issued by the government itself, in the shape of coin; or else, private individuals bring to the mint a certain quantity of bullion of a certain fineness; and if they get back the same quantity in coin of the same fineness, the coinage is undertaken and carried on at the expense of government, and which expense is afterwards very reasonably levied upon the people in the shape of taxes; but if they get less than the quantity they bring, either in weight or fineness, then the mint retains, for the benefit of government, a part of the bullion as a set-off for the expense of the coinage, and this is a seignorage.

The next thing we have to take as an established point is this—that the foundation of the coinage of this country is considered to be gold, and not silver; and for this reason gold has been at all times, and still is, a legal tender to any amount, however large; but silver is only a legal tender for a small amount, which at one time, I believe, was limited to 25*l.*, but is now reduced, I believe, to 40*s.*

Still, however, and even with this reduced value in the amount for which silver is a legal tender, it cannot be dissembled, that we have two legal tenders; and as long as 40*s.* may legally be given and taken in payment of, and as an exchange for, two sovereigns,

if these shillings, when compared with the gold coin, are issued at a denomination exceeding their intrinsic value, there could be no doubt but the whole of the gold coin would disappear as regularly as it issued from the mint; and then the establishing gold as the foundation of our currency would only exist on paper and upon principle; but in point of fact we should only have a silver currency: and then this silver being only a legal tender for small amounts, would, in the absence of the gold which the silver had caused to disappear, throw us into numberless inconveniences.

We have now to examine whether, in the late coinage, the real relative value between gold and silver has been accurately observed and attended to; or whether some error has not been committed, which, before the bank can safely return to cash payments, will render a revision of the whole system necessary: and to do this, the only thing which appears to me to be needful is, candidly to have recourse to history and to matter of fact.

From the first discovery of the mines of South America, the relative value between gold and silver has experienced a regular and progressive alteration, and constantly in favour of gold—that is, gold as compared with silver has progressively increased in value; and silver, as compared with gold, has progressively decreased in value.

During the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella, viz. from 1474 to 1516, the relative value between gold and silver in Spain was as 1 to 10 69-612ths; in the year 1537, and during the reign of Charles V., the

the relative value was fixed as 1 to 10 371-612ths; during the reign of Philip II. it was established as 1 to 12 143-1224ths; during the reign of Philip III. as 1 to 13 1-3d; during the reign of Charles II. as 1 to 15 371-2448ths; and, finally, on the 17th July, 1779, the relative value of the two metals was fixed as 1 to 16.

In the year 1641 Louis XIII. of France issued an edict which regulated the proportion between gold and silver at the French mints; and this proportion was established as 1 to 13 1-half, with the view, it appears, to conform in this respect to the regulations of foreign countries, where the proportions are stated to be as follow:—

In Germany, as 1 to 12
In England, as 1 to 13 1-5th
In the Netherlands, as 1 to 12 1-half
And in Spain, as 1 to 13 1-3d

These regulations lasted about a century, when it again became necessary to alter them: and accordingly in the year 1724 an edict was issued by which the proportion between gold and silver at the French mints was fixed as 1 to 14 and a half.

At the time of this last edict the mint regulations of England established the proportion between gold and silver as 1 to 15 1-5th, and they have remained upon the same footing till the late new coinage.

The relative value between gold and silver in different parts of Europe in the year 1780 stood as follows:—

At Amsterdam, as 1 to 14 $\frac{883}{1000}$
In France, as 1 to 14 $\frac{281}{1000}$
In Spain, as 1 to 15 $\frac{626}{1000}$
1818.

At Venice, as 1 to 14 $\frac{779}{1000}$
At Genoa, as 1 to 14 $\frac{213}{1000}$
At Leghorn, as 1 to 14 $\frac{310}{1000}$
In England, as 1 to 15 $\frac{182}{1000}$
At Hamburgh, as 1 to 14 $\frac{271}{1000}$

But in many of these countries and places the gold coin as compared with silver being permitted to be sold, and to obtain its value in the market, no permanent relative value between the two metals was in fact, or could be, established.

From what I have stated it therefore appears, that if we except Spain, gold, as compared with silver, was dearer in England than in any other part of Europe: and for a country that took gold, and not silver, for the foundation of its currency, this dearness, or high mint price of gold, was admirably adapted; because in no other country of Europe, except Spain, could gold command the same high price that it did in England; and it therefore followed that no other country was so likely to obtain and secure it.

This is easily illustrated by an example. We have already seen that the proportion between gold and silver in France was as 1 to 14 and a half, and in England as 1 to 15 1-5th; and therefore, if a Frenchman owed an Englishman 15*l.* 4*s.*, he could with 14*l.* 10*s.* discharge that debt—that is, with 14*l.* 10*s.* in silver he could, in France, buy that quantity of gold which in England would sell for 15*l.* 4*s.*

It is therefore evident, that the regulations of the English mint were adapted to the obtaining a
U supply

supply of gold instead of silver; and the foundation of our currency being gold, and not silver, this was exactly what was wanted.

These regulations were also admirably adapted to check the exportation of gold, either in bullion or in coin: for, being in a country where, as compared with silver, it was at a higher value, and more esteemed than in other countries, it would naturally remain there till some urgent necessity, either of a commercial or political nature, should drive it from thence: or that other nations, feeling the want of gold, should not only, as compared with silver, give a higher price for it than they hitherto had done, but also a higher price than it would obtain in this country: and something of this kind seems uniformly and regularly to have taken place. And after the period I have last alluded to (and indeed before, for gold at that time was constantly selling at an *agio* on the continent) another advance, as compared with silver, seems to have taken place in the price of gold; and in this respect we have the evidence of two most respectable and intelligent persons, who were examined before the bullion committee, Mr. John Louis Greffulhe and Dr. Kelly.

Mr. Greffulhe, who had superior means of information, states the market prices of gold and silver at Hamburgh, from the year 1804 to 1810; and the average price of the former during these years was 101, and the average price of the latter 27 10; and this fixes the relative value between the two metals as 1 to 15 64-100ths. He also states the prices of gold and silver at Am-

sterdam during the same period; and this statement gives an average price of 13 1-4th per cent. for gold, and of 25f. 13c. per marc for silver; and this again fixes the relative value between gold and silver as 1 to 15 9-10ths.

We come now to the evidence of Dr. Kelly, who appears to have given very accurate information to the committee, as to the relative value between gold and silver in different countries, and for which he was eminently qualified: but this information being too voluminous to be inserted here, I take the liberty of referring you to the Report of the Bullion Committee; and I shall merely take notice of a contradiction which he has apparently given to the evidence of Mr. Greffulhe, I make use of the word "apparently," because, upon investigation, it will be found, that he does *not* contradict Mr. Greffulhe. According to the evidence of the latter gentleman, it will be seen that, by the average market price of gold and silver at Hamburgh and Amsterdam, the relative value between gold and silver at the former place was as 1 to 15 64-100ths; and at the latter, as 1 to 15 9-10ths. But the evidence of the former gentleman, Dr. Kelly, makes the relative value between the two metals at the former place, as 1 to 14 83-100ths; and at the latter, as 1 to 14 63-100ths. But Dr. Kelly candidly and properly states, that the relative value between the two metals cannot be permanently determined either at Amsterdam or Hamburgh: and in making his calculations, he therefore takes the mint regulations, which, however, could be no criterion in places where

where gold, either in coin or bullion, is allowed to find its value in the market; and the market prices as furnished by Mr. Gref-fulhe being considerably higher than the mint regulations referred to by Dr. Kelly, account at once for this apparent contradiction.

After this, we collect very important information from the evidence of a Mr. Allen, who was also examined before the said committee.

This gentleman gives the produce of the gold and silver mines for a considerable number of years past, and he states that the produce of the gold mines has been constantly diminishing, and that the produce of the silver mines, on the contrary, has been constantly increasing; and the correctness of his evidence in this respect cannot be disputed; it is sanctioned by experience, and by the facts, that in the different variations that have taken place in the price of gold as compared with silver, this variation has constantly and uniformly been in favour of gold.

If this state of things continues, (which it probably will do, unless new gold mines are discovered, or that those already discovered should be rendered more productive,) it will follow that gold, as compared with silver, will regularly and progressively (though imperceptibly) become dearer; and that silver, as compared with gold, will as regularly and progressively become cheaper.

From what I have said, this therefore seems to result—that our ancient mint regulations, by making gold in this country dearer than in other parts, were well

adapted, at the time, to obtain and secure a regular and constant supply of gold; and if this state of things had continued, they would still be good; but every other country in Europe having either changed its mint regulations, or allowed one of the metals, as compared with the other, to fluctuate and find its own value, (in order to conform to that natural variation which has taken place in the relative value of gold and silver, and which proceeds from the different produce of the mines at different periods,) it is evident that the ancient mint regulations of this country are no longer adapted to the present state of things; for they would have a constant tendency (if even they had been adhered to in the late coinage,) to take gold out of the country, and to bring in silver—or, in other words, that while we are declaring the foundation of our currency to be gold, and not silver, we take the most efficacious measures, not to secure a supply of gold which we want, but to secure a supply of silver which we do not so much want, and which we only make a legal tender for small payments.

But even these ancient mint regulations, ill as they were adapted to the present state of things, have been departed from in the new coinage in a most novel and extraordinary manner; and while a complete and incontrovertible chain of facts and evidence pointed out and indicated that gold, as compared with silver, had advanced and was still advancing in price, we have proceeded in the late new coinage upon the principle, that since the former mint regulations gold had not

only become cheaper, but materially so.

By the former mint regulations a pound of silver was coined into 62 shillings, which weighed a pound: the mint price of silver was, therefore, 5*s.* 2*d.* per ounce; and in like manner a pound of gold was coined into 44 guineas and a half, which weighed a pound; and, therefore, the mint price of gold was 3*l.* 17*s.* 10½*d.* per ounce.

By the late new coinage a pound of silver is coined into 66 shillings, which weigh a pound; but as the mint retains four of these shillings as a seignorage, the public does not get the pound of silver in coin, which had previously existed in bullion; but it gets 62 pieces of money called shillings, but which only weigh 11oz. 5dwt. 11grs., instead of a pound; and then this establishes the mint price of silver at 5*s.* 6*d.* per ounce, instead of 5*s.* 2*d.* as by the former mint regulations.

So much for the silver coinage; but in the gold coinage no alteration was intended to take place, and in the same manner that by the former mint regulations a pound of gold was coined into 44 guineas and a half, each passing for 21 shillings; so by the new coinage a pound of gold was coined into 46 725-1,000th sovereigns, each passing for 20 shillings of the new silver coinage, and therefore the mint price of gold still continued at 3*l.* 17*s.* 10½*d.* per ounce.

But though no alteration was intended, yet in point of fact a very practical and material alteration took place; for the silver coinage, as compared with the former mint regulations, being deficient in point of weight, and

3*l.* 17*s.* 10½*d.* of this deficient silver being still declared equivalent to an ounce of the new gold coinage, it followed that, instead of the former mint regulations which established the relative value of gold and silver as 1 to 15 1-5th, the new regulations in point of fact established this relative value as 1 to 14 160-1,000ths, while the proportion between gold and silver bullion in the market was at that time as 1 to about 15 1-4th, and on the continent as 1 to 15 and a half to 16.

The subject of foreign exchanges is one of considerable intricacy; and yet it is one which must be well understood before the general subject of money can be clearly and fully apprehended: it is also a subject of great moment. The importance of it will appear, if we reflect that when the exchanges are unfavourable, we buy foreign commodities dear, while foreigners purchase our commodities cheap. For let us suppose the par of exchange between this country and France to be 24 francs, or, in other words, that 24 francs are the par of 20 shillings; and that 24 francs are the price of any given commodity in France, which is much used in this country: it is plain that while the exchange is at par, that is, while 20 of our shillings will purchase a bill for 24 francs on Paris, that commodity will cost in London only its price in Paris, increased by freight, insurance, and the regular profit of the importer: but if the exchange becomes unfavourable, that is, if it requires 22 shillings instead of 20 to purchase a bill on Paris for 24 francs, it is equally evident that the price of the commodity will be raised to the

the consumer here, two shillings. On the other hand, 24 francs in Paris being able to command a bill on London for 22 shillings, instead of 20s., English commodities must be reduced in price in Paris, in the same proportion.

The rise and fall in the exchanges, like the rise and fall in the price of any other commodities, must depend on a variation in the proportions between the supply and the demand; but the natural and average price of a commodity, that is, the price it will and must bear, when the supply and demand are perfectly equal, is a point that has not been satisfactorily determined by political economists. With regard to the par of exchange, however, there is little difficulty; it must be determined by the quantity of pure gold or silver contained in the coins of the two countries: thus, suppose there is just as much gold in a louis as in a sovereign, the louis will be the par of the sovereign, and *vice versa*; and suppose that 20 of our shillings contain as much silver as 24 francs, the par will be 20 shillings to 24 francs; and when the supply and demand of bills of exchange are exactly equal, a bill on Paris for a louis will be purchased in London for a sovereign, and a bill for 24 francs will be purchased for 20 shillings. Any alteration therefore in the quantity of gold or silver contained in the coins, though they are still called by the same name, it is obvious must alter the par of exchange.

That a paper circulation possesses many advantages over a metallic circulation cannot be denied; and that we could not have

carried on the late arduous and most expensive contest, with a metallic circulation, or even with a paper circulation convertible into coin on demand, must also be admitted. And it may even be doubted, whether coin can be procured and retained in this country adequate to pay the enormous taxes with which it is at present burthened; for it is evident that a country with taxes to the amount of nearly 60 millions annually, and with the prices of all articles high in the same proportion, must require a much larger amount of circulating medium than a country taxed as this was before the first French revolutionary war, only to about 15 millions annually, and with prices equally low.

But the evils and disadvantages of a paper currency are at least equally obvious, and in many points of view truly alarming. So long as the circulation is metallic, the prices of commodities must rise slowly and gradually, and all nearly in the same proportion; and when they rise very high in any particular country, they will soon be reduced by importations from other countries: this cannot however be the case, where the circulation is of paper not convertible into money: the ease and little expense with which it may be manufactured, and the interest of those who issue it, naturally tend to its increase, and that to such an extent, and in such a manner, that prices will rise rapidly, and unequally;—evils the worst that can befall the great mass of the population of any country; and these evils cannot be checked or done away by importation from foreign countries, because there is no longer any cir-

culating medium common to this country and other countries.

Another evil of paper currency consists in the aid it gives to speculation and overtrading; hence, it is impossible to judge of the real prosperity of a country, that possesses a paper circulation only. At the very time when every thing seems flourishing—when trade is carried on rapidly and extensively;—when wealth seems to abound, and credit to be placed on a stable and permanent foundation;—all may be hollow, unsound, and superficial; and the slightest touch, even the breathing of a suspicion, may dash the whole fabric to the ground.

If those only were the sufferers who had traded beyond their means, or who had accommodated such persons with the means of doing so, there would be no great cause for pity or lamentation. But let us consider what is the real case, especially in country places:—A banker there accommodates several persons with his notes; these persons engage in speculations which do not succeed; their ruin brings on the ruin of the banker; his notes are no longer of any value. But who are the principal sufferers? Undoubtedly the labouring classes: for country notes being for the most part 1*l.* notes, chiefly become their property, being received as wages, &c. and the loss of a very few of them must be very serious to a labouring man. It is calculated that, by the failure of so many country banks, which took place a few years since, nearly five millions was lost, and it is evident that a large portion of this loss must have fallen on the labouring classes.

The last evil attendant upon a paper circulation to which we shall advert, consists in the numerous forgeries to which it gives birth. This, however, principally applies to the bank of England notes; for the country bankers, deeming it absolutely necessary for the credit of their notes, to pay even the forged ones, take every precaution in their power to prevent forgeries. That such has not been the conduct of the bank of England is as surprising and unaccountable, as it is notorious. The following statements present some extraordinary and alarming facts.

It appears, from the accounts presented to the house of commons, that the amount of the sums paid by the public to the bank, as a remuneration for receiving the contributions on loans, independent of the annual expense of management, from the year 1793 to 1816 inclusive, is 397,086*l.* 7*s.* 3*d.* That the number of notes discovered by the bank to have been forged from the 1st June 1812 to 10 April 1818, distinguishing those from 1*l.* to 20*l.* and upwards, is *one hundred and thirty-one thousand three hundred and sixty-one.* —That the total expense of prosecutions for forgeries, or uttering forged notes, from 1st March 1797 to 1st April 1818, amounts to the sum of 148,370*l.* 9*s.* 3*d.* That the nominal value of the notes, of which payment was refused, from 1st January 1816 to 10th April 1818, is 74,760*l.* and that the nominal value of forged notes paid by the bank for the same period, which was afterwards recovered on the forgeries being detected, amounted only to 75*l.* To show the great and alarming increase

increase of forgeries of bank of England notes, the whole expense of their prosecutions in the year 1797 was only about 1500*l.*, while in the first three months of the present year it amounted to the enormous sum of *nineteen thousand eight hundred and ninety-pounds!*

The account of the number of persons prosecuted for forging, uttering, or having in their possession, forged notes of the bank of England, as certified by their solicitor, from the 1st of January to the 10th of April last (little more than three months), amounts to the almost incredible number of 129!

We have said that the conduct of the bank of England is surprising and unaccountable: they do not pay their forged notes, and so far they do not incur the expense to which country bankers are liable from this source: but it may be questioned whether if they paid them, and took measures to prevent forgeries, as the country bankers do, their expense would not be much less than it appears to have been in prosecuting for forgeries. One is almost disposed to think that they derived satisfaction from such prosecutions, but the idea is too dreadful to be entertained.—That, however, they did not use their best endeavours to prevent forgery has long been the general opinion of the country; and at last, in 1818, the verdicts of three different juries proved that they were resolved no longer to sacrifice so many victims for the commission of a crime which they thought might be prevented.

Indeed the whole conduct of the bank of England in the con-

ducting of prosecutions for forgeries was extraordinary and highly blameable; and some of their previous steps were not less so: they forcibly kept such notes as were presented to them, and which they declared to be forged, though if they were forged they could not be their property: they even attempted to prosecute a person for felony, merely because he would not give up a note which they declared to be forged. When they found that the public indignation was roused against them, they took upon themselves to change the operation of the law, and to select their victims. Some they prosecuted on the capital charge of uttering notes knowing them to be forged; some on the minor charge of having forged notes in their possession, though the proof in the latter case was solely derived from the persons having uttered such notes. The evidence they adduced also was (till the juries obliged them to be more direct and strong) extremely vague and unsatisfactory:—that the note was forged was proved, not by the person whose name was forged, but by the inspector of bank notes, though there was evidence that forged notes had been paid at the bank of England as genuine notes; and there was frequently a want of evidence to prove that the note produced in court as a forgery, was actually the note that had been uttered by, or been in possession of the prisoner.

At length parliament resolved to interfere; and a commission was appointed to inquire into the best means of preventing forgery. They have not made their final report; and the nature of their pre-

liminary report, as well as the great delay that has intervened since it was given, are circumstances that rather damp the expectations of the public. That forgery will be entirely prevented, it is too much to expect; but that a great deal may be done to render it less frequent, there can be no doubt, when we reflect that country bank notes are seldom forged; and that in the United States, measures had been adopted by the principal banks there, which have rendered forgeries almost impracticable, and of comparatively very rare occurrence.

In the month of April, the chancellor of the exchequer submitted to the house of commons his new plan for regulating the paper circulation of England: one part of that plan was to continue the restriction on the cash-payments of the bank of England till July 1819; and the unfavourable state of the exchange, as well as the high price of gold bullion, which Mr. Vansittart ascribed solely to the foreign loans,—were assigned by him as his reasons for again putting off the period when cash-payments would be resumed.

The other part of his plan related entirely to the paper circulation of England and Ireland:—the act was not to extend to Scotland, the known respectability of the Scotch banks being thought a sufficient guarantee for the due payment of their notes. The object of the chancellor of the exchequer was to give increased security to the paper issued by the country banks: for this purpose every banker, after the 5th of July 1820, was to be required to lodge security for all notes which he issued under 5*l*. either by forwarding to the com-

missioners for the redemption of the national debt, exchequer bills to the amount of the small notes issued,—to pay so much into the bank, or to transfer stock to double the amount.—This act, however, was not passed into a law, in consequence of the strong and universal opposition it experienced from the country bankers.

Indeed it was evident that it would have cut up all their profits, or nearly so; their principal issues are in notes under the value of 5*l*. Let us suppose that a country banker had notes under this value in circulation to the amount of 20,000*l*.; by this act it was proposed that he should lodge 20,000*l*. in the bank of England. But as the profit of circulating notes consists exactly in the difference between the value of the paper in circulation, and the value of the gold or other securities deposited by the banker, or kept in his coffers as a fund for paying them, it is evident, that if they were obliged to deposit the full value of the notes which they issued under 5*l*. the chief inducement to issue them would be taken away.

At the same time, it must be confessed it is highly desirable, if it were practicable, to devise some means, which would ascertain and secure the stability of country banks: if their stability could be ascertained and secured, and if the same measure would operate to prevent their being too lavish and indiscriminate in their accommodations, country banks are undoubtedly of great benefit to the country. In fact, the great advantage of banks consists in this; that whereas before their establishment, a large portion of the

the circulating medium was locked up in coffers, completely useless—it is now put into active operation; that is, it is paying labour, and thus adding to the wealth of the community. While the operations of country banks are confined to this, they must do good; they must also do good (though it is a more hazardous species of good) when they give facilities to credit in cases where capital does not actually exist.

The nature of the advantage which a country may derive from banks properly constituted and prudently managed is admirably pointed out, in the following passage from Smith, in his *Wealth of Nations*; and though this is a work generally known, we shall make no apology for giving the extract, as topics of political economy are very imperfectly understood, while in the present state of this country, it is a science, especially that branch of it which relates to the circulating medium, which cannot be too carefully and deeply studied.

“When paper is substituted in the room of gold and silver money, the quantity of the materials, tools, and maintenance, which the whole circulating capital can supply, may be increased by the whole value of gold and silver which used to be employed in purchasing them. The whole value of the great wheel of circulation and distribution, is added to the goods which are circulated and distributed by means of it. The operation, in some measure, resembles that of the undertaker of some great work, who, in consequence of some improvement in mechanics, takes down his old machinery, and adds the difference

between its price and that of the new to his circulating capital, to the fund from which he furnishes materials and wages to his workmen.

“What is the proportion which the circulating money of any country bears to the whole value of the annual produce circulated by means of it, it is, perhaps, impossible to determine. It has been computed by different authors at a fifth, at a tenth, at a twentieth, and at a thirtieth part of that value. But how small soever the proportion which the circulating money may bear to the whole value of the annual produce—as but a part, and frequently but a small part, of that produce, is ever destined for the maintenance of industry,—it must always bear a very considerable proportion to that part. When, therefore, by the substitution of paper, the gold and silver necessary for circulation is reduced to, perhaps, a fifth part of the former quantity, if the value of only the greater part of the other four-fifths be added to the funds which are destined for the maintenance of industry, it must make a very considerable addition to the quantity of that industry, and, consequently, to the value of the annual produce of land and labour.

“An operation of this kind has, within these five-and-twenty or thirty years, been performed in Scotland, by the erection of new banking companies in almost every considerable town, and even in some country villages. The effects of it have been precisely those above described. The business of the country is almost entirely carried on by means of the paper of those different banking companies,

companies, with which purchases and payments of all kinds are commonly made. Silver very seldom appears except in the change of a twenty shillings bank note, and gold still seldomer. But though the conduct of all those different companies has not been unexceptionable, and has accordingly required an act of parliament to regulate it; the country, notwithstanding, has evidently derived great benefit from their trade. I have heard it asserted, that the trade of the city of Glasgow doubled in about fifteen years after the first erection of the banks there; and that the trade of Scotland has more than quadrupled since the first erection of the two public banks at Edinburgh, of

which the one, called The Bank of Scotland, was established by act of parliament in 1695; the other, called The Royal Bank, by royal charter in 1727. Whether the trade, either of Scotland in general, or of the city of Glasgow in particular, has really increased in so great a proportion, during so short a period, I do not pretend to know. If either of them has increased in this proportion, it seems to be an effect too great to be accounted for by the sole operation of this cause. That the trade and industry of Scotland, however, have increased very considerably during this period, and that the banks have contributed a good deal to this increase, cannot be doubted."

CHAPTER XII.

State of the Finances during the Year 1818—Revenue—Expenditure—National Debt—Sinking Fund—Stocks—Intention of paying off the 5 and 4 per Cents—Creation of a 3½ per Cent. Stock—General Remarks.

THERE are two circumstances very surprising in relation to the pecuniary affairs of Great Britain. In the first place, the statements can be presented under such various and different points of view, and made up in such different modes, that it is extremely difficult to gain a full and clear insight into their actual result: hence we observe, that while the finances or pecuniary concerns of the country are represented by one class as improving, they are represented by another class, as at least stationary, and affording no pleasant or satisfactory prospects. And each class confidently appeals to official

statements on the subject. The other circumstance is, that truths acknowledged by all, which, if they referred to the pecuniary affairs of an individual, would be regarded with alarm and considered indicative of a ruinous state of affairs, are not considered in the same light when they are announced with respect to the affairs of the nation.

We have before had occasion to remark on the complicated, confused, and perplexing manner in which the accounts respecting the finances of the country are made up and exhibited annually: the very details, which are given, it is said, in order that it may be perceived

ceived accurately and minutely how the affairs of the nation are going on, become, from the want of a plain and simple principle and plan, the sources of perplexity. Where the general plan is simple and well described at the same time, all the details are easily followed and understood; but where the plan is complicated and obscure, the details give much less insight and satisfaction than the general result would afford. That the plan of keeping and exhibiting the accounts of the nation might be simplified, there can be no doubt,—their magnitude would not operate against such simplicity. The affairs of the most extensive merchant in the city of London, if conducted on a good plan, and with order and regularity, are as simple and easily understood, and managed with as much ease, as those of the pettiest trader. At any rate, even though the mode of conducting the affairs and keeping the accounts of the nation should not be simplified; yet surely, when those accounts are exhibited annually to the country, they might be arranged on such a plan, and in such a manner, that no difference of opinion could be entertained, by comparing the receipt and expenditure of two years together, whether our finances were improving or the reverse.

The other remark we offered is of still more importance. If we saw an individual unable to *pay his way*, as it is emphatically termed, without annually borrowing a large sum of money—we certainly should be disposed to entertain an unfavourable opinion of his circumstances; and we should re-

commend him either to increase his means, by extending his trade, or, if that were impracticable, to diminish his expenses. Yet how often do we hear congratulation that the country can make up for the deficiency of its means, by borrowing money! and how little dread and apprehension are in general felt or exhibited, though the alarming facts are notorious, that our national debt approaches one thousand millions, and that annually we are obliged to borrow at least fifteen millions; and that these things are so, while we are at peace, and have been so nearly five years!

We stated in our last volume that the finances of the country were beginning to improve: this arose from two causes, one of which was satisfactory, the other not so. The first cause was the improvement of our internal and external trade: immediately after the termination of the war, the great fall in the prices of all commodities, taking place rapidly, and necessarily affecting some articles before it reached others, caused great distress: this distress, arising from temporary causes, gradually subsided: the revenue of excise improved; and that revenue, arising from the consumption of the great mass of the people, is justly regarded as a good criterion of their means and condition. The second cause of increase of revenue, to which we alluded, was not so satisfactory: it consisted in the extreme strictness, amounting in many cases to harshness and injustice, with which the taxes were levied. This applies more particularly to the assessed taxes.

Before we give some account of the

the finances of the year 1818, it may be proper to exhibit a summary of the revenue and expenditure of the year 1817, formed from an abstract of a report of the select committee of finance.

From their statements it appears, that in Great Britain the total permanent revenue for the year 1817 fell short of the estimate by 1,984,546*l.*, which being more than compensated by a receipt of 2,231,951*l.* of arrears of property tax, and of 68,580*l.* of other unappropriated war duties, making together 2,330,531*l.*, there was, upon the whole, an excess beyond the estimate of 345,985*l.*: while in Ireland there was a deficit of 585,889*l.*, from which the above excess being deducted, the difference between the estimate and the actual produce of the revenue in the united kingdom is exhibited by the remainder, being only 239,904*l.* upon a sum of 51,905,000*l.*

It also appears, that in the year ended the 5th of April 1818, a considerable increase took place in the revenue; inasmuch as the difference between the receipt and the estimate in Great Britain is in that period reduced to 1,245,550*l.*

In Ireland the revenue likewise experienced some improvement in this period, the amount being only 529,131*l.* below the estimate.

The general increase of the revenue, however, appears more particularly shown by a comparative statement which the committee proceed to make, between the income of the quarter which closed on the 5th of April 1818 with the corresponding quarter of 1817. In stating this contrast, the committee very properly exclude the property tax and other war duties,

in order to show the real improvement of those duties only which constitute the permanent revenue. The result of this comparison is a balance in favour of the quarter ended 6th of April 1818, for Great Britain, of 739,000*l.*, and for Ireland, of 56,760*l.*, making upon the whole, an increase of 795,769*l.*, but which would have been considerably greater, if the produce of the sugar duties had been divided in the same proportion in the present as in the last year between the two quarters ending the 5th of January and 5th of April. In consequence of the expected rise in the average price of sugar to that point at which it becomes chargeable with an additional duty of 3*s.* per cwt. a great quantity then in bond was taken out for home consumption immediately before the close of the quarter ending the 5th of January last, from which period the additional duty, as had been foreseen by the merchants, became payable. By this anticipated payment of the duties, the produce of the January quarter was greatly swelled, and a corresponding deficit occasioned in the produce of the succeeding quarter.

The committee observe, that they would not be disposed to lay much stress upon the melioration of the revenue in a single quarter, or to build upon that circumstance alone a very sanguine hope of a permanent amendment, if it were not manifestly the consequence of an extensive and important change in the general condition of the country.

In corroboration of this view, the committee enter into a variety of observations on the component parts

parts of the accounts laid before them—particularly the customs and excise—the tenor of which affords more satisfactory evidence of a growing improvement than is to be found even in their total amounts.

From the income of the country, the committee next proceed to the head of expenditure.

The total disbursements of the year 1817 amounted to 68,096,245*l.* of which there was applied to the redemption of debt the sum of 15,139,339*l.*, leaving an expenditure of 52,956,906*l.*, which being contrasted with the actual income, amounting, with the produce of the old stores and the lottery, to 52,302,210*l.*, there appears to have been a difference between the expenditure and the receipts, within the year, of 654,696*l.*

In the statement of the current year, we observe an excess in the probable expenditure beyond the estimate formed by the committee last year, amounting to 2,872,606*l.*; but if we exclude the sum of 15,392,467*l.*, which stands appropriated to the reduction of the national debt, it does appear that the real expenditure, estimated at 52,697,014*l.*, will agree very nearly with the income, which is computed at 52,505,364*l.*

The committee, agreeably to the instructions of the house, have added a general view of the probable expenditure for the year 1819. Supposing no extraordinary charges to occur, they calculate that the whole expenditure

will amount to 66,668,000*l.*, including 14,918,000*l.* for the redemption of debt; so that contrasting the actual charge of next year exclusive of this sum for the redemption of debt, with the income for next year, which is estimated at 52,500,000*l.*, there will be a balance in the country's favour of 1,413,000*l.*

It is further to be observed, that any improvement of the revenue, on the one hand, and every diminution of expense that may be made in future years on the other, will have the effect of creating a surplus annually, applicable to the diminution of the public debt; an object to which, the committee justly observe, the wisdom of parliament and the exertions of parliament cannot be too steadfastly directed.

The committee conclude by repeating an anticipation which they ventured last year; that the reduction of the interest on the four and five per cents. must, under a continuance of the present favourable prospects, and with the growing abundance of capital in the country, contribute, at no distant period, in a very material degree, to the reduction of that load of debt, but for which the revenue of the country would be more than equal to all the charges upon it.

That the revenue continued to improve in the course of the year 1818 is apparent from the following statement.

In a subsequent part of this volume will be found an account of the income of, and charge upon, the consolidated fund in the year ending 5th of January 1819; and also an account of the public funded debt of the united kingdom, as it stood at the same period. We shall, in the present place, only give the general results; premising that the income of, and charge upon, the consolidated fund does not include, on the one hand, the charge for the peace establishment of the country, nor, on the other hand, the produce of the taxes by which that establishment is supported.

The produce of the consolidated fund of Great Britain for the year ending 5th of January 1819, amounted to the sum of 44,609,752*l.*; and that of Ireland to 4,580,978*l.*; making a total of rather more than 49,000,000*l.* On the other hand, the charge on the consolidated fund of Great Britain amounted at the same period to the sum of 44,397,884*l.*; and of Ireland to 2,310,222*l.* The principal charge on the consolidated fund of Great Britain consists in the interest of the national debt, amounting to the sum of 28,160,073*l.*; the next heaviest charge consists in the sinking fund, amounting to the sum of 14,435,949*l.* The civil list amounts to the sum of 1,028,000*l.*; and the pensions to 457,678*l.* The capital funded debt of Great Britain and Ireland in the beginning of the year 1818, amounted to 780,157,160*l.*: the interest, to 29,134,098*l.*; the sinking fund, to 14,739,966*l.*; and the management of the debt to 276,730*l.* making a total charge of 44,150,795*l.* for the total annual

charge. The total amount of capital redeemed in Great Britain and Ireland, amounted to 281,179,371*l.*

All this, however, refers only to the income of, and charge upon, the consolidated fund; and does not comprehend either our peace establishment or the means of keeping it up. It is obvious that the heaviest charges of our peace establishment are the army and navy. Ever since the peace, a strong disposition has been manifested by ministers to reduce the navy very much, and not to reduce the army nearly in the same proportion; though it must be obvious, both from the nature of this country, and from the foreign nation which is most likely to oppose and rival us, that, if war should break out, our navy must be our principal means of defence and annoyance.

According to the army estimates for the year 1818, the army has been reduced to about 91,000 men; and the reduction in its expenses compared with the expenses for the same object in 1817, amounted to 188,000*l.* The total expense of providing for the army was estimated at 6,494,290*l.* of which rather more than five million was to be defrayed by Great Britain, and the remainder by Ireland. The estimates of the ordinary of the navy, building and repair of ships, and the transport department amounted to 2,286,129*l.*

We have already given some account of the national debt of Great Britain and Ireland as it stood in the year 1818:—but on this point, as on all other points regarding our finance, there is much more complexity than is necessary.

necessary. In considering the national debt, it ought to be regarded as consisting of three distinct and separate portions:—First, the unredeemed funded debt; secondly, the redeemed funded debt; and lastly, the floating or unfunded debt. It may seem unfair and even absurd to include the redeemed debt; but so far as the nation is concerned, that is, so far as the debt presses upon the nation as a burthen, the redeemed debt presses proportionately to the other two parts of the national debt. The nation, in fact, feels nothing of the debt, but its interest, and that it feels because it has to pay taxes to defray that interest—and taxes are levied to pay the interest of the redeemed debt, as much as to pay the interest of the unredeemed debt.

The folly of keeping up a sinking fund, at a time when money must be borrowed for that purpose, has been often and ably exposed. Even by the statement of the finance committee, which we have given in the former part of this chapter, the real sinking fund does not exceed 1,200,000*l.*; that is, the real excess of our revenue over our expenditure, does not exceed that sum; but we doubt the accuracy of that statement. By a return made to the house of lords, the total amount of our unredeemed and unfunded debt in January 1818 and January 1819 is given; that is, the whole of the national debt at these two periods; and from this account it appears that the total in January 1819 exceeded the total in 1818 by about 200,000*l.*; or, in other words, notwithstanding the operation of what is called the sinking fund, our debt had increased by the amount of 200,000*l.*

As there is always a great deal of floating or unfunded debt, or, in other words, exchequer, navy bills, &c. it is deemed prudent occasionally to reduce its amount, by funding it in order that the market may not be overstocked, and that the chancellor of the exchequer may issue new exchequer bills, &c. The process is very simple: the holder of an exchequer bill, for instance, receives interest while it is in his possession; but when its date expires he receives either money for it or a proportionate sum in the funds: in the latter case, a part of the floating debt equal to the value of the exchequer bill, becomes a part of the funded debt. The floating debt is generally between forty and sixty millions; but a portion of this is mere anticipation of revenue, and is therefore paid off when the revenue is received; the rest is funded.

As it must appear from what we have stated, that, so long as the sinking fund is kept up, a sum equal to it must be borrowed, it is evident that the budget, as it is called, must be principally interesting from explaining the mode in which that sum is to be raised. Ministers had given their word that no new taxes should be levied; and they even said that no loan would be required: great interest was therefore exerted to discover in what way the deficiency would be made up. That there was a considerable deficiency was acknowledged by ministers themselves. The expenses of the peace establishment amounted to 18,392,000*l.* to cover which there were taxes to the amount of 7,100,000*l.* The plan of the chancellor of the exchequer was to create

create a new stock of 8½ per cent.:—but before detailing this plan or its success, it may be proper to lay before our readers a short and plain account of the various species of stocks which previously existed.

Navy five per cent. annuities, produced from about 136 millions of stock, partly formed out of navy bills, converted, in 1784, into stock bearing interest at 5 per cent. whence the name.

Four per cent. consolidated annuities, produced from about 75 millions of stock, bearing interest at four per cent. as the title indicates; these annuities are called consols, or consolidated, from the stock having been formed by the consolidation of several debts of government.

Three per cent. reduced annuities, produced by about 170 millions of stock, formed for several debts, that originally bore a higher rate of interest; but which, on various conditions, has been reduced to the rate which the name of the stock expresses.

Three per cent. consolidated annuities, produced by above 400 millions of stock, in part formed by the consolidation of several stocks, bearing interest at three per cent. N. B. When the word *consols* is indefinitely used, it is always understood to mean these annuities.

Three per cent. imperial annuities, produced by about eight millions of stock, created by loans to the emperor of Germany, with security to the interest being paid by the government of these countries, when the emperor should fail in his engagement.

Five per cent. Irish annuities, produced by about two millions of 1818.

stock, formed by loans for the use of Ireland before the union.

Bank stock is a capital of nearly twelve millions, with which the company of the bank of England has accommodated government with various loans, and with which they carry on the banking business, purchase bullion, &c. The dividends on bank stock are now ten per cent.; so that the profits of the company are near 1,200,000l. per annum.

India stock forms the trading capital of the East India company. This stock (consisting of six millions) produces an annual dividend of 10½ per cent.

South Sea stock and annuities consist of, or are produced from, a capital of nearly twenty millions. The greatest part of this is lent to government, for which the South Sea company receive three per cent.; but, from the increase of other profits, the dividends to the proprietors are 3½ per cent.

The terminable annuities are:

Bank long annuities, so called from the annual payment being, from their origin, made payable at the bank, and from their being granted for a greater length of time than other terminable annuities. These annuities extend to the beginning of the year 1860, and the annual payments are about eleven hundred thousand pounds.

Imperial short annuities, formed in the same manner, and upon the same conditions, as the imperial three per cent. annuities; they extend to May 1819, and amount to two hundred and thirty thousand pounds per annum.

Besides the permanent loans to government, which have created the perpetual and terminable annuities, various sums have been

X raised

raised from time to time, as temporary loans, which are called exchequer bills, from their being made payable at the treasury of the exchequer.

Exchequer bills are issued for different hundreds or thousands of pounds, and bear an interest of $2\frac{1}{4}d.$ per cent. per diem, from the day of their date to the time when they are advertised to be paid off.

Navy bills are merely bills of exchange, drawn at 90 days date, and are given by the commissioners of the navy for the amount of supplies for the use of that department, and the interest upon those amounts to $8d.$ per cent. per diem.

Omnium is a term denoting the different stocks formed by a loan, while any part of the loan remains unpaid.—For example, suppose 20 millions of money are to be raised, and for every 100*l.* in money, are to be given 100*l.* stock in the 3 per cents. 50*l.* stock in the 4 per cents. and 6*s.* 3*d.* per cent. in the long annuities; then, if any person engages to advance 10,000*l.* in money, upon paying the first instalment (for the money is usually advanced at the rate of about 10 per cent. per month until the whole is paid), he will receive receipts, which separately contain an engagement to transfer to the person possessing them 10,000*l.* stock in the 3 per cents. 5000*l.* stock in the 4 per cents. and 31*l.* 10*s.* stock in the long annuities, upon the whole of the instalments being paid, at or before the appointed time. While these three receipts are sold together, and before the whole of the instalments have been paid, they are called omnium, as they are made up of all or of several of the stocks.

Scrip is a term given to each of the receipts of the omnium, when they are sold separately: thus, on the foregoing supposition, if the receipt containing the engagement to transfer the 10,000*l.* in the 3 per cents. be sold without the other two receipts, this would be called a sale of scrip. Immediately the whole of the instalments upon any scrip is paid, the transfer of the stock is made to the person who buys it, and there is usually a discount allowed for prompt payment.

The prices of the stocks, &c. are exhibited in the lists that are published in this manner.

The value of any perpetual annuity thus:

Three per cent cons., 63*l.*, 64*l.* 64*l.*

Signifies that the value of 100*l.* stock of these annuities sold on the day this price is given, was 63*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.* in money at the beginning of the market, that this stock rose to 64*l.* 15*s.* and left off at 64*l.* 10*s.*

The value of any terminable annuity thus:

Bank long annuities, 16*l.* 1-16*th.*

Signifying that any annual payment of these annuities was worth 16*l.* years purchase at the beginning, and left off at 16 1-16*th* years purchase at the end of the market.

Exchequer bills 2-4 premium; or *India bonds*, 1 pr. or 2 discount.

This signifies that every 100*l.* in exchequer bills bore a premium of 2*s.* at the beginning, and advanced to 4*s.* in the end of that day; and that every 100*l.* in India bonds sold at first at 1*s.* premium, and afterwards sold at 2 discount.

The value of omnium is expressed thus:

Omnium

Omnium $3\frac{1}{2}$ premium, or $5\frac{1}{2}$ discount.

And signifies that every 100*l.* of omnium brought a premium of 3*l.* 10*s.* or sold at a loss of 5*l.* 10*s.* on the government receipts for 100*l.* transferred that day on the Stock Exchange.

The offer of the chancellor of the exchequer was, that for every 100*l.* in the 3 per cents. transferred to the commissioners for the reduction of the national debt, together with 11*l.* subscribed into the bank, the subscriber should be entitled to fund exchequer bills to double the amount of his subscription. One hundred pounds in the 3 per cent. stock is merely an annuity for 3 per cent.: for this annuity therefore and 11*l.* in money he was to receive another annuity of 3*l.* 10*s.* per cent.; so that the simple transaction, disincumbered of all its adventitious circumstances, was, that the subscriber lent money to the chancellor of the exchequer on condition of receiving an annual interest of 10*s.* for every 11*l.* This 11*l.* was to be paid by instalments. Hence, it is evident that it was an indirect mode of raising money by loan, at rather a lower rate than 5 per cent. interest. The money required by this plan amounted to thirty millions, which was raised: of this sum 14,000,000*l.* were set apart for the service of the year, and the remainder was employed in reducing the unfunded debt. The interest and charges on the loan of 14 millions were to be defrayed out of the produce of the sinking fund, according to an act passed in the year 1813, for appropriating the excess of that fund, above a certain sum, to the public service.

In the course of his speech, the chancellor of the exchequer, advertent to the great rise in the funds, stated his expectation that in no long period he should be able to reduce the 5 and 4 per cents. to $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. The 5 per cent. annuities amount to about 136 millions, and the annual interest is of course equal to 6,800,000*l.*: a reduction of this interest to $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. would produce a saving to the public of 2,040,000*l.* per annum. The 4 per cent. annuities amount to nearly 75 millions, and the saving of $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of interest on this sum would amount to 375,000*l.* making altogether an annual saving of interest to the amount of 2,415,000*l.*

When this expectation was held out, the 3 per cents. were at 80; and probably if they had risen to 84 or 85, the plan would have been practicable; but they soon afterwards fell considerably. It would be difficult to assign the causes of their fall, as it is well known that the funds are not nearly so much operated upon by the state of the country, either internally or with respect to its foreign relations, as by the manœuvres of the great stockholders: it is probable, however, that much stock was sold, and the price consequently reduced by investments in the French funds, or purchases in the French loan.

The finances of the country are undoubtedly not in a satisfactory state: including our sinking fund as part of the expenditure, the revenue falls short nearly 14 millions; and even if the produce of the sinking fund was added to the ways and means, our revenue and expenditure would be barely equal. It

cannot be expected that additional taxation would produce more revenue; for it is evident that many taxes are already so oppressive, that from their very excess they diminish what they would otherwise produce; and the great mass of the inhabitants having been already obliged to trench on their capital, are totally incapable of paying any new taxes. The great body of the people already labour more than is consistent with their health, comfort, or morals; and

if they could add to their efforts, what would be the advantage, when we already manufacture more than the markets at home and abroad require? If this is our condition while at peace, how dreadful and desperate would it become, if we were obliged to go to war! Our only alternative is, either to make great retrenchments, or to keep at peace even when national honour and interest are at stake.

CHAPTER XIII.

State of Parties—Ministers—Bill of Indemnity—Opposition—Church Bill—Salt Duties—Royal Marriages—Burgh Reform—Dissolution of Parliament—Elections—Death of Sir Samuel Romilly—Death of the Queen.

THE domestic events of the year 1817 had a powerful tendency to weaken the popularity of ministers, or rather, more properly speaking, the measures which they adopted to put down the discontent and insurrection that prevailed in the manufacturing districts of England during that year. Of all the ministers lord Sidmouth had hitherto enjoyed the largest portion of the good-will and confidence of the people; they recollected that during his administration the internal affairs of the country were conducted with more moderation than they had been during the administration of Mr. Pitt. Credit was not indeed given him for great talents, but he was generally believed to have a stronger inclination to mild measures, to conciliation, and to the redress of

injuries, than most ministers are disposed to be. His conduct, however, as secretary of state for the home department, during the disturbances in the manufacturing districts, had shaken this favourable opinion very much; and certainly these were circumstances which justly shook it. It is to be lamented that all men in power lay down too broadly this maxim, That the only mode of allaying discontent is by force; that it is unsafe or unbecoming the dignity of rulers to yield even to the just requests of the people if they are sought in the least improper manner. It is certainly the wisest plan not to be intimidated in the slightest degree; not to yield to men while they are in open insurrection; and upon this plan ministers always act; but they forget one essential part of this plan, if it is expected

expected to produce really good consequences, that is, after the insurgents are reduced, and they are convinced that they cannot succeed by force, to take away all future cause, and, if possible, all future pretext of complaint.

Lord Castlereagh has never been popular as a minister: his supposed and alleged conduct in Ireland, his evident preference of the privileges and dignities of the crown to the claimed rights of the people, and the increase which this preference is supposed to have gained during his abode with the allied sovereigns, have all tended to diminish his popularity at home. Mr. Canning (his former rival, but now his advocate and friend,) was formerly popular: his talents, which are splendid and dazzling, had given birth to this popularity; but his dispute with Lord Castlereagh, and the whole of his political life since that dispute—particularly the levity with which he treats all subjects that are generally believed to be intimately connected with the rights and happiness of the lower orders—have rendered him very obnoxious. Lord Liverpool is the prime minister; and yet perhaps there scarcely ever before was a prime minister of Great Britain, who escaped so little obloquy, while his colleagues were exposed to it; or enjoyed so little applause, while they were applauded. The reputation of Mr. Vansittart as chancellor of the exchequer, fell very much in the course of the year 1818: this arose from several causes and circumstances, particularly from the want of comprehensive views in his schemes of finance, from the failure of some of his predictions and plans, and

from its being known that he was too much led by men in the city, who endeavoured, and but too successfully, to render his financial schemes subservient to their own gains.

After the suspension of the habeas corpus act was taken off, one of the first measures of ministers was very naturally a bill of indemnity for themselves, preceded, as is usual on such occasions, by a report from the committee of secrecy of both houses. We do not think it necessary to give these reports, because, in inquiring into the justification of ministers, they of course only detailed those facts which the previous reports and the debates in parliament had made known. The mode, however, in which these committees were appointed and the bill of indemnity passed, it was alleged, gave little prospect that the justification of ministers would be placed on solid and unsuspected grounds. The committees contained the persons whose conduct was to be inquired into, and their report was sanctioned by the house. It was contended that ministers, if they were sensible that they had suspended the habeas corpus act on good grounds—that during its suspension they had imprisoned and punished none without good cause, and that the treatment of all the prisoners had been humane, and not more strict or severe than the law justified and the occasion required—ought not to have taken shelter under a bill of indemnity, but to have rested satisfied with the justification which they would have obtained from the verdict of juries.—To this it was replied, that they could not expect from juries

a fair verdict; and that many things necessary for the justification of their conduct could not be brought in evidence before a court of justice.

There can be no doubt that during the suspension of the habeas corpus act many people were taken up without due cause; many that were guilty in a slight degree were severely punished; and that the inferior agents of government in too many instances abused their power, for the gratification of their private vengeance. It may be said, that the utmost vigilance and care cannot prevent these abuses: but undoubtedly a measure which gives birth to such abuses ought not to be resorted to, if disaffection can be guarded against or put down in any other way;—and we must repeat that all men in power are too apt to use that power, and too little disposed to render its use unnecessary by conciliatory measures, and the prompt redress of grievances. Another remark on this subject may be offered: it is certainly but fair and just that those who are taken up and confined during the suspension of the habeas corpus, on charges that are afterwards discovered not to be well founded, should, as far as possible, be recompensed for their losses;—nothing can recompense them for their anxiety and apprehension of mind, or their families for what they may have suffered, during the uncertainty of their fate.

The opposition gained popularity, during the year 1818, rather by a transference of what the ministers lost, than by any positive merit attributed to themselves. Some of them had called for the suspension of the habeas corpus

act; and this circumstance threw suspicion on all the rest of the party who did not openly and strongly oppose it.

During this session there were some measures brought forward which did not fall within the range of any of the former chapters of this volume, on which we shall here offer a few remarks. We allude particularly to the church bill;—the attempt to obtain a repeal of the duties on salt;—the royal marriages;—and the burgh reform of Scotland.

The following calculations will give a clear view of the grounds on which the bill for granting one million of money for the building of new churches and chapels was passed.

England is divided into twenty-six dioceses, the population of which is set down at nine millions nine hundred and forty thousand three hundred and ninety-one. The three largest dioceses are those of Chester, London, and York—the population of which respectively is;

- | | | | |
|------------|---|---|-----------|
| 1. Chester | - | - | 1,247,889 |
| 2. London | - | - | 1,220,365 |
| 3. York | - | - | 1,019,427 |

In the first there are 583 churches and chapels, capable of accommodating 326,939 persons, out of 1,247,889—deficiency, 920,850.

In the second there are 681 churches and chapels, capable of accommodating 336,460 persons, out of 1,220,365—deficiency, 883,905.

In the third there are 945 churches and chapels, capable of accommodating 428,247 persons, out of 1,019,427—deficiency, 591,180.

From which it appears that in three dioceses only, there are churches

churches wanting for the accommodation of two millions three hundred and ninety-five thousand nine hundred and thirty-five of the population.

We are not, we must confess, among those who augur much good from this bill: we do not think that the enactments of the legislature can often be of service to real religion; and in the embarrassed state of the finances a certain and great good could alone justify the grant of a million for any purpose. Besides, is there not something lamentably inconsistent in ministers pertinaciously adhering to the lottery, notwithstanding its acknowledged and notorious evil effects, solely because the revenue cannot afford to lose 200,000*l.* or 300,000*l.*, and at the same time giving away one million for building churches!—It strikes us, as adopting one measure which will decrease the number of religious and church-going people, and another which will provide accommodation in the churches for a greater number.

But setting aside this consideration; we contend, in the first place, that if new churches were wanting, they would have been built without the aid of government:—we say, if they were needed; because the calculations we have given do not take into the account the places of dissenting worship of all denominations, and yet they are not only numerous, but in general well filled. But if it were the fact, that the churches already built were so crowded that they could accommodate no more, and that many desirous of attending worship in places of the established religion were obliged to remain at home because they

could not be accommodated,—in that case we have little doubt that additional places of worship would be erected by individuals: and this we believe, because it is the case among all classes of dissenters. Does the population of any place increase, or even do the numbers of any particular sect increase, the certain consequence is, that places of dissenting worship rise up; and this not among the wealthy sects only, but amongst those who consist principally of the poorer classes. There certainly is not less wealth among the members of the established church than among the richest of the dissenters: why then is there less zeal, why less disposition to lay out a portion of that wealth for religious purposes?

This leads us to another remark. We believe we may safely assert that, taking the churches throughout the kingdom, they are not nearly filled; they would accommodate many more than usually attend them. Instead therefore of building new churches, would it not have been better (if the legislature must interfere) that measures should have been taken which would draw to the church, either those who do not attend any place of public worship, or those who are dissenters? And how is this to be done? Undoubtedly by the clergy themselves. If they resided regularly upon their livings; if their parishioners saw by their conduct that their sole wish and object was to discharge their sacred duties, by informing their minds, setting them a good example, and pouring into their wounded spirits in the day of their distress the consolations of religion;—if

they saw from their conduct that they were the real disciples of him who declared his kingdom was not of this world ;—then real religion would flourish, the churches would be filled, and the erection of new churches might be necessary.

The superior character of the peasantry of Scotland is well known: they are more rational beings than the English peasantry; their views and plans are more comprehensive and more prospective; they do not suffer the present moment and its gratifications to take exclusive possession of their feelings and conduct; they are exemplary in the discharge of all the duties of life and of all the duties of religion. Much of this character undoubtedly arises from their education and the example of their parents; but not a little also from the influence and example of their clergymen, all of whom are resident, all of whom not only perform their Sunday duties, but regularly visit their parishioners, and conduct themselves towards them as the real shepherds of their flock. It would be absurd and fruitless to endeavour to place the English clergy on the same footing with the Scotch; but if, like them, they were obliged to reside on their livings, and discharge those duties for which they are so liberally paid, and if the reciprocal feelings between them and their parishioners could be excited and kept alive, which are so common in Scotland and produce there such beneficial effects, infinitely more real service would be done to religion than by building churches, while the bond of union between the clergymen and their parishioners is so very weak.

In all countries that require taxes to a large amount, care should be taken as much as possible that the chief burden of them should fall on the more wealthy classes of the community. That this is not the case in England might be easily shown in a variety of instances:—we shall select only a few. The property-tax pressed less heavily on the very wealthy than on those who ranked below them: for it taxed income at as great a rate as real property; and no fortunes, however large, paid more than 10 per cent., the proportion that was taken from the lowest incomes subject to the tax. The house-tax is also unfair in this respect:—the rate for houses below a rent of 40*l.* is 2*s.* 6*d.* in the pound; for houses of 40*l.* rent, and all above that sum, 2*s.* 10*d.* in the pound: so that a house of the rent of 400*l.* or 500*l.* pays only in the same proportion as a house of 40*l.* rent.

There are other cases of a different kind which equally prove the same inequality and injustice of taxation. For instance the malt-tax: this is objectionable in two respects; in the first place, because it falls almost entirely on the middling and lower classes, among whom the principal consumption of malt liquors is; and, secondly, because the dearth and bad quality of malt liquors, which it occasions, drives many to the use of spirituous liquors. A still more obnoxious tax is that on salt, which we believe increases the untaxed price of the article between 200 and 300 per cent. This is a very oppressive tax on the poor; and it is a tax which they cannot evade, nor can they do without the article on which it is laid. But placed

placed in another point of view, it is an objectionable tax: it impedes the prosperity of our fisheries and it prevents improvements in agriculture. There are certain modes indeed in which the tax can be taken off or lowered when used in the fisheries or agriculture; but the adoption of those modes is attended with much trouble, and if any thing irregular occurs, even from ignorance or inattention, the excessive rigour and strictness of the excise laws take advantage of it.

Attempts were made during the session of 1818 to obtain either the entire repeal or a very great reduction of the duties on salt; but the chancellor of the exchequer opposed these attempts on mistaken grounds, even as they respect the revenue, in our opinion. It is a common saying, that in custom-house arithmetic two and two do not always make four;—a saying by the by as old as Hesiod, who calls those fools who do not perceive that the half is not always less than the whole; and this consideration is particularly applicable to such a tax as that on salt: if the duties were lowered, it is acknowledged that much would be used for the purposes of agriculture, and most probably its use would be found advantageous in many cases to which at present it is not applied. If salt were cheaper, our fisheries would be extended, our fish better cured; and thus more salt would be used, and one of our sources of employment and wealth would be extended.

There is another mistake on the subject of taxation to which we may just advert. It is generally

supposed that if a tax is repealed, all that it produced is lost to the revenue. But this cannot be the case: the money that was formerly set apart for the payment of the tax will be laid out somehow; either in the purchase of some taxed article, or in the extension of trade; and in both cases it must add to the real wealth of the country.

The proceedings of parliament during 1818 afford a striking instance of the inconsistency of ministers. They would not relieve the lower classes from the pressure of the salt-tax; they would not keep the morals pure from the contamination of the lotteries—because the revenue could not afford it. If indeed a country is in such a state that its finances must go to ruin unless oppressive and immoral taxes are levied, perhaps the latter alternative must be preferred;—but what are we to think of ministers who say, We must continue a tax which presses very heavily and unfairly on the poorer classes, and another source of revenue which leads the people to the ruin of their fortunes and their morals, because otherwise we shall not be able to increase the already very large allowances of the royal dukes? For the proceedings of parliament on this subject, and the defeat of ministers, we must refer to the debates; only remarking that men in authority and in very high rank are too often blind to their interest, when, for the sake of an increase to their power or wealth, they sacrifice the attachment and confidence of the people. In the present case the royal dukes were their own enemies; for they would have

have benefited more, even in a pecuniary point of view, if they had preferred the resolution to be æconomical of their old incomes, to the acquiring of larger, and the retaining those habits which rendered them inadequate.

In our volume of the New Annual Register for the year 1817 we explained at some length the constitution of the Scotch burghs, and noticed the growing dissatisfaction of the burgesses, and people generally of that part of the kingdom, on this subject, and the bill which the lord-advocate brought into parliament to quiet such dissatisfaction.

Till the middle of the 15th century, the right of electing the magistrates of the Scotch burghs was vested in the burgesses at large. About that period an act of the Scotch parliament was passed, which took away this privilege from the burgesses, and confined it to the town council; that is, to the magistrates themselves; so that at present the magistrates of all the burghs (except Montrose) are self-elected. Those magistrates, however, were to be chosen according to certain forms; and it was in consequence of a neglect of some of these forms, and an action brought on that head before the court of session at Edinburgh, that the election of magistrates at Montrose was declared to be void: and the privy council, on this occasion, granted a new charter to the borough, which extended the right of electing their magistrates to all the burgesses.

Not long afterwards there was such an informality in the mode of electing the magistrates of

Aberdeen, as induced the court of session to set aside the election: but the privy council, on this occasion, did not act as they had done in the case of Montrose, but confirmed the old charter, so that the magistrates were still self-elected. This circumstance created a great sensation of surprise and dissatisfaction throughout Scotland.—There is also another glaring abuse connected with the local authorities of the Scotch burghs, which the burgesses sought to reform. The magistrates, of course, have the right to raise local taxes, and possess the control over the revenue of the burghs, which in some cases is very large; and they *audit their own accounts*. The abuses that might naturally be expected to arise from such an authority have arisen in almost all the burghs: the burgesses are ignorant of the mode in which the permanent and temporary revenues are disposed of; they are taxed, and they know not for what. Some of the burghs are deeply in debt; this is particularly the case with Aberdeen; and though the most eminent counsel at the Scotch bar were decidedly of opinion that all the burgesses were liable for the debts of the burgh, yet not one of them had any right to investigate the mode in which the debts were contracted.

It is not to be wondered at that such abuses roused even the torpid and cautious people of Scotland: all parties felt their grossness, and all united without any reference to political feelings or objects. Within the first six months of the year 1818, a large proportion of the burghs espoused the

the cause of reform, as will be advocate of Scotland was the seen in the note*. The lord- legal adviser of government on

this

* *Burgh Reform*.—List of such of the royal burghs of Scotland as have, within these six months, openly espoused the cause of reform, and voted resolutions condemning the practice of self-election, with the total population of each, according to the census of 1811:—

	Population.		Population.
Edinburgh . . .	102,987	Dingwall . . .	1,500
Glasgow . . .	100,749	Haddington . . .	4,370
Aberdeen . . .	21,639	Lauder . . .	1,742
Dundee . . .	29,616	Jedburgh . . .	4,454
5 Perth . . .	16,948	20 Forres . . .	2,925
Dumfries . . .	9,262	Fortrose . . .	1,312
Inverness . . .	10,757	Lanark . . .	5,667
Dunfermline . . .	11,649	Annan . . .	3,341
Montrose . . .	8,955	Sanquhar . . .	2,709
10 Ayr . . .	6,291	25 Wigton . . .	1,711
Irvine . . .	5,750	Whithorn . . .	1,935
Inverary . . .	907	Aberbrothock . . .	5,280
Elgin . . .	4,602	28 Peebles . . .	2,485
Dysart . . .	5,506		
15 St. Andrews . . .	4,311		

Total population, 379,460

List of royal burghs which have not hitherto moved in the cause of reform:—

	Population.		Population.
Inverbervie . . .	927	Stirling . . .	5,820
Brechin . . .	5,559	Inverkeithing . . .	2,400
Anstruther Easter } . . .	1,401	Dornock . . .	2,681
Anstruther Wester } . . .	1,401	Tain . . .	2,384
5 Pittenweem . . .	1,096	25 Wick . . .	5,080
Crall . . .	1,600	Kirkwall . . .	1,715
Kilrenny . . .	1,233	Dumbarton . . .	3,121
Campbeltown . . .	7,807	Renfrew . . .	2,806
Rothsay . . .	3,544	Rutherglen . . .	3,529
10 Inverary . . .	1,113	30 Dunbar . . .	3,965
Banff . . .	3,600	North Berwick . . .	1,727
Cullen . . .	1,070	Nairn . . .	2,504
Kintore . . .	863	Linlithgow . . .	4,022
Burntisland . . .	1,934	Selkirk . . .	2,466
15 Kirkcaldy . . .	3,747	35 Kirkcudbright . . .	2,763
Kinghorn . . .	2,204	Lachmaben . . .	2,392
Cupar . . .	4,758	New Galloway . . .	659
Forfar . . .	5,652	38 Stranraer . . .	1,923
Culross . . .	1,611		
20 Queensferry . . .	558		

Total population, 102,233

Now from this statement it appears, that of the sixty-six Scottish royal burghs, twenty-eight or nearly one half of the total number have already voted resolutions in favour of reform.—And it also appears, that the population of those burghs who have taken decided measures for procuring the abolition of the practice of self-election, is to the population of those who have not yet expressed themselves on the subject, nearly as four to one.

We have classed Cupar, Linlithgow, &c. with those burghs who have not hitherto moved, though we know they are on the eve of doing so. We feel much pleasure in having to state, that the magistrates of Linlithgow will cordially go along with the inhabitants in an application for a more liberal set; and a motion to the same effect has, we understand, been actually made in the town council of Cupar. We may therefore add Linlithgow and Cupar to the former list of burghs, and it will then appear that the total population of those burghs which have already voted resolutions in favour of reform amounts to nearly 400,000, and the total population of

this occasion; and he thought that the dissatisfaction might be allayed, if the abuse respecting the management of the funds of the boroughs was rectified; and probably a great many would have withdrawn from the cause, if they had been secured by an act of parliament from paying local taxes, of the application of which they could get no information. But the lord-advocate very imprudently, in the bill he brought into parliament, intended merely to transfer the auditing of the accounts from the magistrates to persons appointed by the magistrates. Such a mockery disgusted the people of Scotland: petitions poured in from all quarters against this bill; and the lord-advocate deemed it prudent to withdraw it. It is highly probable that government will be obliged to grant all that the petitioners ask; not merely the proper auditing of the accounts, but the extension of the right of choosing the magistrates to all the burghesses.

As parliament had sate its usual period (it seldom being permitted to die a natural death) its dissolu-

tion was looked and prepared for. There were several symptoms of its approaching dissolution to be observed in the votes: since many members who, while the parliament was in the full vigour of its duration, uniformly supported ministers, now attached themselves to the more popular side.

At length it was dissolved: and all parties prepared for the contest. It is not our intention to advert to the circumstances and results of many of the elections, but only to such as displayed the tone of popular feeling and sentiment. One of the most remarkable in this point of view was the election for the city of London. During the war, the opposition party with great difficulty were enabled to return one member out of the four which the city sends to parliament: and the liverymen, in all the ardour of their patriotism, never ventured to attempt to bring in a reformer. Indeed, it had often been remarked that the livery, though clamorous for opposition measures in their common-hall, always voted for ministerial men when the election for members of parliament took place.

of those who have remained silent, and expressed no opinion at all, to about 94,000.

As the above list is interesting in a statistical point of view, from its containing an account of the population of the different royal burghs in this part of the kingdom, we shall add an additional list of some other principal towns, not royal burghs, with their population, according to the same census.

	Population.		Population.
Paisley	19,907	Beith	3,755
Greenock	19,042	Stewarton	3,049
Nelston	4,949	Dunse	3,082
Kilmarnock	10,148	Peterhead	4,707
Allua	5,096	St. Vigean	4,771
Clackmannan	3,605	Falkirk	9,929
Port Glasgow	5,116	St. Ninians	7,636
Crieff	3,300	Newton Stewart	2,847
Kelso	4,408	Kinross	2,214
Melrose	3,132	Musselburgh	6,393
Hamilton	6,453	Dalkeith	4,709
Maybole	3,946		

On this occasion, however, they were more consistent. Sir William Curtis, who had sat in parliament for London for a great many years, and whose election had always been carried in the most triumphant manner, was opposed, as well as alderman Atkins, by alderman Wood (the late popular lord mayor) and Mr. Waithman (a tradesman in the city) who had frequently distinguished himself in the common halls, by his speeches. The other candidates were Mr. Wilson (who was brought forward by the merchants, and who professed himself an independent man) and alderman Thorp, who was brought forward on the same interest as alderman Wood and Mr. Waithman.

The contest was extremely keenly carried on: it soon appeared that Wilson, Wood, and Waithman were certain of success—that Atkins had little chance, and that the great struggle lay between Curtis and Thorp: the latter succeeded; and thus three declared and decided opponents to ministers were returned; and a third man certainly not their partisan; whereas sir W. Curtis, who always voted with them, and for whom of course they exerted all their influence, was thrown out.

In the borough of Southwark, Mr. Barclay, a gentleman of most respectable private character, and who, though generally voting with ministers, had not been their uniform and devoted partisan, was opposed and defeated by sir Robert Wilson.

The contest in Westminster was of a singular nature. Sir Francis Burdett declared he would sit in parliament, if he were chosen, but he would take no measures to se-

cure his own election. His committee undertook the whole: but very imprudently, they resolved to bring in not only sir Francis, but his friend Mr. Kinnaird in the room of lord Cochrane, who had gone to South America. No sooner was this intention announced, than the popular feeling for sir Francis began to cool, and for many days his ultimate success was very doubtful.

He was opposed by captain Maxwell, who was brought forward by government; and by sir Samuel Romilly, who was supported by the Whigs. When the friends of sir Francis perceived that by persevering in attempting to bring in Mr. Kinnaird as well as him, they greatly hazarded his election, they withdrew that gentleman, and by astonishing efforts gained the return of sir Francis, and threw out captain Maxwell. Sir Samuel Romilly was at the head of the poll.—We had almost forgot to mention that Mr. Hunt was also a candidate, and that in his speeches he poured forth a constant torrent of abuse on his former friend sir Francis: but he had very few votes; and the manner in which he was received, proved that, if he were not prosecuted into notoriety and influence, he would be very harmless, and injure nobody so much as himself.

Thus we perceive that in London, Westminster, and the Borough (where the electors amount at least to 30,000) ministers were completely defeated; and their defeat was as signal in some parts of the country, especially in those places where the elections are popular. The result of the election for the county of Devon was singular;

gular. The influence of lord Rolle, a strong friend of ministers, is so extensive and powerful in that county, that all opposition to it had generally proved in vain. On this occasion, however, it was successfully opposed, principally by the spirit and exertions of the voters themselves.

In the county of Westmoreland, Mr. Brougham opposed the influence of lord Lonsdale. His lordship's property in that county is immense; and large property, even when no undue advantage is taken of it, must command a great number of votes: the zeal and ardour of those who were not dependent upon, or attached to, lord Lonsdale, were very conspicuous in favour of Mr. Brougham; and that gentleman himself used every exertion, but in vain,—lord Lonsdale's two sons were returned.

The present constitution of the Scotch burghs renders them very much devoted to ministers; and it has seldom happened before the present parliament, that many opposition members have been returned from Scotland. By the last election, however, several have been returned, who are certainly not decidedly and uniformly ministerial.—In Ireland, the result of the elections did not much alter the strength of the two parties.

On the whole it is supposed that the opposition gained about thirty members by the elections. But a more singular result remains to be noticed; namely, that a much larger proportion than usual were returned who might justly be considered independent men—men who would not enlist under the banners either of ministers or their

opponents. If such should prove to be the real character of the present parliament, it will be a most fortunate circumstance for the country; for by nothing so much as by party spirit has the parliament lost the confidence of the people.

Sir Samuel Romilly did not live to take his seat in parliament. The death of such a man must not slightly be passed over; it was a national loss, especially in the present dearth of men of great talent and great usefulness combined. Lady Romilly had been for some time in a very bad state of health; and sir Samuel had gone with her to the Isle of Wight, in the hope that she might recover by the salubrious air. This hope, however, was not realised:—she died. Sir Sam. Romilly, most ardently attached to her,—his mind and body exhausted by fatigue, apprehension and sorrow,—came immediately on her death to his house in London, and in the paroxysm, or from the effects of a brain fever, put an end to his own existence.

Perhaps there is scarcely any circumstance that could so decidedly prove of how little avail strong principle, confirmed habits of right feelings and sentiments, and first-rate talents are, against the shock of mental distress. From all the particulars of sir Samuel Romilly's character,—from his temperament,—from his having had his mind so long and intensely occupied on plans of public good,—from the comprehensiveness and grasp of intellect which his studies and pursuits must have formed,—it might have been supposed, that present impressions would have had no hold on him; and

and it would have been so, had he not laboured under a disease that destroys for the time all the principles, habits and opinions of former life, and even changes the constitutional temperament.

His character must always rank among those by which Britain will be honoured: he had, indeed, in a high degree those particular qualities of mind and heart by which it is generally believed the best sons of Britain are distinguished. In him there was nothing brilliant: he made his way into the heart of a subject by the perseverance and solidity of his understanding,—not so much by its acuteness and penetration: he possessed strong good sense, rather than genius. In short, his talents and the habits of his mind were admirably suited to the purposes to which he devoted them in parliament. On most other subjects they would not have been of such utility, and other talents would not have suited these subjects. We need not remind our readers that we allude more particularly to the reform of our criminal law,—on which sir Samuel Romilly laboured with a zeal and ardour very seldom indeed united to so much knowledge and practical good sense as he displayed.

He could not be called eloquent, if by eloquence is meant the prevalence of imagination or strong feeling over the minds of those who listen to it: but his speeches in parliament were distinguished by their lucid arrange-

ment, by their distinct statement of his case and arguments, and by the powerful manner in which he exposed to view what was strong in his own case, and what was weak in the case or objections of his opponents. His language was distinguished for being classically English; and that is no mean praise, at a time when in our writings, but more particularly in the speeches in parliament, the simple dignity of pure English is so frequently corrupted and weakened.

This year the queen died. She had long been in a very precarious state of health; and, indeed, arrived at that stage of life when much longer existence could neither be hoped nor desired. There was much criticism in the newspapers of the day about her character:—all agreed that, while she presided in the drawing-room, the nation had not been disgraced and offended by those profligacies which former reigns had witnessed. And this is no mean praise; since the influence of high life, especially so far as regards looseness of character, extends through all the states of society. She certainly during her life-time had not been reputed very generous: and hence, as her income had been very large, it was supposed that she would have left much wealth. This, however, was not the case; and hence it was inferred that she had been generous, though her acts of generosity had not been known.

CHAPTER XIV.

Expedition to the North Seas—War in India—in Ceylon—Remarks.

THE present reign has been distinguished, not less by the triumphs of the British arms by sea and land, than by the public efforts for the extension of geographical knowledge of every description, and in almost every quarter of the globe. The earliest years of it witnessed the discoveries of captain Cook; the short interval of peace between the American and French wars was employed in endeavours to authenticate and perfect his grand discoveries, under captain Vancouver and other navigators; and the closing years of it will be equally celebrated by the attempts to reach the pole, and to explore Baffin's Bay.

The immense number of icebergs, or islands of ice, some of them of an unusual magnitude, which were seen not only in those seas, where they had been not unfrequently met with before, but even much further to the south, naturally led to the idea that from some powerful cause, the masses of ice, which had hitherto rendered access to the pole, or even its vicinity, impracticable, were in the act of breaking up. To these masses of ice floating near us some attributed the cold and wet weather of the year 1816; and they anticipated warmer weather when they should disappear from the vicinity of Europe, or melt altogether. Some of no mean name carried their speculations much further. According to them, Greenland and the other countries near the pole were blessed with a ge-

nial climate before the accumulation of ice, which they dated in the fifteenth century; and now that this ice was carried away, they foretold with much confidence that Greenland would be found to equal, in respect to climate, some of the most favourite spots of central Europe.

To these facts and speculations may be added that the Greenland whale ships were enabled to approach much nearer the pole in the year 1817 than they ever were able to do in any previous year. Many of these circumstances weighed with our government so much, that they resolved to send out four vessels towards the polar regions. There were two objects in view:—in the first place to reach the pole if possible; and secondly, to explore Baffin's Bay, and especially Behring's Straits, to ascertain whether a passage could be found through it, into the Pacific Ocean.

It was not expected that, even if the pole were reached, any addition would be made to geographical knowledge: but the attainment of this object, it was hoped, would throw great light on the obscure subjects of the magnetic needle, its dip and variation, and the phenomena and causes of magnetism generally. From the other voyage much advantage to geography was anticipated, if it should prove successful; though we must confess we do not perceive on what grounds: for even supposing that the voyage had been as successful as its warmest advocates

advocates wished for, and that a passage had been discovered connecting the Atlantic and Pacific Ocean—that passage must have been in such a latitude that it would have been open and practicable only for a very short period of the year, and consequently, though shorter, could not have been used for the purposes of commerce.

The following details of the mode on which the *Isabella* (the principal vessel for Baffin's Bay) was fitted out, will prove that government took every precaution, and used every means to render the vessels fit for the arduous voyages in which they were to be engaged.

The *Isabella*, captain Ross's ship, is now fitting out in the dock of Messrs. Dowson, Limehouse; a fine roomy vessel, of 350 to 370 tons. She is there undergoing much more than a complete repair; for the shipwrights are increasing the strength of the hull, by adding a new skin to the outside, and a lining to the inside, each of five or six inches thick, while many beams of large dimensions are placed on the bow and stern. The expense of this extraordinary preparation for a peculiar service, estimated at nearly 5,000*l.*, will be paid by government. The hire of the vessels is at the rate of 10*s.* per ton per month; but, as government take the insurance, which is fixed at 3*s.* 6*d.* the price to the owners, upon the return of the vessels, is 6*s.* 6*d.* The crew of the *Isabella* will be about 50; the officers and passengers about 20. No expense is spared to provide for the comforts of both classes. Stainchons are fixed on board for the erection of a roof over the

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deck, in the event of their being locked up in the ice. The births or bed places are capable of being removed on shore, and canvass and tarpaulins of large size are provided to be fixed over them. Coals to the amount of 150 tons, and flour for three years will be carried out, with sour kraut, vinegar, and lime juice in abundance. A new kind of log is fixed, the machinery of which runs from the cabin down the side of the rudder, nearly to the keel. The purpose is to show, by a dial in the cabin, the rate of the vessel's sailing; but doubts are entertained, whether it may not impede the sailing of the ship, and otherwise fail of its purpose, so that no great reliance is placed upon this experiment. Spare rudders, anchors, capstans, masts, spars, and boats, are carried by the vessels.

Neither of the voyages were successful; that to the north pole, did not reach so high a latitude as had frequently been reached by the whale ships, and was obliged to return much sooner than was expected, in consequence of one of the ships being nearly crushed to pieces among the ice. The other ships explored Baffin's Bay, but returned without having found an opening. By some it is contended that they returned prematurely, and another expedition is gone out with the same object this year.

From these scenes and pursuits of peace we turn to the operations of war. In our last volume we briefly noticed that warlike operations had taken place in India: these, however, were but as preludes to the great contest which it is now our business to narrate. It will be necessary, however, in order to understand the causes

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which

which led to it, and the situation of the powers who were engaged in it, to look back a little.

By the treaty of Bassein, concluded by the marquis of Wellesley, the Peishwah was restored to the territory of his ancestors, and supported at Poonah, the capital of his territories, by British forces. At the period of the close of the Nepaul war in 1815-16, the military strength of the principal native powers bordering on the British dominions was as follows:

1. The Seiks possess a large tract of country. Their tribes are headed by Runjet Sing, a warlike and ambitious leader. Their usual military establishment may be estimated at 28,000. The Seiks under the British protection can bring into the field about 17,000 soldiers.

2. Scindiah has about 40,000 soldiers. He is said to be in close alliance with the Rajah of Berar, and with the Bhurtpoor Rajah. He has acquired much strength since the Mahratta war, by bringing the feudatory states under his immediate controul.

3. Meer Khan may have 28,000 soldiers. Mahomed Shah and Lally Sing, who generally act with him, can bring 20,000 more into the field. Meer Khan is generally much in want of money; and when his troops become mutinous from being kept in arrears, he gives them perhaps half their pay, with authority to plunder to the amount of what is still due to them.

4. Holkar is poor, and has only 17,000 men. Meer Khan, Mahomed Shah, and Lally Sing, are nominally his generals.

5. The Pindarees are a tribe of military adventurers, who hav-

ing followed the standards of different chiefs, and, from the present tranquil state of Hindostan, being out of employ, have joined with other vagrants, and cemented themselves into one great body, which is daily accumulating, so that at present, it is said, their force amounts to nearly 80,000 men, most of whom are well equipped, and all well mounted. Their mode of making war is most destructive, as plunder is their only object. They separate, for the purpose, into bodies of from 100 to 4000 or 5000 horse, and ravage a territory of 50 miles, or more, in circumference; whence, after rendering it a perfect desert, they march elsewhere to similar devastations. They will fight under any chief who will best pay them.

It is impossible to calculate long on the friendship, or even the peaceful submission, of any of the Indian princes: by their habits they pay little respect to treaties; and naturally regarding the British as having no right to possessions in India, they must look on treaties with us (whenever they can be broken or evaded with the least prospect of success) as still less binding than treaties with one another.

It was supposed, however, that the Peishwah would have remained faithful; and in order to secure his fidelity we had a resident at Poonah. In April and May the first hostilities took place with the Peishwah.

They were excited by an active partisan, named Trimbukjee Dainglia, who, in consequence of his intrigues, had been previously confined in the fortress of Tannah, on the island of Salsette, which commands

commanded the passage between the island and the Mahratta territories in the province of Aurangabad. From this fortress he contrived to escape, and, favoured secretly by the Peishwah, attempted to raise an army in his dominions for the purpose of acting against us. He had sent information of his intentions to Scindiah and Holkar, for the purpose of engaging their co-operation. The British resident at Poonah, Mr. Elphinstone, obtained early and accurate intelligence of what was going on; and before the plans of Trimbukjee were ripe for execution, brought a strong military force into the field, surrounded Poonah, seized the person of the Peishwah, and compelled him to sign a treaty ceding to us three of his fortresses. At the same time he issued a proclamation, declaring his disapprobation of Trimbukjee's conduct, and offering a large reward for his apprehension. But his real intentions and views, with respect to this intriguing minister, seem to have been very different. While he was openly disapproving his measures, he was secretly encouraging him to proceed in them. The proclamation for his apprehension was ineffectual, and Trimbukjee carried on his projects with great activity, and, as appears by the sequel, with success.—Forty thousand men, under his command, were assembled, and marched straight towards Poonah, for the purpose of securing the person and acting under the immediate orders of the Peishwah. They are said to have reached Poonah before we had sent colonel Smith, with a force of about 4000 men, against them. The first battle, on

the 5th of November, was fought at some distance from Poonah, and the enemy were defeated, but not disheartened; for another battle was fought on the 17th, not far from Poonah.

The following are the details of the battle of Keerkee, one of the most decisive in the campaign.

As soon as it was ascertained that the Mahratta force was advancing to the attack of the British camp at Keerkee, lieutenant-colonel Burr formed the brigade, leaving at head-quarters the 2d battalion 6th regiment, who were previously weakened by several strong detachments, in charge of the post of Keerkee, together with the drill, sick units and two iron 12-pounders, under the command of major Roome. The brigade then advanced to meet the enemy, a party of whose horse hovered near the column, and preceded its march. Colonel Burr having chosen a situation about one mile in advance of Keerkee, formed the line, and waited the junction of the Dapooras battalion, under the command of major Ford, with three field pieces. At this period he was joined by the resident, who most gallantly exerted himself throughout the day, setting a distinguished example of zeal and animation to the troops. On the approach of major Ford's division, and being reinforced by the resident's escort, and troops which had been stationed at the Sungum, under the command of major Clelland, the line advanced for near half a mile. The Mahratta army, which was drawn up with its left resting on the height in front of Gunness Candy, where a large body of the Vaichore Rajah's horse were posted, extended its right to the Moo-

tah river, in which direction the principal masses of their cavalry were formed, the total amount of which is supposed to have been 15,000 or 20,000. The intermediate undulating plain being occupied by a long line of cavalry and guns, supported by successive lines of horse as far as the eye could reach, who, seeing our line advance, moved forward from their position; and at the very moment we were unlimbering for action, commenced a brisk cannonade from their centre, while the masses of cavalry on both their flanks endeavoured to turn ours, and succeeded in getting in our rear. The action now became very interesting; a body of Gokla's regular infantry made an attack in solid column on the 1st battalion 7th regiment native infantry, which was on the left of the line, and who had scarcely succeeded in repelling it and a number of horse, when a select body of the enemy's cavalry, seeing their infantry repulsed and pressed by the battalion, who could with difficulty be restrained from pursuing them, made a determined charge on the corps, some of the men wheeling round the flank, and repeating their attacks from the rear. The bravery of the men, however, compensated for the disorder into which they had been thrown by the previous attack, and enabled them, under circumstances of great difficulty, and with the powerful co-operation they derived from the left brigade of guns, and a part of the Bombay European regiment, to beat off the assailants, who left many men and horses on the ground, withdrawing to a distance, and never after hazarding a repetition of their at-

tack. By this time, major Ford, with his battalion and field-pieces from Dapoorree, had joined and formed line on the right, when we again immediately advanced near half a mile. The left of the line being thrown back to check any attack of the enemy's horse, who were in great force between them and the river, while the light company of the 1st battalion 7th regiment, which had at first preceded the line, were sent to the rear to keep in check a large body of horse who had been watching major Ford's movement to our support, and who now came down in rear of our right flank. Soon after the enemy withdrew the greater part of his force to a distance, retiring and drawing off his guns towards the city as we advanced; and the greater part of his infantry, computed at 8000, part of whom had been posted in advance of his guns and centre, in the bed of Anullah, and in walled gardens, extending along the front of our position, now sent out their skirmishers, which, with others on the right of the line, and rockets from both front and rear, continued to occasion us a few casualties. The light infantry of the line, however, under the command of captain Preston, easily drove them off, and occupied their ground; and it being near dark, and the enemy evidently in full retreat, the line returned to camp soon after eight o'clock.

The result of these battles was that the city of Poonah was taken possession of by the British, but the Peishwah escaped at the time: he took refuge with Gokla, the chief of the Mahratta army. On the 20th of February general Smith came up with this army
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near Kurkumb. Gokla seemed resolved to risk a battle, which was accordingly fought by him with great resolution and bravery: it was maintained on both sides with great spirit; but after a successful charge by the dragoons and horse artillery, in which Gokla was killed, the Mahrattas fled in great confusion. The Peiswah again escaped, and contrived to elude our pursuit till July, when he surrendered. Soon after he fell into our power a proclamation was issued by Mr. Elphinstone, who had been the resident at Poonah, declaratory of the views of the British government, and the policy intended to be pursued with regard to the Peishwah, and the territories he had possessed—of which the following is an abstract.

The proclamation notices the alliance that was, under these circumstances, formed with the British government, the troops that were immediately furnished on the faith of that connexion, and his consequent restoration to his government. The beneficial effects of that alliance, in reviving the prosperity of his country, notwithstanding the destructive farming system by which it was managed, the personal happiness which Bajee Row enjoyed under the British protection, and the rapid and immense surplus revenue which flowed into his treasury, are depicted; and the anxiety which we manifested to adjust those claims of a pecuniary nature which the head of the Mahratta empire possessed on its subordinate branches, which it was its policy to keep alive, and the occasional assertion of which was pregnant with so much evil and injustice, is adverted to. It then explains, that the deputation

of Gungratier Shastry, the Guyca-war minister to Poonah under the guarantee of the British government, had for its object the settlement of the pecuniary claims between the two states, by which the interest of Bajee Row would be greatly promoted, adverts to the Shastry's assassination by the official functionaries of Bajee Row on consecrated ground—a deed which the general voice of the country declared could not have been perpetrated without the orders of Bajee Row. It refers to the delicacy, forbearance, and moderation which the British government manifested on the occasion, by merely requiring the surrender of Trimbukjee Dainglia as the murderer, without throwing the slightest suspicion against the character of its ally: that this demand, however, was not voluntarily complied with, but enforced at no small degree of expense to the British government; that as soon as Trimbukjee was given up, the former relations were instantly restored.—The proclamation next notices the extensive intrigues which Bajee Row commenced, in rousing the native states to a resistance of the British government, in exciting disturbances in his own country, and in raising troops on the plea of suppressing those insurrections; and the measures of precaution which we pursued to suppress those disturbances, which led to our investing the city of Poonah; that Bajee Row became thus subject to our power. It points to those repeated professions and acknowledgments which Bajee Row has made of his being indebted to the British government for his existence as a sovereign, and of his gratitude for

the blessings he had enjoyed, and to the necessity of concluding another treaty in confirmation of that of Bassein, for the purpose of depriving him, not of his sovereignty, but of the means of intriguing to the prejudice of the alliance. The proclamation proceeds to explain the objects of the late arrangements for suppressing the Pindarees, whose depredations had devastated Bajee Row's territories; that he confessed that it would be a measure highly conducive to his interest, and engaged to co-operate in its accomplishment; but that under these fair promises, the most active, extensive, and powerful engines were secretly set to work, to organize a force to oppose us; that he seized a moment which he thought favourable, attacked the troops of his ally, and burnt and plundered the British residency and cantonments.

That the company's subjects passing through his country, in the security of existing treaties, were seized and imprisoned, and British officers on the road to Poonah were murdered in the most inhuman and disgraceful manner, and the perpetrators retained in his service. It notices the recall of Trimbukjee to his councils, and thus becoming a participator in his crime, and the invitation given to the Pindarees to enter and plunder his territories. It declares that Bajee Row had by these acts abandoned the duties of a sovereign, and pronounces his unfitness to govern; it proclaims his deposition, and develops the determination of the British to place the country under the company's government. It details the military arrangements

in progress for that purpose, and our determination to rescue the Rajah of Sattarah from the custody of Bajee Row, and to establish a principality for the maintenance of his rank and dignity, with which view the Rajah's flag had been displayed at the fort of Sattarah. That the Rajah's territories should be governed by his own laws, but that the British authority would be introduced into those to be reserved to the Company. It adverts to the principles of justice which distinguish our administration, and warns all of the consequences of adhering to the fortunes of Bajee Row.

The Peishwah would not have ventured to expose himself to the British, had he not depended upon assistance from other Indian princes: in fact, there seems to have been a general confederation against us. Of the members of it, beside the Peishwah, whose fate we have just narrated, the most powerful were Holkar, Ambar Khan, and the Rajah of Nagpore: Scindlah, by the judicious measures of the marquis of Hastings, was prevented from joining the confederacy, and the Pindarees were formidable rather from their rapidity than as regular auxiliaries of the enemy.

Holkar, having assembled an immense army, consisting of 40,000 cavalry, nearly 10,000 infantry and 80 pieces of cannon, was proceeding to join the Peishwah, when he was overtaken by sir Thomas Hislop, with 40,000 infantry, 1,300 cavalry and 14 guns. Holkar's troops were advantageously posted on the banks of a river, drawing up his cannon in such a manner as to have the full command of the field, by which alone

alone the British troops could approach him. The river, however, was crossed by our troops, who formed in the bed of it, and stormed the enemy's left: the enemy fought with great courage, and stood at their guns till they were cut down; their line, however, was forced at every point.—The result of the action was a treaty with Holkar, of which the following are the principal terms.

The Company's government agree to extend the same protection to the dominions of Holkar as to their own; and he, on his part, promises to assist them in the resistance of all freebooters. He also confirms the engagement made by the British government with the Nabob Ameer Khan, and renounces all claim to the dominions of the latter. He cedes to the British government all claim of tribute from the Raipoot princes, and of territory within, or north, of the Recondic hills. In consequence of these, and of some other cessions, "the British government binds itself to support a field force to maintain the internal tranquillity of the territories of Molhar Row Holkar, and to defend them from foreign enemies. This force shall be of such strength as shall be judged adequate to the object. It shall be stationed where the British government determines to be best, and the Maharajah Molhar Row Holkar agrees to grant some place of security as a *dépôt* for its stores." This is not the only article in the treaty which has a tendency to place the dominions of Holkar in the power of the British government. By another, he agrees to discharge his superfluous troops. He also "engages never to entertain in his service

Europeans or Americans of any description, without the knowledge and consent of the British government. An accredited minister from the British government is to reside at the court of Holkar. The treaty was signed at Mandeloor on the 6th of January.

On December 17, 1817, the forces of the Rajah of Nagpore were entirely defeated by the British, and on the 30th of the same month the city of Nagpore was surrendered. The Rajah was deposed, and the most productive portion of his state transferred to the British. Ameer Khan's powerful army was also dissolved, and himself reduced to insignificance.

Such is a general sketch of the result of this war in India. Of the means by which the marquis of Hastings brought it to so speedy and favourable a termination, and of the difficulties and dangers to which the British army were exposed, it may be interesting to give some detached details, taken from contemporary accounts.

The whole of the army in the field consisted of ten divisions, each of about 10,000 men. We are advancing from the three presidencies towards the same point, with the finest army ever perhaps heard of in India. The governor-general is with our division, which is about 13,000 strong, with 60 pieces of cannon. The camp followers of this division alone amount to 67,000. For the carriage of the baggage of our regiment we have forty elephants and 400 camels; each elephant has two keepers, and every two camels one. Of us there are 37 officers present, among whom there are 810 servants; every

horse has two attendants, one as a groom, the other to provide grass; these alone amount to 1400 besides 120 for the mess, and 900 for the bazaar to supply the provisions; in all, for our regiment alone, about 3500 followers, besides their wives, children, &c.

The marquis of Hastings travels in a most princely style: he has 150 elephants and 400 camels, besides state elephants splendidly accoutred, having superb solid silver howdahs or castles on their backs. There are now actually thirty-six Rajahs and independent chieftains of various ranks on their way to pay their respects to the marquis. Some of them indeed are already in camp. The governor-general, in fact, is now as great a man as ever the Great Mogul was.

The cholera morbus has made dreadful ravages in the upper provinces of Hindostan. The district of Goruckpoor alone is stated to have lost 80,000 souls. It has paid Bengal a visit, and is now coming across the peninsula with rapid strides. Indeed it is reported not to be further off than Jauluah, only 300 miles from us.

Reports of an alarming sickness which had shown itself in the camp of the marquis Hastings were mentioned some days ago. We regret to find those reports confirmed; but we have the consolation of being able to add, that at the date of the last advices the disorder had nearly disappeared, and that it had been chiefly confined to the followers of the camp, whose habits of poor living rendered them more susceptible.

This epidemic had all the characters of a decided pestilence. It had been gradually making its

way along the banks of the Ganges and the Jumna, and suddenly broke out in the British camp. In the first day upon which it was distinctly recognised, 97 deaths were reported; on the next, above 500 died in the camp. Never, it is said, was a scene so dreadful witnessed. The dead and dying strewn every road. On all sides were heard the wailings of those who were seized, and gave themselves up to despair. At that time the malady was chiefly confined to the camp followers. Among the troops, European as well as native, who live well, the mortality was much less than among other classes; the loss even among them was severe. In the governor-general's establishment alone (who had himself been slightly affected) 17 native servants died. The remedy which was commonly administered upon the first appearance of the complaint was a tea-spoonful of laudanum in a glass of brandy. This in general retarded the progress of the disorder, and afforded time for further cure; but in many cases the malady was so rapid as to leave no opportunity for administering medicine. Natives were seen to fall suddenly without any previous sensation of illness, and die in a few minutes.

In storming the great fortress of Chandah, the attack by the British troops was attended with the utmost hazard and difficulty; and the complete success which crowned it was in the highest degree honourable to their coolness, discipline, and courage. The garrison consisted of above 3,000 brave soldiers, and the place was defended by 52 heavy guns placed on the same number of bastions.

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The breach was flanked by 800 men, who fought so desperately, that the British officers were engaged with them hand to hand, and some of them cut down by the sabre. It was not until after a close and warm contest that the enemy were forced to give way: but, perhaps, the most striking and appalling circumstance to an European, throughout the whole of this Indian warfare, is, that on the present occasion the mercury of the thermometer, in the open air, at noon, stood at 145 degrees—49 degrees above blood heat in Europe!

We shall conclude our account of India with the following particulars respecting its finances, which, if they are correct, prove them to be not in such a bad state as has been generally imagined.

In the year 1813-4, the net surplus revenue of India, after paying all charges, interest of debt, &c. was 1,832,251*l.*: in 1814-5, it was 1,342,273*l.*: in 1815-6, the accounts of the Nepaul war were wound up:—

The net surplus, after paying every expense, was £396,963

From this was deducted the *expense* of *St. Helena!* 201,748

In 1815-6, net surplus in India £195,215

To this should be added what lord Hastings received from our ally, the nabob of Oude, in exchange for Nepaulese territory ceded to that prince, and which he was most desirous of obtaining 1,109,975

Leaves £1,305,190

As to the "debt" in India:

On the 30th April, 1816, (the date of the last official accounts made up) it was—At interest £28,067,964

Floating debt, arrears, bills due, &c. 5,071,807

Total debt £33,139,698 which does not exceed two years' revenue.

But from the debt should be deducted the territorial assets, amounting to 16,941,813*l.*, which will leave the excess of debt above the property actually in hand, only 16,197,885*l.* That these assets are pretty substantial, will be evident from the principal items which compose them:

Cash in hand, not paper, but hard silver and gold £5,883,807

Good debts due to the government 6,907,792
Stores 2,607,982

If the commercial assets be added, amounting to 3,501,765*l.*, of which great part is cash, the net excess of debt will only be 12,696,120*l.*

The war in the island of Ceylon has raged for a considerable time, and we imagine has been carried on at an expense of which the British public are little aware. its origin is thus stated.—When the sultan of Kandy was deposed, we agreed that the principal nobility should have the management of the civil government, and that the British, especially the British army, should not interfere. To this agreement, it is said, we have not adhered; and our conduct provoked the principal nobility of the island to such a degree that they roused the people against

against it, and a war consequently broke out.

The public, official, and the private accounts from Ceylon represent in very different terms the state of the war there, and the probability of its speedy and favourable termination: though, even by the official accounts, it appears that the contest has been very bloody and expensive, and that, had not forces been sent from the continent of India, we should have been obliged to give up all our recent conquests in Ceylon. Indeed, when we consider the nature of the interior of the island—its immense natural strength—its unhealthiness—and the advantages which these circumstances give to the natives over us, we may naturally expect that if we are ultimately and permanently successful, our success will be most dearly bought.

Our possessions in North America, since the termination of the war with the United States, present nothing new, with the exception of the discontent which seems growing in Upper Canada. This discontent originated from some local circumstances, the details of which are not sufficiently known. It was chiefly fostered by a person of the name of Gourlay; and by his efforts a convention was held at York, styling itself A convention of friends to free inquiry. The principal object of this convention was to send an application to the house of assembly, for an inquiry into the state of the province, and a petition to the prince regent. How this dissatisfaction will terminate, it is difficult to foresee: but when we consider the situation of Upper Canada, and that during the war with the United States it was the principal scene of action and

point of attack and defence, it certainly is of great importance to the security of our American possessions, that its inhabitants should be loyal and well disposed.

The only islands in the West Indies that present any thing interesting this year are Martinique and St. Domingo. A dreadful hurricane took place in the former on the 21st of October: most of the houses of Port Royal were either entirely destroyed or greatly damaged; and all the parishes of the island suffered in a greater or less degree. The sugar plantations and manufactories, as well as the crops of grain, suffered excessively; but fortunately it does not appear that many lives were lost.

The island of St. Domingo (or at least that part of it which is in the possession of the blacks) is interesting in many points of view: here the great experiment is to be tried, or rather is in the course of trial, whether negroes are capable of conducting themselves, when placed in the circumstances and relations of civilized Europeans, as well as the latter do; and hitherto the results have been favourable to the blacks.—The following details respecting St. Domingo cannot fail to be instructive and interesting.

Christophe and Boyer at present share the island between them, and their forces appear to be numerically equal.—The river Artibonite separates the two states. The capital of one division is the Cape, and that of the other Port-au-Prince. Besides 40,000 armed men, St. Domingo contains a black population of 250,000 individuals. Christophe possesses a savage character. Born under the burning climate

climate of Africa, he was a slave at Jamaica, and escaped to St. Domingo when it was convulsed by the revolution. He was not, however, noticed previously to the arrival of general Le Clerc; but from that period he was seen foremost in the insurrection of the Blacks, following the armies and purchasing their plunder, thus acquiring an immense fortune: he distinguished himself under Toussaint, who made him a general: he afterwards joined Dessalines against the French army; and finally, in 1805, he succeeded that adventurer in the kingdom of Hayti.

A Capuchin, named Cornelius Brell, crowned Christophe in the church at the Cape, and the oil of the cocoa nut was used for this ceremony. The new sovereign organized his court on the footing of that of Bonaparte; he changed his name and took that of Henry I., nominated at will a number of Black dukes, counts, and barons, and assigned them the principal plantations in the colony, which he created into fiefs. He had a *count de Limonade*, a *duke de Marmalade*, a *prince de Saile Throne*, *barons de Jeremie* and *de la Seringue*, *knight of Coco* and *Jaco*, &c. all bedaubed with ribbons.

The duke de Mamalade is governor of the Cape. He has, it is said, distinguished himself on several occasions, and the Negroes think him a skilful general and a man of talent. The duke de Constantine is port admiral. Christophe's prime minister is baron

Deeper, who passes for a man of considerable learning: his manners are polite, his demeanour agreeable; and he is, without fear of contradiction, the best model amongst the Haytian nobility. Capuchin Brell is the only White at the court of Hayti, and perhaps the only one of the lords that knows how to read and write. His title is duke de l'Anse.

Christophe does not appear to be deficient in a certain skill in the art of governing. Recommencing generously his partisans, he displays great firmness against the enemies of his power; he neglects no means to consolidate his authority, and he has deputed agents to different parts of Europe and the American continent, to engage men capable of directing his administration, which is conducted with much uniformity.

The royal almanack of the kingdom of Hayti, for the year 1816, contains a long list of chamberlains, marshals, &c. and the army of king Christophe is estimated at 24 regiments, two of cavalry, and two of artillery. His son, James Victor Henry, aged thirteen years, is there designated as prince royal.

At the death of Dessalines in 1806, the island was divided between his two principal lieutenants, Christophe and Petion. This division still exists, notwithstanding the long rivalry of these chiefs, and the bloody wars of which their states have been the theatre. Petion died in the spring of 1818, and general Boyer succeeded him.

CHAPTER XV.

State of France—Evacuation of its Territory—State of Spain—Germany—Sweden—Russia, &c.

WHEN we reflect on the national character of the French, such as it may be said to be formed by nature, and to have been created by the circumstances in which they had been placed for nearly thirty years;—and when we moreover reflect on the shock which their vanity and ambition must have received from the manner in which they were forced to give up all their grand property of conquests and glory, we need not be surprised if their tranquillity required much time and great prudence in their rulers to settle on a sure and permanent foundation. It was apprehended that Louis was not exactly fitted for his arduous situation: he was known to possess good sense; but it was apprehended that this might be rendered of little or no avail if he gave himself up (as it was supposed he would do) to the advice of those who had been his fellow-sufferers and companions during the revolution. This, however, he has done much less, and for a much shorter period, than was anticipated: during his reign of 100 days indeed, that is, during the usurpation of Bonaparte for that space of time, he gave himself up too much to some of the most violent and profligate of Bonaparte's adherents. But on his second restoration he passed from this extreme without falling into the other; and it was hoped that the prudence, moderation, and good

sense of the duc de Richelieu would have satisfied all parties in the nation.

This, however, was not the case: the ultra royalists, as they were termed, thought they had been treated with ingratitude; and though they did not openly rest their dissatisfaction on personal and selfish grounds, yet they recommended measures and principles which, if they had been acted upon, must have restored them nearly to the same state of privilege and power which they had enjoyed before the revolution. Fortunately their imprudence and violence defeated their views; for they even entered into a sort of conspiracy to obtain their object, and circulated a memorial exposing the pretexts and objects of the conspiracy in which they engaged: it was addressed to foreign powers; and though extremely long and involved in much obscurity, it was not difficult to perceive that it aimed at proving that the whole body of the ancient nobility, the remains of the clergy, and the remains of the ancient magistracy, were the only persons fit to govern France,—that they were the rightful proprietors of all public honours and emolument; and in fact, that they were the proprietors of the people, who exist only for their benefit and pleasure. From this sketch of the object of the memorial, it will be seen that the restoration of the privileged orders to all they

they enjoyed before the revolution, and consequently the revival of all the evils destroyed by that event, and the annihilation of all the good created by it, were the wishes and the objects of the ultra-royalists.

They however rested their opposition to the measures of Louis's ministers on different grounds: they complained that the constitutional charter had been broken in two respects:—in the first place by the abolition of the electoral colleges; and in the second place, by the elective franchise being too confined. The latter objection was certainly a singular one to come from the authors of the memorial we have alluded to, since, if it had been obviated, the constitution must have been rendered more democratic than it even actually was. It was easy to perceive the object of the ultra-royalists in wishing for the renewal of the electoral colleges, as thus they could have intrigued with much more ease and effect in procuring the return of such deputies as accorded with their views. The constitution of France with regard to the election of the deputies, seems equally removed from the extremes of influence and democracy. France is composed of 29 million citizens, and not above 110,000 are admitted to the election of deputies,—a number even smaller than the number belonging to the privileged orders before the revolution. These 110,000 electors must be all of them 30 years of age, and must pay 30 francs at least of direct contributions: the chamber of deputies is composed of 256 members, a fifth of whom are changed every year: the king can dissolve

it at pleasure. Every member must have attained the age of 40, and must pay 1000 francs in taxes. The king nominates at his will the chamber of peers; no condition is imposed; and he can increase it as much as he pleases.

From this sketch of the legislative part of the constitution of France, it will appear that it deserves the character we gave it of being equally removed from democracy and undue influence. Indeed the number of electors is very small in such a large population; and their qualification seems rated very high: but with respect to the latter point, it should be noticed, that the direct taxes include not only a land-tax, but all taxes for the support of the poor and clergy; or, more properly speaking, a land-tax is raised, and from it the government pay the poor and the clergy. From the qualification required of the electors, it is apparent that they must consist chiefly of landed proprietors,—and as during the revolution the greatest part of the land passed from the nobility into the possession of a different class, and as during its transfer the large estates were much divided, it is evident that those who elect the deputies must be, for the most part, interested in preserving inviolate that part of the charter which secures to them the land they have acquired. And in fact, on each removal of a fifth, the chamber of deputies has become more popular, and less disposed to second and support the views of the ultra-royalists.

These, however, were so bent on carrying their point, and had at last gained such an influence over the mind of the duc de Richelieu,

lieu, that Louis, who perceived that the stability of his throne depended on preserving untouched the law of election, especially after the allies had left France, resolved to change his ministry. The duc de Richelieu accordingly resigned; and after some fruitless attempts to form a ministry which should meet the views of both parties, the following persons, all of liberal sentiments, were chosen:—The marquis Desolles, secretary for foreign affairs; De Serre, keeper of the seals; comte de Cazes, minister of the interior; and baron Louis, minister of finance: the ministry of police was suppressed. The French chambers usually meet in the month of November; of course each year comprises the proceedings of the greater part of one session, and the beginning of the other. In the first session of 1818, the chief business consisted in passing a law for abolishing the slave-trade; another law respecting the appropriation of 14,040,000 francs for liquidating the debts due by France to individuals on the continent, and 93 millions for satisfying the claims of British subjects. It was likewise determined to open an eventual credit of 24 millions of cents to complete the payment of the sums due to the allied powers, conformably to the treaty of the 20th November 1815. In the month of September the king signed an ordinance for levying a body of 80,000 men from the classes of 1816 and 1817, of which number 40,000 were to be at the disposal of the minister of war. The sum declared to be necessary for the service of 1818 was about 42,000,000*l.* sterling, or about 12

million more than the expenditure of the year 1817;—to counterbalance this, a saving was anticipated to the amount of nearly 8,000,000*l.*

But the most interesting event connected with the history of France during the year 1818, related to the evacuation of its territory by the allied powers. For this purpose a congress was held at Aix-la-Chapelle in the month of October, which was attended by the sovereigns of Austria, Russia, and Prussia, and by the ministers of England. At the end of the fifth conference the evacuation of France by the allied troops was unanimously agreed upon. The official documents on this subject will be found in another part of this volume: here we shall very briefly mention the conditions of the evacuation. The contributions still due by France to the allied powers were to be discharged in the course of nine months from the signature of the treaty:—the time was afterwards prolonged. Russia is to receive 48 millions, England 48, Austria 40, Prussia 40, the Netherlands 22, and Bavaria 10 millions of francs. The remainder of the contribution was to be divided among the lesser powers. The whole was to be paid by drafts on the houses of Hope and Co. and Baring, Brothers, and Co., who became sureties for it.

Soon after this treaty was signed, the allied powers invited the king of France to join the quadruple alliance, the object of which is declared to be "the maintenance of the peace, the treaties on which it is founded; and the rights and mutual relations established or confirmed by these

these treaties, and recognised by all the European powers. To this alliance the king of France became a party: the official papers respecting it will be found in another part of this volume; but in order fully to understand them, we shall here lay before our readers a brief account of the political arrangements which existed among the members of the quadruple alliance, previous to their inviting the king of France to join it.

The year 1813 was nearly as remarkable for treaties as for battles. All the states of Europe which had, within the course of a year or two previously, made conventions with France, promising assistance against England and Russia, threw their swords and their engagements into the scale of the latter powers against the former. The order in which they entered into the campaign is generally remembered, and each accession of national force was of course preceded by a treaty, which has furnished the bureaux of ministers, and the diligence of German collectors with weighty masses of documents. On February 28, 1813, Prussia entered on her career of glory by joining Russia, by the treaty of Kalisch, two months after the defection of general York, by his military convention with the army of count Wittgenstein, signed the 30th of December 1812. On the 3d of March, the British cabinet brought into the alliance the king of Sweden, by a treaty of subsidy with that power; and on the 15th of June concluded a treaty of alliance and subsidy with Russia and Prussia at Reichenbach. In the autumn Austria had joined her

cause to that of the other enemies of Bonaparte; and the first quadruple alliance between Austria, England, Prussia, and Russia, was signed at Tœplitz on the 9th September 1813. The treaty concluded on this occasion is very remarkable for its preamble, which contemplates the "putting a period to the sufferings of Europe, and the assurance of its repose by establishing a just equilibrium of powers in prosecuting the war in which they are engaged to attain that salutary object."—"Wishing," it says further, "to extend the effects of so useful a concert beyond the epoch when, having attained the end of the war, their mutual interests shall require the maintenance of an order of things introduced by its happy issue, they have, for fixing the articles," &c. Austria procured the accession of Bavaria to this alliance by the treaty of Ried, October 8, 1813; of Wurtemberg, by that of Fulda, November 2, 1813; of Hesse, by that of Frankfort, December 2, 1813; of Naples, by that of Naples, January 11, 1814; and Prussia procured the accession of Baden by that of Frankfort, November 20, 1813; Great Britain of Denmark, by that of Kiel, January 14, 1814, &c. The other states acceded before the end of the year, or in the beginning of 1814. Three days after the battle of Leipsic, or on the 21st of October 1813, the quadruple alliance entered into a convention for arranging the measures to be taken to unite the disposable forces of Germany, and for administering its states, detached from the power of the enemy, till the establishment of a general peace. The ties

ties of the quadruple alliance between the four great powers which composed it were confirmed and extended by the treaty of Chaumont, concluded on the 1st of March 1814, a month before the allied armies entered Paris. This treaty, though made in the midst of war, contemplates the agreement of Napoleon to the terms of peace offered at Chatillon, and determined the line of conduct which the allies would pursue in consequence of his accepting or rejecting them. This treaty is still in force; it is the basis of all the future treaties, and is by far the most important diplomatic transaction that took place before the peace of Paris. The people of England, as is usual with them, fixed their eyes on the money part of it only, (an annual subsidy of five millions during the war,) and soon forgot the rest. The following articles may therefore appear new to the most of them:—The 5th article says, that “the high contracting parties, reserving to themselves the power of concerting, at the conclusion of a peace with France, the means calculated to guaranty to Europe and each other the maintenance of this peace, have, nevertheless, agreed to enter without delay into defensive engagements for the protection of their respective dominions in Europe against every attempt which France might wish to make on the order of things resulting from this pacification.” “They therefore engage, in case of attack from France, to aid each other by a force of 60,000 men.” By the 16th and last substantial article of this celebrated treaty it is stipulated, “that this defensive alliance having for its object to maintain the equilibrium of Europe, to en-

sure the repose and independence of the powers, and to prevent the invasions which have so many years desolated Europe, the high contracting powers have agreed to extend its duration to twenty years from the date of its signature, and reserve to themselves the power of determining, three years before its expiration, whether circumstances require its further prolongation.” The negotiations of Chatillon were broken off by the faithless demonstrations of Napoleon, and the quadruple alliance, at the head of what they called in one of their manifestoes the *European league*, had it in their power to settle the general peace of Paris six days after they had announced by their manifesto from Vitry, and renewed their engagements to do so. The general treaty of peace at Paris, concluded the 30th of May 1814, had this peculiarity, that it not only established peace among the contracting parties, but stipulated, so far as in them lay, to support harmony and good understanding among the states of Europe. A supplementary quadruple alliance convention was concluded at London in the month of June, with a reference to the future congress at Vienna. The history of the proceedings of the congress of Vienna is still fresh on the minds of the public. On the return of Bonaparte, the four powers declared that the time was come for executing the engagements stipulated in the treaty of Chaumont, and renewed the alliance by treaties signed at Vienna on the 25th of March 1815. But the real treaty of quadruple alliance, founded on that of Chaumont, which exists at this moment in full vigour, is that concluded by

by the four powers at Paris, on the 20th of November 1815, the very day on which they signed the treaty with France.

The four powers make a reciprocal engagement, to maintain in full force and vigour the treaty signed on the same day with France, and to watch over the fulfilment of the stipulations of the said treaty, as well as of the particular conventions which are connected with it. This article gave rise to the committee of the ministers of the four powers sitting at Paris, which with some justice excited the jealousy of the French government. In the second article it is stipulated, that if revolutionary principles arise in France, they will concert measures among themselves, and with the king of France, for the security of their states, and general tranquillity of Europe. In the third article they stipulate, that in case of an attack from France on the army of occupation, they shall each contribute their Chaumont contingent of 60,000 men; and if this is not sufficient, still more; so as to bring the war to a successful issue; reserving to themselves, then, the power of disposing of France, so as to ensure Europe against such a calamity in future. The fifth article seems the germ of future meetings of congress. In it they declare that they will renew at determinate epochs, either under the immediate auspices of the sovereigns, or by their respective ministers "re-unions consecrated to great common interests, and the examination of measures which they shall judge the most salutary for the repose and prosperity of nations, and for the maintenance of the peace of Europe." In the 1818.

6th article, they agree that the first of these re-unions shall take place in the autumn of 1818.

A copy of this treaty, when concluded, was transmitted to the duke of Richelieu, from the ministers of the quadruple alliance, with a letter explaining its objects, and the resolutions of the four powers in case any circumstances should arise in France that might call for their interference, according to the terms of it.

Immediately after the ratification of the treaty for the evacuation of France, the allied troops began to leave it, and in a very short period not a foreign soldier was to be found on French ground. An order of the day was published by the duke of Wellington on this occasion, highly creditable to the troops under his command.

Nearly about the same time that France was freed from foreign troops, Louis restored to the national guard its original destination, by withdrawing it from the orders of its own separate and peculiar staff, and placing it at the disposal of the minister of the interior, thus subjecting it entirely to the civil authorities.—The session of the chambers opened again on the 10th of December; and as the king's speech on this occasion possesses peculiar interest, we shall insert it entire.

"Gentlemen,—At the commencement of the last session, at the same time that I deplored the evils which afflicted our country, I had the satisfaction to give reason to consider the termination of them as near at hand. A generous effort, and of which I have the noble pride to say no other nation has afforded a fairer example, has enabled me to realize these hopes:

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and they are so. My troops alone occupy all our strong places ; one of my sons, who hastened to join in the first transports of joy our eastern provinces, has, with his own hands, and amidst the acclamations of my people, hoisted the French standard on the ramparts of Thionville ; this standard now floats on all the territory of France.

" The day on which those of my children, who have borne with so much courage the burthen of an occupation of more than three years, have been delivered from it, will be one of the finest days of my life ; and my French heart has enjoyed no less the end of their distresses than the liberation of the country. The provinces which have so painfully occupied my thoughts till this day, deserve to fix those of the nation, which has admired, as I have done, their heroic resignation.

" The noble unanimity of heart and of sentiments which you manifested when I called upon you for the means to fulfil our engagements, was a brilliant proof of the attachment of the French to their country, of the confidence of the nation in its king ; and Europe has eagerly received France, replaced in the rank which belongs to her.

" The declaration which announces to the world the principles on which the union of the five powers is founded, sufficiently shows the friendship which prevails among the sovereigns. This salutary union, dictated by justice, and consolidated by morality and religion, has for its object to prevent the scourge of war, by the maintenance of treaties, by the guarantee of existing rights ; and permits us to fix our eyes on the

long days of peace, which such an alliance promises to Europe.

" I have awaited in silence this happy epoch, to turn my thoughts to the national solemnity, in which religion consecrates the intimate union of the people with their king. When receiving the royal unction in the midst of you, I shall take to witness the God by whom kings reign, the God of Clovis, of Charlemagne, of St. Louis ; I shall renew at the altar the oath, to confirm the institution founded on that charter, which I cherish more since the French, by an unanimous sentiment, have frankly rallied round it.

" In the laws which will be proposed to you I shall take care that its spirit shall be always consulted, in order to secure more and more the public rights of the French, and to preserve to the monarchy the force which it must have, to preserve all the liberties which are dear to my people.

" In seconding my wishes and my efforts, you will not forget, gentlemen, that this charter, delivering France from despotism, has put an end to revolutions. I depend on your concurrence to repel those pernicious principles which, under the mask of liberty, attack social order, conduct, by anarchy, to absolute power, and whose fatal success has cost the world so much blood and so many tears.

" My ministers will lay before you the budget of the expenses which the public service requires. The protracted effects of events, the consequence of which we have been forced to bear or to accept, have not yet allowed me to propose to you a diminution of the burthens imposed upon my people : but I have the consolation to perceive

perceive at no great distance, the moment when I shall be able to satisfy this desire of my heart. From this moment a limit is fixed to the increase of our debt: we have the certainty that it will diminish in a rapid progression. This certainty, and the loyalty of France in the fulfilment of her engagements, will establish on an immovable foundation the public credit, which some transitory circumstances, common to other states, had seemed to affect for a moment.

“The French youth have just given a noble proof of love to their country and their king. The recruiting law has been executed with submission, and often with joy. While the young soldiers enter the ranks of the army, their brothers, who are released, remain in the bosom of their families; and the veterans who have fulfilled their engagements, return to their homes: they are both living examples of fidelity, henceforth inviolable, in executing the laws.

“After the calamities of a scarcity, the remembrance of which still afflicts my soul, Providence, this year, lavish of its benefits, has covered our fields with abundant harvests. They will serve to revive a commerce, whose vessels visit every sea, and show the French flag to the most remote nations. Industry and the arts, also extending their empire, will add to the sweets of general peace. To the independence of the country, to public liberty is added private liberty, which France has never so entirely enjoyed. Let us, therefore, unite our sentiments and our expressions of gratitude to the Author of so many blessings, and let us know how to render them du-

rable. They will be so, if, banishing every sad remembrance, and stilling every resentment, the French thoroughly persuade themselves that their liberties are inseparable from order, which itself rests upon the throne, their sole palladium. My duty is to defend them against their common enemies; I shall fulfil it, and I shall find in you, gentlemen, that support which I have never yet invoked in vain.”

In the addresses of the chambers in reply to this speech, both the peers and the deputies declared the warmest attachment to the royal charter; neither alluded to the law of elections; the peers talked more of legitimacy; the deputies more of the blessings of liberty. From the opening of the session till the close of the year nothing important in either chamber occurred.

France as well as the rest of Europe suffered from the derangement of its currency occasioned by the long wars in which she had been engaged; but her sufferings were comparatively trifling and of short duration. In the month of November considerable alarm was excited in Paris, which spread over all Europe, and particularly affected England, in consequence of the fall in the French funds: at first it was supposed to have arisen from apprehensions regarding the tranquillity of France after the evacuation by the foreign troops: but this was not the case; as it was ascertained to have been occasioned solely by the bank of Paris contracting their discounts. The directors of this establishment found that there was a great drain of specie, occasioned by the demand for it in Russia and other foreign countries: to stop this drain, they con-

tracted their discount: those who before were accommodated, were of course obliged to obtain money from other sources; and hence the stocks fell. Indeed the state of the circulating medium is such, that it cannot long suffer from any cause affecting it; while, on the other hand, it cannot enjoy those commercial advantages derived from a circulating medium less liable to be affected. While in Britain, paper, or credit (for all paper is credit), carries on the whole commercial transactions,—in France they are conducted by coin. From an interesting work lately published by the duke de Gavet—who was minister of finance from 1800 to 1814,—it appears that the quantity of circulating medium (almost entirely gold and silver) in France after the battle of Lelpsic, in December 1813, amounted to 145,000,000*l.* sterling; and in April 1814 he calculated it at 116,000,000*l.*

There is no improvement in the state of Spain in any respect. The Spanish monarch endeavoured to persuade the allied monarchs to interfere between him and his South American subjects; and addressed a note to them to that effect, in which he promised amnesty to the insurgents; their admission to offices, and the regulation of their commerce on liberal principles; but the allied monarchs declined interfering. In September Ferdinand suddenly dismissed his ministers, banishing the chief of them to remote parts of the kingdom; in their stead he appointed men of considerable talent, but not of enlightened views: and the little that is known of the state of Spain since their appointment proves that the finances are still in

a wretched condition,—that there are no means to send out the expedition to South America;—that poverty and oppression gain ground, and that the Inquisition possesses more power than ever.

Of Austria (the principal power in Germany) we have nothing to relate, except the following statement of her financial situation:—

The debt bearing interest, without including the loan of 1815, amounted on the 1st of June 1816 to upwards of 630 millions. The interest of the greatest part of that debt was originally fixed at five per cent.; but being paid in paper, since that became the sole medium of circulation, it was reduced at the commencement of 1811 (a period of extreme embarrassment and distress) to a discount of nearly one half. On the other hand, the mass of paper money was augmented upwards of 650 millions, and the depreciation which it consequently suffered in value was one of the greatest grievances of the state. The government adopted a system of gradually extinguishing this paper money, which has had the happiest results. From the 1st of July 1816 to the 1st of May 1818, 180 millions were drawn from circulation, and publicly destroyed. The real value of this paper money, which in 1817 was only equal to 30 per cent. of the nominal value, has risen to upwards of 40 per cent.

The old debt of the state, valued at 500 millions of capital, is placed under such an arrangement, that in fifteen years, or less, it will be diminished one half, while the creditors of the remaining half will be re-established in the receipt of their interest at its primitive value.

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The new debt contracted since 1815 amounts to 208 millions; for the reduction of which there is a sinking fund, organized according to the best models. At the commencement of 1817 the price of the government stock, bearing an interest of 5 per cent., was so low as 46; in the present year it rose to 74.

Prussia is still without a free constitution. On the other hand, a constitutional charter has been given to the Bavarians.

Some disputes have taken place between Bavaria and Baden respecting territory; but when we consider that the latter has only 758 square leagues, with a population of little more than one million; an army of 10,000, and a

revenue of about 500,000*l.*;—and the former has 1000 square leagues, a population of 3,600,000; an army of between 50,000 and 60,000; and a revenue of nearly 2,000,000*l.*;—it is not to be supposed that hostilities will take place between them. In the first sitting of the states of Hanover, torture was abolished.—It is certainly a curious subject of reflection, that in any country governed by the kings of England the abolition of torture should have been deferred so long. Of the German confederation, the only public event of importance relates to its peace establishment, which is to consist of 120,000 men, formed according to the following scale.

	Population.	Contingent.
Austria	16,600,000	41,500
Prussia	16,000,000	41,500
Bavaria	3,400,000	17,000
Hanover	1,300,000	6,500
Wurtemberg	1,300,000	6,500
Saxony	1,200,000	6,000
Baden	1,000,000	5,000
Hesse	540,000	2,700
Lippe Detmold	80,000	400
Lippe Schaumberg	30,000	150
Waldeck	50,000	250
Weimar	130,000	900
Gotha	180,000	900
The Houses of Anhalt	120,000	600
House of Schwartzenberg	116,000	580
Grand dukedom of Hesse	560,000	2,800
Hesse Homberg	25,000	120
Meinungen, Coburg, and Hildburg	160,000	800
Houses of Reuss	84,000	420
Hohenzollern	55,000	275
Holstein	360,000	1,800
Oldenburg	220,000	1,100
Mecklenburg Schwerin	330,000	1,650
Brunswick	220,000	1,100
Mecklenburg Strelitz	70,000	350
Luxemburg	240,000	1,200
Nassau	280,000	1,400

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Hamburg

	Population.	Contingent.
Hamburg	120,000 . . .	630
Bremen	50,000 . . .	250
Frankfort	50,000 . . .	250
Lubeck	44,000 . . .	220
Lichtenstein	10,000 . . .	50

The kingdom of the Netherlands seems to be going on in a quiet and satisfactory manner, but presents nothing important in the course of the year 1818.

In the month of February the king of Sweden died, and Bernadotte ascended the throne. At the meeting of the diet there was laid before it the following report of what had occurred since the last diet.

"During the period which has elapsed since the last assembly of the states, the general peace, and the amicable relations of the kingdom with foreign powers, have afforded his majesty a happy opportunity to direct his exertions and cares to the promotion of trade and industry, and of the internal administration. Though the rapid transition from war to peace, particularly after the violent convulsions which have distinguished the last twenty years, has also had a proportionate influence on the trade of Sweden and the revenue of its customs, yet his majesty has had the satisfaction to find that this influence, which is so striking in the richer European states, has not been considerably injurious to Sweden. It was to be foreseen that the transit trade, after the re-establishment of peace in Europe, would return to its ancient channels, and that consequently Sweden could not remain the only channel; and, notwithstanding the measures which the king has been forced to take, from

time to time, for maintaining the value of the currency, according to the wish of the diet, have been added to this, yet the revenue of the customs has even exceeded the sum upon which the states had calculated.

"Attentive to profit by every opportunity to procure new advantages to the trade of the kingdom, his majesty has concluded a treaty of commerce with the United States of North America, founded on a perfect equality of rights and privileges. Though this treaty, with the exception of some less important points, which were to be the subject of a new negotiation, has been already ratified by the president of the United States, yet it could not be published, on account of the negotiation still pending; but his majesty hopes we shall soon be able to make it known.

"A treaty has been concluded with the court of Russia, respecting the commercial relations between Sweden and Finland, the ratification of which will shortly be exchanged; and his majesty is convinced that the diet will learn with pleasure the equity, and at the same time the advantages of the principles on which this treaty is founded.

"To fulfil the obligations of which his majesty acquainted the states at the last diet, the duchy of Pomerania and the island of Rugen were given up to the Prussian government in October 1815; several

several payments have been made by Prussia on account of the sum agreed upon, and the arrears are relative principally to accounts still to be settled with the inhabitants of Pomerania, many of which were as unexpected by his majesty, as their amount is exaggerated. As the negotiation has now taken a decisive turn, his majesty confidently hopes that it will be speedily concluded in a satisfactory manner.

"His majesty has the satisfaction to be able to announce to the states, that the foreign debt of the kingdom in Hamburg, Holland, Genoa, and Antwerp, has been paid in the manner prescribed by the diet."

To the facts contained in this report, it may be added that the paper currency of Sweden amounts to 30 millions of bank dollars, which is secured both by a sink-

ing fund and landed property the other part of the currency consists of 5,000,000 bank dollars in silver. The government of Sweden this year devised a new system of taxation, according to which every male from 15 to 18 is to pay a certain tax, which is to be increased when he passes his 18th year; and every female is to pay a similar tax increasing with her age, till she attains her 63rd year, when it is to cease.—In Russia nothing worthy of notice occurred except a ukase, ordaining that in the whole extent of the empire, two recruits should be raised for every 500 souls.—There were some commotions at Constantinople; but as they led to no permanent or important consequence, they do not require to be particularly noticed.—On the north coast of Africa the plague made dreadful ravages.

CHAPTER XVI.

Affairs of the United States—South America.

THE United States of America present a singular picture in several points of view, well worthy the attention and study of the philosopher, the politician, and political economist. Never before in the annals of the world was there seen a people rising so fast in power and population. At the close of their revolutionary war, they were feeble and exhausted: their finances necessarily in a very dilapidated state; their land forces with extreme difficulty paid and kept together during the war, eagerly embracing the opportunity of disbanding themselves; their navy consisting of a single

frigate or two; their population not doubling that of the city of London;—in short, such was their condition, and such the difficulties they had before them, that many not over-sanguine or prejudiced in their opinions were inclined to believe, that they would soon have good reason to regret their independence, and that the federative union would soon be dissolved. How differently has it turned out! their population at present is nearly equal to that of England: during the late war between the two countries they had large, and in some cases well disciplined armies in the field: their navy, though

as yet not very numerous, is most admirably managed and equipped in every respect; and their commerce is only second to that of Britain. With respect to their internal resources, their expenditure is so small that, after the war terminated, all taxes except those on imported articles have been taken off, so that the industry and capital of the people is less cramped in the United States than in any other country in the world.

Several causes have contributed to this prosperity, and must continue to increase it still further. In the first place, the immense extent of land, either unoccupied or but partially cultivated, must open a source of great wealth;—by wealth, we mean a large population, attaining all they want by their own labour. In the second place, this and other advantages which the United States enjoy, are not in the smallest degree counteracted, either by extravagance in the government, by a national debt, or by the want of civil and political freedom. Every man in America is really regarded by the laws as equal, and may rise to the highest honours the state can bestow: while, on the other hand, no honour is unconnected with real benefit to the state. The constitution of America was formed at a time when it was no longer believed that any particular class of men had any rights which did not spring out of the services they conferred on the state; and when utility, and not pomp and show, was deemed alone necessary to ensure the respect and obedience of the people. Lastly, the admirable plan of a federative government, in which each state has its own peculiar

laws and taxes, while at the same time it is bound to the interests of all the other states, necessarily confers a greater share of practicable individual liberty, perfectly compatible with legislative and executive power, than can possibly exist under any other form of government.

But while the government of the United States deserves these commendations, and while it must be confessed that under it, the fruits of a man's labour are more his own, and his actions are more free, than under any other government; yet there are in it and in the people (from whom, indeed, it must take its character) those faults which might be expected in a republican government, and in a people rising so rapidly to power and importance. These people are extremely vain, and by no means disposed to grant to others that liberty, of the possession of which they boast so much. Indeed, they are very tyrants to their slaves: and the simple circumstance that slavery is not only tolerated by the constitution of most of the states, but strongly advocated by the people, amply proves that they are in reality strangers to the principles of liberty. The government is too much disposed to follow and cherish the ambitious views and plans of the people: these views and plans have particularly developed themselves towards the Spanish and Indian possessions which border on the United States.

In the year 1795 Spain entered into a treaty with the United States, by which she bound herself to restrain the Indians inhabiting within the limits of Florida from committing hostilities against the United States. In the beginning of

of 1818 a war broke out between the latter and the Seminole Indians, one of the tribes in Florida. The causes of this war are differently stated: but there must be perpetual causes existing between two nations,—one of whom perceives their ancient territory encroached upon, and the other thinks that their superior civilization and improvement, and increasing population, justify them in gaining accessions of territory from a barbarous race. The laws of nature must operate towards the substitution of an enlightened people in the stead of a race of savages, wherever they happen to be neighbours; and though during the change much wrong may be done, we overlook it, in contemplating the benefit acquired. The Indians being worried in this war, took refuge in the Spanish territory; and as the American government acted upon the principle, that where the authority of Spain ceased to exist, there the United States had a right to pursue their enemy, on a principle of self-defence, General Jackson, who commanded the American forces, was ordered to enter in pursuit of the enemy; but in that case to respect the Spanish authority wherever it was maintained. In executing this order it is said that facts were disclosed respecting the conduct of the officers in Spain, in encouraging the war, &c. General Jackson deemed himself justified in taking possession of Pensacola and St. Mark's, which lie in the heart of the Indian territory. These were afterwards given up by order of the president.

On the capture of those forts

two British subjects were found, of the names of Arbuthnot and Ambrister, who, by general Jackson's orders, were tried by a court-martial, and shot. This transaction excited very great indignation not only in Britain but also in the United States; especially as general Jackson, in ordering the execution of Ambrister, had gone beyond the sentence of the court-martial, and had throughout evinced a spirit more consonant to a military despotism than a free state. The house of representatives and the senate appointed committees to investigate his conduct: both the committees reported that he had acted contrary to the law of nations, and had assumed authority which was dangerous to the United States. The house of representatives, however, disagreed with the report of the committee, and approved of the conduct of general Jackson;—the senate have not yet taken the matter into their consideration.

On this subject, which will probably come before us next year in a fuller and more efficient form, we shall merely offer a few brief remarks. In the first place, there is evidence that both Arbuthnot and Ambrister united themselves with the Indians while they were at war with the United States, and by this act deprived themselves of the character of British citizens and the protection of the British government; for governments would be constantly involved in war if they took up arms whenever any individual entered into the service of a foreign power. But, in the second place, though the British government were not bound to seek satisfaction

fion for the death of these men, we think the United States were : for-general Jackson undoubtedly exceeded his powers in putting to death Arbuthnot, merely because he was found with the Indians—not in actual warfare ; and still further exceeded his powers in executing the other, when the court-martial did not sentence him to die.

The principal subjects of discussion before congress last year respected the banks of the United States, and a navigation law. A committee was appointed to investigate the affairs of the former, by whom it was ascertained that the managers of it had violated the charter in several respects. Indeed the prices of the American stocks were so low, that it proved there was something wrong. Disputes arose between the bank of the United States and the provincial states ; and the result was, that the credit of all was shaken, and has not yet fully recovered itself.—The navigation act was passed to counteract the effects of our navigation act ; or rather to retaliate upon us for it :—it enacts that the ports of the United States shall remain closed against every vessel owned wholly or in part by British subjects, coming from any port of Britain or her dependencies, which is shut against the vessels of the United States : the effect was to prohibit all direct intercourse between the West Indies and the United States.

The following are the official details of the revenue and expenditure of the United States, and of their exports:—

The nett revenue, arising from duties upon imports and tonnage, internal duties, direct taxes, pub-

lic lands, postage, and incidental receipts, during the year 1816, amounted to 36,743,574 dollars 7 cents. ; and that which accrued from the same sources during the year 1817, amounted to 24,387,993 dollars 8 cents. It is ascertained that the gross amount of duties on merchandize and tonnage which have accrued during the three first quarters of the present year, exceeds 21,000,000 of dollars ; and that the sales of the public lands, during the same period, greatly exceed both in quantity and value those of the corresponding quarters of last year. The payments into the treasury during the three first quarters of the present year are estimated at 17,167,882 dollars 26 cents. ; and the payments of the remaining quarter, it is calculated, will amount to 5,000,000 dollars ; making a total amount for the year 1818, of 22,167,862 dollars 26 cents. To this is added a balance in the treasury on the 1st of January last, exclusive of 8,809,872 dollars 10 cents. in treasury notes, amounting to 6,179,883 dollars 38 cents. ; making an aggregate amount of 28,347,145 dollars 64 cents. The disbursements from this sum, for the public service, are estimated at 26,235,387 dollars 5 cents. ; leaving an estimated balance in the treasury, on the 1st of January 1819, of 2,112,408 dollars 59 cents.

The unredeemed debts of the United States, it is calculated, amount to 92,595,393 dollars 85 cents., on the 1st of January next.

The treasury-notes in circulation at the date of the report, amounted to 297,506 dollars.

In the annual report of the state of the treasury of the 5th
of

of December 1817, the permanent revenue was estimated at 24,525,000 dollars per annum; and the annual expenditure, according to the then existing laws, was stated at 21,946,351 dollars 74 cents. By the acts of the last session of congress, the internal duties, estimated at 2,500,000 dollars per annum, were repealed, whilst the expenditure was augmented to nearly 25,000,000 dollars; and that of the ensuing year is estimated at not less than 24,515,219 dollars 76 cents.

The apparent deficit produced by these acts, and by the application of more than 2,500,000 dollars to the payment of the interest and redemption of the principal of the public debt, beyond the annual appropriation of 10,000,000 dollars for that object, has been supplied by the receipts into the treasury on account of the arrearage of the direct tax and internal duties, and by the balance of more than 6,000,000 dollars which was in the treasury on the first day of January 1818.

These temporary sources of supply being nearly exhausted, the expenditure of the year 1819 must principally depend upon the receipts into the treasury from the permanent revenue during that year. As was anticipated in the last annual report, the reaction produced by the excessive importations of foreign merchandise, during 1815 and 1816, acquired its greatest force in 1817.

It is presumed that the revenue which shall accrue during the present year from imports and tonnage, may be considered as the average amount which will be annually received from that source of the revenue.

It is ascertained that the bonds taken for securing duties, which were outstanding on the 30th of September last, exceeded 23,000,000 dollars; and the receipts into the treasury, from that source of revenue, during the year 1819, are estimated at 24,220,000 dollars; which added to the balance in the treasury on the 1st day of January 1819, estimated at 2,112,408 dollars 54 cents., makes the aggregate amount of 26,232,408 dollars 54 cents. The probable authorized demands on the treasury during 1819 are estimated to amount to 24,515,219 dollars 75 cents.; which being deducted from the amount estimated to be received into the treasury, including the balance on the 1st day of January 1819, leaves a balance in the treasury, on the 1st of January 1820, of 2,717,188 dollars 83 cents.

In presenting this estimate of receipts for the year 1819, it is necessary to premise, that the sum to be received from the customs is less than what, from the amount of the outstanding bonds, would, under the ordinary circumstances, be received. The amount of the sales of public lands during the last year, and the sum due at this time by the purchasers, would justify a much higher estimate of the receipts from that important branch of revenue, if the most serious difficulty in making payments was not known to exist. The excessive issues of the banks during the suspension of specie payments, and the great exportation of the precious metals to the East Indies during the present year, have produced a pressure upon them, which has rendered it necessary to contract their dis-
counts,

counts, for the purpose of withdrawing from circulation a large proportion of their notes. This operation, so oppressive to their debtors, but indispensably necessary to the existence of specie payments, must be continued, until gold and silver shall form a just proportion of the circulating currency. In passing through this ordeal, punctuality in the discharge of debts, both to individuals and to the government, will be considerably impaired, and well-founded apprehensions are entertained, that until it is passed, payments in some of the land districts will be greatly diminished.

The extent into which payments into the treasury during the year 1819 will be affected by the general pressure upon the community, which has been described, and which is the inevitable conse-

quence of the over-trading of the bank, and the exportation of specie to the East Indies, aggravated by the temporary failure of the ordinary supply of the precious metals from the Spanish American mines, cannot at this time be correctly appreciated. Should it exceed what has been contemplated in this report, the appropriations must be diminished, the revenue enlarged by new impositions, or temporary loans authorized to meet the deficiency, as the expenditure of the year 1820 will be greatly reduced by the irredeemable quantity of the public debt, after the redemption of the remaining moiety of the Louisiana stock, which may be effected on the 21st day of October 1819, by a resort to temporary loans, or to the issue of treasury notes.

Treasury department, Jan. 16.

A statement of the exports of the United States, during the year ending 13th of September 1817, amounting in value on articles

Of domestic produce or manufacture, to . . . 68,313,500

Of foreign produce or manufacture, to . . . 19,358,069

Dollars 87,671,669

Which articles appear to have been exported to the following countries, viz.

	Domestic.	Foreign.
To the northern countries of Europe . . .	3,828,563	2,790,408
Ditto of Great Britain . . .	3,997,775	2,387,543
Ditto of France . . .	9,717,423	2,717,395
Ditto of Spain . . .	4,590,156	3,893,780
Ditto of Portugal . . .	1,501,237	3,333,586
All other . . .	3,907,177	5,198,283
Ditto the dominions of the Netherlands . . .	41,431,168	2,087,074

Dollars 68,313,500 19,357,069

In February a report was made from the navy board to the secretary of state, which announces that in the state navy yard there are laid down the frames of 10 line of battle ships and 10 frigates.

The land forces for the year

1818 were voted at 10,000 men, the expense of which army was estimated at 8½ millions of dollars—an expense, which for such a force must undoubtedly be considered enormous.

The session of congress for the year

year 1818-19 opened on the 16th of November, by the usual speech from the president, of which the following is a brief sketch.

The message sets out with a general congratulation on the auspicious circumstances under which the legislative body has been assembled. The prosperity of the national commerce, the flourishing state of the public revenue; and the maintenance of amity with foreign powers, are the subjects on which he proposes to expatiate. This order is reversed in the sequel, where the president enters at once on a discussion of the political relations subsisting between the United States and the governments of Great Britain and Spain. The reference made to this country is highly satisfactory and pleasing. Mr. Monroe announces; that as the commercial convention with Great Britain would have regularly expired by July next; he had judged it prudent to provide against that period, by setting on foot an immediate negotiation for a permanent arrangement of the commercial intercourse between both nations; and that he had likewise proposed to extend the negotiation to every difference which still remained unsettled between them; more particularly those relating to impressment, fisheries, and boundaries. This proposal, he is happy to add, was met in the same spirit of amity by which it was prompted; and a negotiation has accordingly been opened in London, embracing all the above objects, which, from the gravity and importance of its subject matter, he has thought fit to confide to the two distinguished gentlemen who fill the office of ambas-

sadors at London and Paris. The relations between Spain and the United States are not announced with the same satisfaction, nor dispatched with equal brevity. The claims of citizens of the United States to indemnifications for losses inflicted upon them by the Spaniards, have not yet been adjusted or provided for. The questions respecting the Floridas are opened at great length, and the arguments and grievances already brought forward by the United States are again urged by Mr. Monroe with force and minuteness; but without an attempt to throw upon those extensive subjects any more novel colouring; or more instructive light, than had been long since applied to them by the government and the press of North America. The slight mention made of the affair of our countrymen, Messrs. Arbuthnot and Ambrister, is studiously embodied in the general discussion of the disputes between Spain and the United States, and not in the most remote connexion with the interests, honour, or feelings of this country. The official correspondence with general Jackson, on that transaction, is, amongst other papers, to be laid before congress. The mission dispatched by Mr. Monroe to South America is spoken of, and a concise account is added of the situation in which the different Spanish provinces were found by the republican commissioners. No indication, however, is given of the intent or dispositions of the cabinet of Washington towards an acknowledgement of, or an alliance with, any of those infant states. Spain is said to have circulated a note, announcing that the allies have

have undertaken to mediate between her and her revolted colonies ; but the president freely declares, that he is sure the allies will confine their mediation to more friendly counsels ; and that such a course is most consistent with "justice." The revenue is said to have prospered beyond expectation. During the first three quarters of the year, the receipts into the treasury have exceeded 17,000,000 of dollars. The gross produce of the customs for the same period is 21,000,000 ; the revenue for the whole year is estimated at 26,000,000 ; and the probable sum remaining in hand at the end of it, is stated at 2,000,000 dollars. The national lands have been disposed of in unlooked-for quantities, and at a price exceeding all previous calculation. The measures of permanent defence, authorized by congress, are advancing. Many treaties of peace, including extensive territorial acquisitions, have been made with the unfortunate Indians, and the president expresses a wish for the adoption of measures tending to their civilization. The navy of the United States is in progress towards the limit contemplated by law. Another state, the Illinois, has been added to the union ; and it is proposed to appropriate to that new sister a local government and constitution, analogous to that which has been enjoyed by all the others.

It is well known that the United States have been long desirous of gaining possession of Florida, and that, for this purpose, negotiations have been going on with Spain for a considerable period : it was supposed that when general Jackson seized Pensacola, that

was only a prelude to the entire and permanent occupation of Florida. This, however, did not take place ; but as this country has been at last ceded by Spain, it may be interesting to lay before our readers a statement of the probable motives which led the United States to seek the possession of this territory.

It is stated that the Floridas produce excellent oak, of which Georgia and Carolina are now exhausted, and that America desires this tract of territory in order to procure supplies of this species of timber for her growing navy. The Floridas also are said to abound in pitch, turpentine, &c. West Florida is a strip of land running along the northern shore of the Gulf of Mexico for 400 miles, and it is no where more than 130 miles broad. It is not very probable, therefore, that the American government, with vast regions of unexhausted territory at its command, in which there are boundless and untouched forests, containing all sorts of timber necessary for the creation of a navy, should, even at the hazard of a war, persevere in seeking possession of a tract of territory so limited in extent, and of an unhealthy climate, as is well known, and, in many parts, of a barren soil. We do not see that the mere produce of this tract could be accounted of such vast importance to the United States as to induce them to hazard a war for its possession with Spain or with any power, on grounds so apparently inadequate. But if we consider the situation of West Florida, that it interposes in its whole extent between the state of Georgia and the sea, and that some of the principal

principal rivers of this state, such as the Appalachicola, the Escambia, the Alabama, Tombeche, &c. besides all the numerous tributary streams by which it is intersected, pass through West Florida in their course to the Gulf of Mexico, we may see at once the importance of this territory to the United States. It is evident that the state of Georgia holds her communication with the Gulf of Mexico, at the mercy of whatever power is in possession of West Florida. The navigable rivers with which her territory is intersected, are comparatively of little use for the exportation of her produce to the sea, through the territories of a foreign, it may be a rival, power, where it may be subjected to heavy and vexatious duties, and thus impeded in its progress, or altogether obstructed. Such a state of things, therefore, in which there existed so very precarious and imperfect an outlet to the surplus produce of the country, evidently opposed formidable obstacles to the progress of improvement in the interior; and we cannot certainly wonder at the anxiety of the American government for the possession of this territory, not exactly on its own account, but because it removed every obstacle to the progress of internal prosperity. It cleared the path of national improvement, and left the enterprise and energy of a rising community free to spread itself in all directions, by its own natural elasticity and force. It is well known with what perseverance the American negotiators laboured to gain possession of Louisiana; and they were influenced by the same reasons which now induce them to seek

possession of West Florida. When North America was first settled, the first emigrants naturally took possession of the mouths of the principal rivers, and gradually ascended, with the progress of cultivation, to their sources. After crossing the Alleghany mountains, this order of things was reversed. In occupying and cultivating the country to the westward of those mountains, the emigrants came first upon the sources of the rivers, of which the termination was not exactly known; and it so happens, owing to the peculiar configuration of the American continent, that all the water which falls in that vast valley which lies between the Alleghany mountains on the east, and the rocky mountains on the west, pours itself into the Gulf of Mexico, through the common channel of the Mississippi. Without the possession, therefore, of the mouth of this river, it is evident that the United States lay at the mercy of a foreign power for an outlet to their surplus produce. They possessed a maimed and disjointed country, the most essential parts of which were in possession of another state. They laboured, therefore, and with success, to reform this radical defect in the constitution of their territory, and they were actuated not by any blind passion for a useless extension of their dominions, but by the plain and urgent motive of preventing a foreign power from shutting out at pleasure an important part of their territories from all access to the ocean. A similar but less urgent motive dictates their present policy in regard to the Floridas.

Of the affairs of South America we are nearly as much in ignorance

ignorance as ever: the contest still goes on with various success. Spain is not able to send out forces, and yet the insurgents with their means at hand, certainly have not acquired any very decisive success. A considerable number of excellent officers and soldiers have gone from Britain to

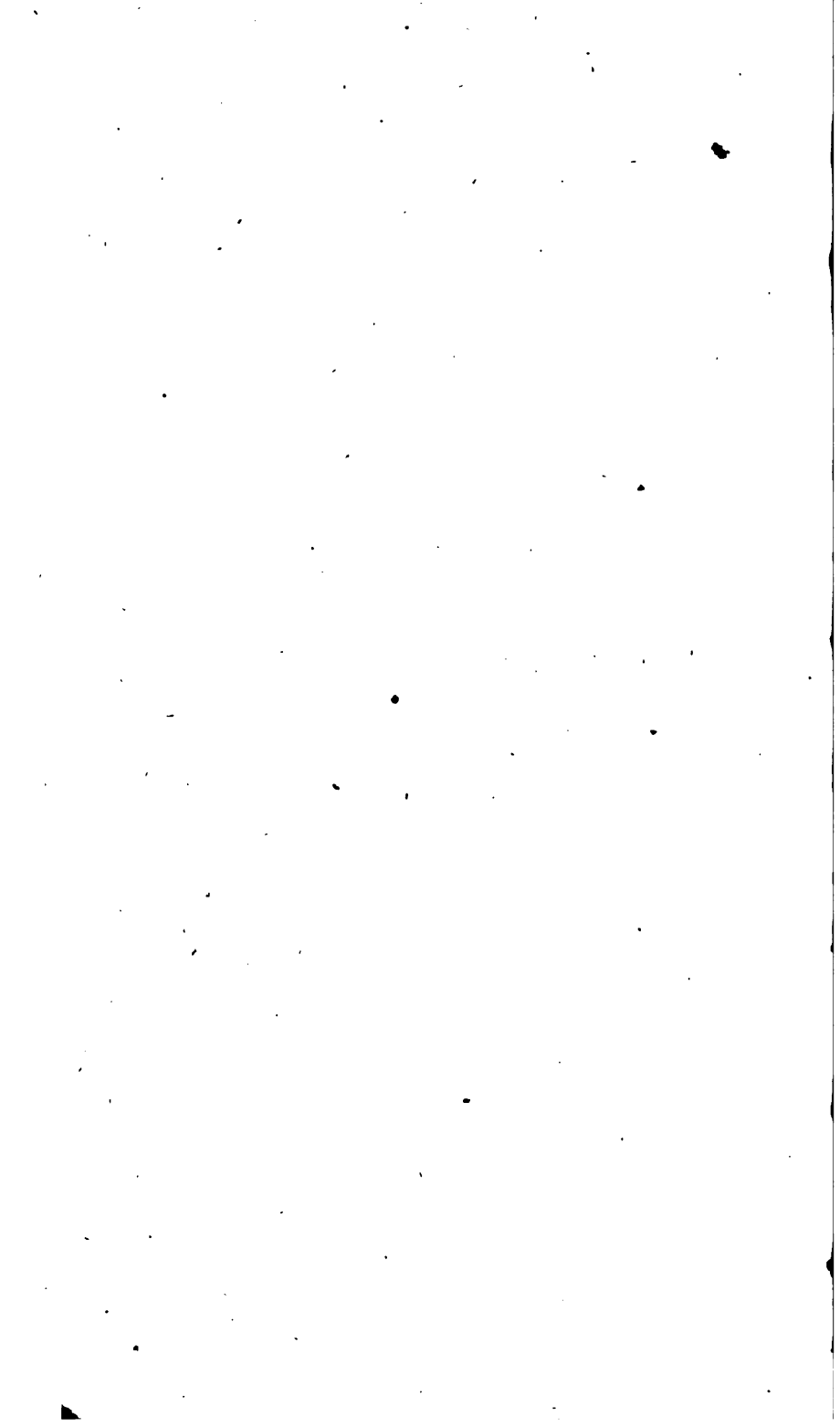
join the patriots; and it is probable, if they are not thwarted by those they are gone to assist, that their co-operation will turn the scale effectually against Spain. In the mean time, the insurgent ships of war are as daring and successful as ever.

Price of STOCKS for 1818.—N.B. The highest and lowest Price of each Stock in the course of each Month are set down in that Month.

1818.	Bank Stock.	3 p. ct. 3 p. ct. red. cons.	4 p. ct.	5 p. ct.	Long Ann.	India Stock.	India Bonds.	Souths. Stock.	Irish 5 p. ct.	Ex. Bills, 2½d.
Jan.	{ 292 288 }	82 79½ 81½ 78½	99½ 98½	106½ 104½	21 20½	242½ 240	109 99	89½	106½	30 pr. 21
Feb.	{ 290½ 285½ }	81½ 79½ 80½ 79½	99½ 98½	106½ 105½	21 20½	211½ 209½	103 93	89½ 87½	107½	50 21
March	{ 287½ 285 }	79½ 78½ 78½ 77½	99½ 98½	106½ 105½	20½	258	97 82	86½	106	21 13
April	{ 286 282 }	81½ 79 82 79½	98½ 97½	108½ 106½	20½	239½ 236½	101 89	90½ 88½		25 20
May	{ 283 278½ }	80½ 77½ 80½ 78½	97½ 96½	108½ 107½	20½	234 231½	103 91	90½ 89½	106½	23 19
June	{ 280½ 279 }	78½ 78½ 79½ 79	97 96½	108½ 108	20½ 20½	232½	92 88		107	21 16
July	{ 278½ 276 }	78½ 77½ 78 76½	98 96½	106½ 105½	20½ 20½	233½ 232	100 83			21 15
Aug.	{ 276 271½ }	78½ 75½ 77½ 75½	97½ 95½	106½ 104½	20½ 20½	233 234	96 81	86½		20 17
Sept.	{ 269½ 268½ }	75½ 73½ 76 73½	94½ 93½	105½ 103½	20½		85 68	82½	107½	18 17
Oct.	{ 274½ 268½ }	77½ 74½ 77½ 75½	96 93½	108 105½	20½ 19½	233 236	92 75	85 83½		
Nov.	{ 273 268½ }	77½ 76½ 78½ 76½	95 94½	108½ 107½	20½ 20	233 232	87 81	86 85½		
Dec.	{ 270½ 267 }	79 76½ 79 78½	96½ 94½	108½ 108½	20½ 19½	234	85 76		106½ 106	

**PRINCIPAL
OCCURRENCES**

In the Year 1818.



PRINCIPAL OCCURRENCES, &c.

For the Year 1818.

FRANCE.

PARIS, at the present moment, has 1109 streets, 10 lanes, 111 passages, 32 quays, 18 boulevards, 87 places, 31 squares, 121 ranges of building without thoroughfare, 10 public promenades, 56 barriers, 16 gates, 16 bridges, 10 halls, 28 markets, 2 prisons, 13 barracks, 12 palaces, 2 cathedrals (Notre Dame and St. Genevieve), 38 churches (parishes and cures), four temples, five colleges, 15 hospitals, 9 other charitable foundations, and 10 theatres.

NETHERLANDS.

The Dutch papers lately announced some intended regulations in the tea-trade. The plan is now matured; and when we reflect how much that beverage is in use, may be considered as likely to have a great effect upon general commerce. It is proposed to throw open the trade from China and the Dutch East Indies; thus abolishing all exclusive rights and monopolies, and leaving every subject of the king of the Netherlands at liberty to import this article. The project of the law for this purpose is now under discussion in the Dutch legislative body, and is likely to be carried by a great majority. In this arrangement, the Dutch appear anxious to profit by our experience, and to adopt our policy. The duties on

importation proposed by the Dutch *projet* are so low, as to afford a violent temptation to smuggling in this country, should our present high rate of duties continue.

SPAIN AND PORTUGAL.

The Madrid Gazette of the 11th December contains accounts from Algiers of the 16th of November, presenting some frightful details of the calamities which afflict that wretched city. Pestilence and famine are daily diminishing the population. The dey, warned by the fate of his predecessors, removed his family on the night of the 31st October, with all the treasures and arms, to the fortress of Alcazava, a regular work which commands every street of the capital. This change of residence was a death-blow to the tyranny of the Turkish soldiers, who nevertheless attempted a seditious movement; but six of the ringleaders were seized and beheaded.

Ferdinand last month issued a decree, prohibiting Spanish subjects from trading in slaves on the coast of Africa north of the line, under the penalty of transportation for ten years to the Philippines (the prohibition to take effect immediately); and restricting the duration of the trade south of the line, on the same coasts, to two years and five months from the date of the decree.

(A 2) The

The Portuguese government have a most summary and decisive mode of collecting taxes. Within a few weeks, the regency issued a proclamation for a "voluntary contribution" of four millions of crowns. Some merchants at Lisbon, who understood the true meaning of the proclamation, immediately contributed; but the amount of the contribution was trivial compared to the sum required. The regency, therefore, forthwith appointed a commission of twelve from among the contributing merchants, with directions to make out a list of all the capitalists in Portugal. At the head of this commission is señor Payo, who was the principal Portuguese agent of lord Wellington while at Lisbon; and the judge Pedro Duerte is attached to the commission, with authority to order the confiscation of the property of any capitalist who does not promptly subscribe to the "voluntary contribution" required by the government, in such a proportion as the commissioners may think proper to adjudge. This extraordinary contribution is specifically required for the use of the king of Portugal, who, it seems, cannot find money enough in the Brazils to support the splendour of his court.

SWITZERLAND.

Gustavus Adolphus, late king of Sweden, has requested the right of citizenship from the council of Basle in Switzerland.

ITALY.

Lieutenant-colonel Herries and captain Gordon, R. N. were attacked in their way to Naples, between Terracina and Fondi, by banditti, on the evening of the 12th of December. The first act of

the villains was, to fire upon the postillion without previous warning. He fell, mortally wounded. They then proceeded to rifle the travellers, and took from them their watches, money, &c. The banditti were divided into two parties, one of which was immediately active in the attack and robbery, while the other remained in reserve at a short distance; and their number was so considerable, that lieutenant-colonel Herries and his companion must be considered as owing their lives to their being unprepared to offer any resistance. They suffered little personal violence, and were allowed, when the plunder was finished, to proceed on their journey; their servant taking the place of the postillion, who was conveyed to Fondi in the carriage.

GREECE.

A violent earthquake, accompanied by an inundation of the sea, is said to have taken place near Athens; in which 5,000 of the inhabitants of Vostissa, near that city, perished.

GERMANY.

From Prague it is said, that for the current year all the following newspapers are prohibited from being circulated throughout Bohemia; and, we thence infer, throughout the whole of the Austrian states, viz. The New Rhinish Mercury, the opposition paper, The Neuwied Gazette; all papers printed in the Netherlands in the French language; all the Polish newspapers, and Nuremberg Correspondent. It is impossible to offer stronger evidence of the blind policy of certain states, than their determination to withhold from the people all means of free discussion.

The

The accounts from different quarters of Germany speak of a great number of robbers and incendiaries, who are organized in banditti, and commit the greatest excesses. Several chateaux and other dwellings have been destroyed by incendiaries in Franconia.

SWEDEN.

By a document signed by the king of Sweden, on the events which have taken place since the last diet, and on the general state and prospects of the kingdom, it appears that a treaty of commerce has been concluded between Sweden and the United States; and a treaty with Russia respecting the commercial relations between Sweden and Finland, her former province. Prussia has made considerable progress in paying up the sums agreed upon as an indemnity to Sweden for the loss of Pomerania. The Swedish revenue of customs has improved, and her foreign debt has every where been discharged or diminished.

RUSSIA.

From Russia we are informed that coal has been found in the environs of Toula, the great centre of Muscovite manufacturing industry; and that, through the agency of the count de Lieven, a party of Scotchmen have been engaged to carry on the necessary works.

The following article appears in the Russian Court Calendar: "Three hundred and fifty-five years have elapsed since all the Russian provinces were united under one government, during which period the Russian frontiers have been from time to time extended, without a single instance in Russian history of a cession of terri-

tory."—The acquisitions of territory made by Russia took place as follows: Siberia, in 1573; Little Russia, in 1644; Livonia and Esthonia, in 1710; White Russia, in 1772; the Crimea, in 1783; Lithuania and Courland, in 1793; the remainder of Poland, in 1795; Georgia, in 1801; Bialystock, in 1807; Finland, in 1809; and the duchy of Warsaw, in 1815.

According to a list officially published in Russia, of the number of deaths in 1815, there were 613 persons above 100 years of age, viz. 209 above 105 years old; 123 above 110, 72 above 115, 31 above 120, 13 above 125, 6 above 130, and 1 of 155 years of age.

The art of lithography (engraving on stone) has lately been introduced into the offices for the department of foreign affairs in Russia. It is employed for circulars addressed to diplomatic agents; and the number of copying clerks has in consequence been considerably diminished.

ENGLISH TRAVELLERS.

The last mail from Malta brought accounts from several travellers, persons of the first distinction, through Syria, Egypt, and the Grecian islands. Lady Hester Stanhope has taken up her residence at the convent of Mar Elias, near Bayreuth, on the coast of Syria. Her ladyship's influence is considerable throughout the country, and her patronage a certain security. She does honour to English hospitality by her manner of living, and many of our *scavans* have, within the last year, left her abode with sentiments of gratitude and admiration. The earl and countess of Belmore, and the whole of their party, were at

(A 3) Cyprus

Cyprus during the latter end of the summer. They then proceeded in his lordship's yacht to Salde, the ancient Sidon, on the coast of Syria. There, on their arrival, they found the dragoman of lady Hester Stanhope waiting to conduct them to her ladyship's place of residence, whither lord and lady Belmore, and the youths their sons (who accompanied them throughout their extensive and varied journey), the private tutor, physician, and others of their party proceeded. To visit Jerusalem was the great object with which our travellers reached the port of Sidon; but it was discovered that there was no harbour on the whole coast of Syria sufficiently secure to protect a vessel from casualties which might occur during the time necessarily spent in a journey from the coast to the holy city, and the design was given up in consequence.—During their stay in Syria, the noble travellers employed themselves in geographical inquiries; and, we understand, they satisfied themselves that the Bible contains a better history of the country, with more geographical distinctness and precision, than is to be found in any other book descriptive of the Pagan countries of antiquity. From Sidon, lord Belmore and his suite proceeded to Acre, not renowned for any thing so much as for the noble defence of it by sir Sidney Smith. From the Syriac coast his lordship set sail for Alexandria, where the travellers remained for a fortnight, and from thence they all proceeded to Grand Cairo in Egypt, where they were on the 8th of October last. In this place they were waited for by a few persons

well known for scientific researches, who were ready to proceed on a mission set on foot by his royal highness the prince regent, to compare the accounts given by the French *savans* of the source of the Nile, with the real state of things. Here the two parties having united, preparations were made to ascend the Nile, for the purpose of scientific exploration, which was expected to be greatly facilitated by the mathematical apparatus which lord Belmore had with him, more particularly for ascertaining the exact latitude of places.—This expedition, it was calculated, would conclude about March; after which lord Belmore and his party were understood by our literary correspondents, who had met his lordship in Egypt, to intend travelling by land across the isthmus of Suez to Gaza; from thence to go to Jerusalem; and passing by the lake of Gennesareth to Nazareth, to proceed to Sidon, to rejoin lady H. Stanhope.

ASIA.

The ship Wabash, capt. Grant, of Baltimore, arrived in Macao roads (Canton river) from Smyrna on the 18th of May last. The captain proceeded to Canton to inquire the markets, leaving the two mates and 13 others to take care of the vessel. On the 24th she was boarded by the crew of a Ladroon boat, to the number of from 25 to 30, under pretence of putting a pilot on board. After amusing the officers until dark, they commenced an attack on them and the people with long knives; killed Mr. Hall, the first mate, and 3 seamen, outright; mortally or badly wounded the other mate, and two of the seamen;

men; and compelled two others, boys, to jump overboard—one of which, after having been 7 hours in the water, was saved. The surviving crew retreated to the fore-castle; but were compelled by threats of burning the vessel, to come on deck, and disclose where the money was stowed away. The Ladroons then secured about 10,000 dollars in specie, 35 chests of opium, and other property, the whole amounting to nearly 50,000 dollars. Mr. Cushing, and other American residents in Canton, were taking measures to obtain restitution from the Chinese government for this robbery in their waters, but their success was doubted.

By a late census of the island of Bombay, it appears there are 403,786 Hindoos, 27,811 Mahometans, 18,155 Parcees, 11,454 native Christians, 781 Jews. The houses are 20,786. This estimate is exclusive of temporary sojourners, European and native troops, or British subjects. From 60 to 70,000 persons visit this island periodically.

AFRICA.

Extract of a letter from the agent to Lloyd's at the Cape of Good Hope, dated November 15, 1817: "The following most daring instance of piracy was committed in our harbour on the 11th inst. viz.: The Elizabeth, White, lying at anchor off Robin island, with about 120 tons of oil on board, was boarded at about one A. M. by a party of armed deserters from his majesty's 10th regiment, and convicts, about 12 in number, *i. e.* 5 soldiers and 7 convicts, who, after securing the hatches, &c. obtained possession of the ship, and in the same

instant cut the cables, loosed the sails, and, favoured by a strong S. E. wind, succeeded in carrying her off, at six A. M. The captain and crew having refused to listen to their invitation to join them in their piratical undertaking, with the exception of the mate, were permitted to leave the ship in the boat, which reached Robin island in safety about four o'clock the same day."

Letters and papers, to the 18th of November, from the Cape of Good Hope, state, that government had ordered surveys to be made of the coast lying to the east, where there is a very extensive district producing the finest wheat. So flattering are the future prospects, that about 300 emigrants had lately arrived at the Cape from the northern parts of England, to take the management and direction of the extensive agricultural districts. His majesty's ship Dispatch, commanded by sir Jah-leel Brenton, had been sent by the governor to open the navigation of the river, to complete the surveys, to fix upon a harbour, and found the new colony.—Sir J. Brenton had ascertained that there is a good harbour in the Knysna, on the eastern coast of Cape Town.—We are sorry to find, that both the papers from the Cape, and the private letters, confirm the accounts already received, that the Dutch had committed great excesses in their restored colonies.—The immediate cause of the revolt at Saporana was, that the Dutch resident had ordered a woman to be flogged naked in the bazaar. The murder of the native (prisoners) at Java is also mentioned.

A letter from Sierra Leone (A 4) mentions

mentions the return to that place of the British scientific expedition for exploring the interior of Africa. They were completely unsuccessful; having advanced only about 150 miles into the interior, from Rio Nunez. Their progress was there stopped by a chief of the country; and after unavailing endeavours, for the space of four months, to obtain liberty to proceed, they abandoned the enterprise, and returned. Nearly all the animals died. Several officers died; and, what is remarkable, but one private, besides one drowned, of about 200. Captain Campbell died two days after their return to Rio Nunez, and was buried with another officer, in the same spot where major Peddie and one of his officers were buried on their advance.

EGYPT.

According to the latest accounts, Egypt is in a flourishing condition; but the pacha does not appear to conceal his pretensions to independence. He has raised his army to 80,000 men, without reckoning Arabs and Arnauts.—These last, who are very much attached to him, form his guard. All his forces are estimated at 100,000 men, but it is probable that this is very much exaggerated, for how could the revenues support this number of troops? It is certain that Europeans of every rank flock to the pacha, and that he gives them the most flattering reception. French officers obtain the preference, and all his artillery is commanded by them.—They exercise it every day in the European manner. The pacha has purchased two frigates, at Calcutta, to serve for the protection of the commerce of the Red

Sea. He has built one at Alexandria, and he is trying to purchase one in Sweden. To support his expenses, he has endeavoured to concentrate all the commerce of the country in his own hands; he forces the inhabitants to deliver up to him the produce of their fields and of their industry, at a very low price, which he again sells to the merchants at double value. He has established commercial houses in the principal cities of Europe; but this system of commerce is too disadvantageous to foreign merchants to last long. The pacha still seeks to attract European manufacturers, principally Swiss; and he has sent some young men into Europe to be brought up in the European manners, and instructed in the arts and sciences. He is now causing money to be coined with his own likeness.

AMERICA.

By the last accounts from New York it appears, that two-thirds of the American navy are in commission and afloat; and that every exertion was making, in all the naval yards within the union, to complete the ships now building there. For some time past a rendezvous for seamen had been opened in New York; and placards were posted in different parts of the city, offering three months pay down, to sailors on their entering into the service of the United States. It is said, that several English seamen, from the want of employment, had not been able to withstand so great a temptation, and were serving on board American ships of war.

The American government, it is said, has resolved to maintain in the poor-house, at the expense of

of the captain in whose ship they have sailed, all such European emigrants as shall not be able to find employment on their arrival in the United States.

At a meeting held at New York on the 25th of November, it was resolved, that a society should be formed of Irishmen, or descendants of Irishmen, for the purpose of endeavouring to procure from congress a tract of land in the Illinois territory, to be settled by emigrants from Ireland, and that a subscription should be entered into for carrying the purpose of the society into effect.

We regret to state, that a confirmation has been received of the melancholy accounts of the ravages of the late dreadful hurricanes in the West Indies. At Martinique, so terribly extensive were the effects, that the island presented nothing but one scene of desolation. All the vessels in that harbour were driven out to sea, and not one of them had been heard of on the 26th ult. At Port Royal, all the ships (among them a man of war), and property afloat, were driven on shore, and involved in ruin; and many lives were lost. At Barbadoes some damage was done on shore, and 12 vessels were thrown on the beach; but we are happy to find that his majesty's ship *Antelope*, rear-admiral Harvey (which was supposed to have been lost), arrived in safety at Barbadoes some days after the storm, and reached St. Kitts on the 12th ult. The island of St. Lucia suffered most tremendously. All the barracks were destroyed, and general Seymour, the governor, his wife and children, together with major Burdett, his wife, child, and ser-

vant, were buried in the ruins, and all except Mrs. Seymour and her children perished: the governor survived only a short time after he was taken out of the ruins. —At Dominica, every vessel was driven to sea. The interior of the country had likewise suffered so materially, that unless supplied from other settlements, the dread of famine appears to be entertained.

Recent letters from Martinique estimate the losses sustained by that colony from the late hurricane at 25,000,000 of francs. What is more afflicting still than the loss of property on the island is, that more than a thousand individuals have perished, and nine-tenths of the vessels have been shipwrecked.

Letters have been received from St. John's, Newfoundland, which contain some interesting particulars respecting the consequences of the late dreadful fires in that island. Numbers of the lower classes who had suffered losses by the conflagration had quitted Newfoundland and gone to Canada, to Nova Scotia, to New Brunswick, or to the territories of the United States, to procure employment. The governor had wisely provided occupation for the able-bodied men who remained on the island, by employing them in felling timber, at the rate of 1s. 6d. per day, for the re-construction of the buildings, which, it is highly probable, will be speedily restored. By the liberal contributions of the more wealthy, the necessities of the destitute aged, and the infirm remaining inhabitants, have been generously relieved. The friends of humanity will be happy to learn, that from the effect of these measures,

measures, the fairest hopes were entertained that the poor and labouring classes will be enabled to support the inclemency of a Newfoundland winter without being exposed to those severe privations and distress which were expected, as the sad consequences of the late awful calamity.

An ordinance has been passed in the city of Savannah, by which any one who teaches a person of colour (either a slave or free) to read or write, or causes such person to be so taught, is subjected to a fine of 30 dollars for each offence; and every person of colour who shall keep a school to teach reading or writing, is subject to a fine of 30 dollars, or be imprisoned 10 days, and whipped 39 lashes!—It is impossible to read the American papers without being horror-struck at the numerous advertisements for runaway slaves, and disgusted at the brutal descriptions of those unhappy beings.

There are horrible accounts of executions of persons engaged in the late rebellion at Pernambuco. A gentleman from thence reports that "prisoners were daily marched into the city from the provinces, and confiscations and executions were daily taking place. The treatment of the lifeless bodies of the prisoners is worthy of savages: after the prisoner is hanged, his head and hands are cut off, and his body made fast to a horse, and dragged through the filth and dirt of the principal streets of the city."

The archduchess Leopoldine landed at Rio Janeiro on the 6th of November, and was received on the shore by the king and queen of Portugal, and by her bridegroom the prince royal. The

procession commenced immediately to the royal chapel, where the marriage ceremony was performed.

JANUARY.

Extract of a letter, dated Northtown, Harris, 5th January:—"On the 29th of last month, an animal of the *trichechus rosmarus* species, the morss or wall-ross, was shot at Caolas Stocnis, on the east coast of this island. When first observed, it was lying upon a small rock, and on being wounded with a musket ball plunged into the sea; but keeping its head above water, afforded an opportunity of lodging several shots, which at length succeeded. As the animal had been skinned and otherwise mutilated before any account of it had been circulated, no accurate description could be taken; but as the species is well known to naturalists, such of your readers as are not acquainted with it may consult their works. This individual was of the size of a bull; it afforded two barrels of blubber, and its two large teeth projected 8½ inches beyond the gum. No creature of this kind having been killed here in the memory of the present inhabitants, they appear to blend with the proper ideas relating to its nature, those which they associate with the *cach uisg* and the *seilch uisg*; the former the water-kelpie of the lowlanders—the latter an animal, said, or rather supposed, to inhabit some large lakes in the Hebrides, and of vast size and monstrous proportion. It appears from the following circumstance, that another of the species, or possibly the same individual, had been seen some years ago: the people

people in a boat coming up the sound of Scalpay under night, on approaching a rock, heard a noise as if of some animal panting very loudly: on stopping, they observed a creature of great size, and having, as they thought, two horns, rise up and plunge into the sea, putting it into violent agitation for a considerable distance around. Terrified by the apparition, as they considered it, the people rowed off with great precipitation. As I have not heard of any of the species having been found among the Hebrides before, I presume this account will prove acceptable to your readers in general, and in particular to such as take pleasure in zoological inquiries."

A correspondent in Skye says, "I am just come from visiting a respectable old couple, whose ages, with a sister-in-law and maid servant living under their roof, make 338 years, viz. the wife 78, the husband 86, the sister 89, and the maid 85. The latter has been 40 years in the family."

7.—At a meeting of the Hereford diocesan committee, it appeared by the account of the books which had passed through the hands of the secretary, that 162 Bibles, 446 Prayer-books, and 4,633 Testaments, and select portions of Scripture, or other religious tracts, had been distributed within the last year by the different members of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge who reside in that neighbourhood.

8.—A sailing-match was fixed to take place between a boat belonging to a gentleman of Plymouth, and another to one of Stonehouse; which were to start

from Barnpool, and after passing round the Eddystone, to return to the Break-water. The boats started with a moderate breeze from the eastward, and proceeded to within two miles of the desired spot, when the wind became much stronger with a heavy sea; they were then under a press of sail, each endeavouring to the utmost to surpass the other, when the Stonehouse boat, which was only a short distance from her competitor, disappeared in a moment (the sea at this time running tremendously high), with lieut. J. W. Dyer, of the royal navy, Mr. Webster Harrison, and James Turnbull and Richard Seymour, watermen. The persons on board the other boat, immediately, on losing sight of them, shortened sail, and endeavoured to make for the spot where they seemed to have disappeared, with the hope of saving them; but, after looking round in every direction for a considerable time, without success, and to their own imminent danger, they bore away for Looe, where they arrived safely.

19.—A perfect Roman pavement was discovered about a yard and a half below the surface of the ground, by some workmen who were digging at the Hanging Ditch public-house, near Stafford.

The soil of Devonshire has proved peculiarly suitable for the cultivation of hops; the samples produced at the last Weyhill fair from Whimble and Larkbeare, in that county, were allowed to be superior in quality to either the Sussex or Kent, and to be the best exhibited at the fair. This circumstance will, doubtless, give encouragement to promote the growth of that useful article, as it

it must enhance the value of estates in the west of England.

A private letter from Dublin mentions the following melancholy accident: "One of the tricks performed by the Indian Jugglers now exhibiting their art in that city, is the catching of a ball between the teeth fired from a pistol. At a recent exhibition, the pistol, according to custom, was handed to a young gentleman, one of the company, for the purpose of firing it. He did so, and shot the unfortunate juggler through the head. It is supposed that a pistol actually loaded with powder and ball was, by mistake, substituted for that prepared in the usual way."

Inverness, Jan. 15.

Perhaps no country is more abundant in mineral riches than Scotland, and few afford such facilities of exploring their hidden treasures. Deeply intersected by the sea on every quarter in its bold and indented shores, it lays open to view its various and interesting strata, while its irregular, rocky, and broken surface saves the miner the labour of penetrating through deep beds of clay, sand, or earth, to reach its mineral products. In Glenstrathfarar, not 30 miles from this, we learn that last summer a valuable mine of plumbago, or graphite, was discovered, which promises to be of great importance. This substance (commonly known by the improper name of black lead, for there is no lead in its composition) is of extensive use in the arts. It is formed into pencils, used for diminishing friction, and for giving a lustre to the numerous substances formed of cast iron. This mine is situated on the Lovat estate, in a schistose rock close to

the farm, and crops out to an extent of not less than 50 feet in five different seams, and some of these from 12 to 18 inches in thickness. Several tons of it were turned out last summer, and it seemed to improve much as the miners penetrated deeper; and the different seams or layers seemed also to thicken and to run into one. There are only two mines of it, as far as we know, in Britain, which are wrought, one near Cumnock in Ayrshire, and the other at Borodale in Cumberland. The mineral found at Borodale is of such value that the finer pieces sell for two or three guineas the lb. weight. We anticipated, with pleasure, the good that would result from the successful working of this mine to this quarter of the country, and we are happy to learn that, from the trials which have been made, there is every reason to expect success.

SINGULAR FACT.

A few weeks ago, a labourer in the parish of Glencairn was suddenly attacked by six weasels, which rushed upon him from an old dyke, in the field where he was at work. The man, alarmed at such a furious onset from an unprovoked enemy, instantly betook himself to flight, in which, however, he was closely pursued; and although he had about him a large horse-whip, with which he endeavoured by several back-handed strokes to stop them, yet so eager was their pursuit, that he was on the point of being seized by the throat, when he luckily noticed at some distance the fallen branch of a tree, which he made for, and hastily snatching it up, commenced in his turn the attack, with so much success, that he killed three of them, and put the remaining

remaining three to flight. Our readers may have some idea of the man's danger, when it is known that two of them are a match for a dog. Not long ago the public were amused with some whimsical accounts of depredations committed in the metropolis by horses and dogs; and the above anecdote, which we are assured is authentic, may be added to the instances of depravity among the lower animals. We have often been astonished at the proofs of the instinct by which the brutes seem to measure their relative powers of defence and aggression; but we had no idea that any animal so insignificant as the weasel had become acquainted with the principle of combination, by which the weak have so often triumphed over the strong.

ISLE OF MAN, &c.

It is essential to the safety of shipping, and therefore of importance to all persons interested in the trade to and about the Isle of Man, that mariners should be accurately acquainted with the bank or banks which appear to have lately grown up between that island and the coast of Cumberland. In the year 1816 it was announced, that Mr. R. Coulthard, of the Bee trawl-boat, of Whitehaven, had discovered a shoal of about three or three and a half fathoms, at low water, spring tides, from the least water upon which St. Bee's Head bore, by compass, E. half N. and Red Brows, near Ramsay, WNW. and which has therefore been inserted in the charts, bearing, in a true direction, nearly East from Ramsey Bay, and nearly in a line with the Bahama Bank. In June 1817, from some remarks made, and

soundings taken by Mr. W. Porter, master of the royal navy, and Mr. Tod, teacher of mathematics, Whitehaven, it appears also, that a bank lies to the eastward of that called King William's Sand. This is about 600 yards in length, north and south by compass, by 300 in breadth. It has only ten feet over it at low-water, of spring tides, and lies in lat. 54 deg. 26 min. 12 sec. with Burrow Head, N. 16 W. Maughrald's Head S. 78 deg. 44 min. W. and Douglas Head S. 71 deg. W. by compass.

Since the loss of the Newhaven boat, on Tuesday last, boats have been employed in dredging for the bodies of the two sufferers; yesterday about 60 fishermen were employed in this melancholy search, when the body of Hume was found under circumstances peculiarly interesting. One of the boats was dredging within a few yards of the spot where the accident had happened, and a brother of Hume's was anxiously looking over the side, when the body came to the surface with such force, that the faces of the two brothers touched each other; which so deeply affected the surviving brother, that he instantly fainted away. The body of Ramsey has not yet been found.

On Thursday the 15th instant, during the great storm of wind, that fine old horse-chestnut tree in front of the Castle of Eglington, which has long been admired for its stately appearance, received considerable damage. This tree, rising from three conjoined stems, overspread an area of about 30 yards diameter, or better than the eighth part of an English acre; one of these was separated from the

the two others and blown down. The main bole of it is 14 feet in length and nine feet in girth, and with its several branches measures of saleable timber more than 134 cubical feet. The remaining two stems are of similar dimensions, so that taking it in all, this tree has contained above 400 feet of timber. Till this accident happened, the stalk was so closely connected, as to have always been considered as one solid trunk. It is supposed to be very aged; perhaps more than two centuries.

The Spanish chesnut tree, under which the unfortunate duke of Monmouth and his party dined before the battle of Sedgemore, is still standing in Dillington Park, near Ilminster. It now measures 26 feet in circumference, and annually produces a large quantity of nuts.

A considerable quantity of uncommonly large haddocks have been caught by the fishermen of Auchmithie, within these eight days; one, in particular, was sold in Arbroath, which measured in length 28 inches; girth, in the thickest part of the body, 16 inches, and weighed 8lbs. A roe was taken out of the fish, which weighed very nearly 1lb. weight.

The following fact, as far as we know, has not yet appeared in print. It is, however, deserving of record, as an interesting contribution to what has hitherto been discovered on the subject of vegetable physiology, and as enabling the lovers of flowers to prolong for a day the enjoyment of their short-lived beauty. Most flowers begin to droop and fade after being kept during twenty-four hours in water; a few may be revived by substituting fresh water;

but all (the most fugacious, such as the poppy, and perhaps one or two others excepted) may be completely restored by the use of hot water. For this purpose place the flowers in scalding water, deep enough to cover about one third of the length of the stem; by the time the water has become cold the flowers will have become erect and fresh; then cut off the coddled end of the stems, and put them into cold water.

Susanna Wesencraft, daughter of the keeper of Tynemouth light-house, has lately experienced a very extraordinary resuscitation from apparent death. This young person (aged 15 years) had been for some time in a rapid decline; medical skill had been exhausted in her behalf; the body was laid out for the interment and the coffin bespoke: by the assiduous and persevering attention of her apothecary, however, re-animation took place, and her recovery is now no longer doubtful. Her grateful and affectionate parents request the favour of the editor to insert this very singular case, to encourage hope, induce exertion, and prevent premature interment.

Windsor Castle, Jan. 3.

His Majesty has passed the last month in a very tranquil manner, and in a good state of bodily health; but his Majesty's disorder remains unchanged.

6.—The lessees of the tolls of Covent-garden market, under the duke of Bedford, lately attempted to raise the tolls on peas and beans from 4*d.* per cart-load to 1*d.* per sack—The market gardeners resisting, an action to decide their right was tried in the Common Pleas this day, and the result was in favour of the market gardeners, who

who not only obtained a verdict setting aside the higher demand of the lessee, but (as expressed by Mr. Justice Park,) the evidence rendered it doubtful whether the duke had any right to the tolls at all.

31.—This day London was completely enveloped by a fog, which was so thick as to render it impossible to discern objects at only the distance of a few yards. Candles were burnt in all the houses in the city during the day; and the stage coachmen were obliged to employ men to lead their horses.—It appears to have been confined to London and its immediate vicinity.

3.—This afternoon, Matthew Hirst, about 14, the son of Mr. Hirst, of the Three Hats, Islington-green, came to his death in the following lamentable manner: He had returned home from boarding-school to spend his holidays, and was playing with his brother and sisters, all younger than himself. He said to them, "I will show you how they hang men at the gallows;" and procured a rope, which he tied to a hook, and having got upon a stool, he fastened the other end round his neck. He either kicked the stool, or it fell accidentally from under him. The children seeing his face black and distorted, went to the bar to the mother, and said, "Mat is hanging himself to frighten us." The mother, thinking the children were merely at play, took no notice, until the porter went into the kitchen, and found him suspended, when he was cut down, but was quite dead.

5.—This morning, before six o'clock, a dreadful fire broke out

in the bakehouse of Mr. Shaw, opposite the church, Newington Butts, which consumed Mr. Shaw's house and four others adjoining, besides injuring more very considerably.

In the afternoon, pursuant to notice, a meeting was held at the City of London tavern, to consider the means of relieving distressed seamen. Mr. Wilberforce explained the object for which they were convened. Mr. Martin proposed a series of resolutions: the first declaratory, that the public ways were filled with these unfortunate mariners, and that they were entitled to assistance under the pressure of their calamities. After some discussion, in which Sir James Shaw, Mr. Rowcroft, Mr. Martin, and Mr. Stevens, delivered their sentiments, the above, with several other resolutions, were agreed to, a committee to manage the subscriptions appointed, and many contributions were received. A very considerable sum was afterwards raised for this benevolent object. The Trinity-House subscribed 200 guineas, and the East India Company 200*l*. The Marine Society agreed to clothe 100 destitute seamen, and quantities of shoes and stockings were also received.—Jan. 8, upwards of 200 distressed seamen had been relieved with food, and supplied with temporary lodgings.

7.—This morning the lord chancellor took his seat in the hall at ten o'clock, when Sir Thomas Plumer knight, the late vice-chancellor, was introduced, in order to his being sworn into his new office of master of the rolls. His honour sat down at the left hand of the lord chancellor, where he remained while the patent issued by the prince regent, acting
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in the name and on the behalf of the king, was read by the proper officer. The instrument referred to the appointment of the late master, sir William Grant, on the 27th of May, in the 41st year of his majesty's reign, and to his recent resignation on the 31st of December last. It likewise enumerated the long list of distinguished individuals, commencing with Edward lord Bruce, who, during more than two centuries back, had immediately discharged the functions of that high office; and concluded with his royal highness's entire confidence in the wisdom, learning, integrity, and abilities of sir Thomas Plumer, for the due execution of his important trust.—The oaths of abjuration and allegiance being taken by his honour, the patent was then presented to him by the lord chancellor, and his lordship, with the new master and the officers in attendance, left the court.

10.—This morning, about three o'clock, the mustard mills of Watson and Co. of Bankside, St. Saviour's, were discovered to be on fire. At four the engines arrived, and about eight o'clock the flames were almost extinguished. The adjoining premises of Mr. Rumsey were considerably damaged. The mills were close by the water side, and adjoining a coal wharf, where several barges with coals were fastened, which were set adrift to save them from the flames.

FIRE IN SHEERNESS DOCK-YARD.

On Friday night, about half-past nine o'clock, this place was thrown into the greatest consternation, by the ringing of the alarm bells in the dock-yard, the beating of the drums, and the firing of the men

of war's guns. It was occasioned by a fire having broken out in the house belonging to the steam-engine erected for the purpose of carrying on the new works situated in the southern part of the dock-yard, near the kilns used for burning cement stone. The most serious apprehensions were entertained for the safety of the arsenal; and what was more distressing to the feelings of the spectators, was its contiguity to the workhouse, which, from the pressure of the times and want of employment, is crowded with many unfortunate individuals. Providence, however, averted the impending danger, and about twelve o'clock we had the pleasure of seeing the raging flames subdued, with only the loss of the engine-house. No lives, it is understood, have been lost, but one poor man is severely hurt. Captain Walker of the Northumberland, and the officers of that ship, lieutenant Griffin of the Swan cutter, and captain Brown and the officers of the Ordinary, with the military officers and soldiers of the garrison, assembled on the first alarm. The latter were under arms the whole time, and were of great service in keeping off the spectators. The inhabitants of the town were at one time under serious apprehensions, as the fire was not far from the Fountain tavern, and the residence of Mr. Miller, in High-street. At the former, the landlady of the house had but recently lain in, and was removed on the first alarm being given. Sir Robert Barlow, from Chatham, who superintends during the absence of commissioner Boyle, was here yesterday to investigate into the cause, which it is suspected arose from carelessness.

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ness.—The damage, however, has not been so great as was at first expected, and which it might have been but for the prompt and effectual assistance that was given.

12.—This morning a fatal duel was fought by Mr. O'Callaghan and lieutenant Bailey, late of the 58th regiment. The parties had been seconds to two other gentlemen, who had had a dispute at a coffee-house, and who having through some misunderstanding failed to meet at the appointed place, the respective seconds proceeded to post the antagonist of their principal as a coward. On Bailey and O'Callaghan meeting at an hotel, they charged each other with purposely avoiding to meet; and a challenge ensued. The parties met at nine o'clock in a field near Primrose-hill; when, after an exchange of two shots on each side, lieutenant Bailey received a wound from his antagonist and fell. He was immediately conveyed to the house of Mr. Adams, who resided at a short distance, and who, having been alarmed at the first report, had hastened towards the spot, and saw the fatal shot fired at the moment of his arrival. Mr. O'Callaghan, Mr. Newbolt his second, and Mr. Phelan the second of Mr. Bailey, conducted themselves under the distressing event with the greatest degree of feeling towards the deceased, who acknowledged previous to his death that they had behaved honourably, and frequently shook hands with them. The parties immediately surrendered themselves to the civil power. On Wednesday a coroner's inquest sat on the body, and returned a verdict of Wilful murder. They were consequently
1818.

committed to Newgate, and on the 16th were arraigned before Mr. Justice Park. Mr. Adams, and Mr. Rodd the surgeon, in their evidence, concurred in the good conduct and intense feeling manifested by the prisoners after the fatal shot had been fired, and said, so far from wishing to abscond, they freely gave their several names and addresses in writing. The prisoners being called upon for their defence, Mr. Phelan and Mr. Newbolt declined addressing the court. Mr. O'Callaghan, who was deeply affected, was about to read a written paper, but was unable to proceed. It stated in substance, that, not being addicted to crime, he had never for a moment anticipated that he should be brought before a court of justice; much less could he have supposed that he should have been charged with the dreadful crime of murder. He declared most solemnly, that no man living, even one connected by the ties of blood with the deceased, could regret more poignantly the calamity which had deprived a brave man, and a valuable friend, of life.—Witnesses of great respectability proved the parties to be men of good temper, humane dispositions, and honourable principles.—Mr. Justice Park addressed the Jury in a most able manner for 50 minutes, in the course of which he clearly explained the law on the case. The jury retired for 20 minutes, and on their return gave in their verdict, that Mr. O'Callaghan, Mr. Newbolt, and Mr. Phelan, were each of them guilty of manslaughter only. They have since been sentenced to three months imprisonment.

At each of the toll-lodges at
(B) Waterloo

Waterloo-bridge is a very ingenious piece of mechanism, for the purpose of checking the receipts. The iron turn-stiles on the pavement are so constructed as to admit only one person at a time. The motions of these, by means of some very simple machinery, communicate with a more complex piece within the toll-lodge, constructed on the same principle; this is furnished with a species of dial, inscribed with various numbers, and an index, which is moved so indirectly by the action of the turn-stile without, that on looking at the dial, the number of those who have passed is directly seen. Some machinery, on a similar principle, we understand, is to be applied for the same purpose to the horse and carriage gates.

There is in the collection of a gentleman at Paddington a curiosity of the following description: It is the body of a boy, apparently about 12 years old, which was found in an erect posture, with the clothes on, in a vault under St. Botolph's (Aldgate) old church in the year 1742, and it is supposed that the boy must have been shut in at the time of the plague in London, in 1665, as the vault had not been opened from that period until the time mentioned, when the church was pulled down. The extraordinary circumstances attending this body are, that the skin, fibres and intestines are all hard, and very little of the bones appears. It weighs about eighteen pounds.

A Cape of Good Hope sheep was displayed on Friday, at the shop of a butcher, the tail of which (one solid mass of fat) measures in length 26 inches, is eight inches in breadth, and 19 inches

and a half round, and weighs upwards of 18 pounds.

FEBRUARY.

RUSSIA.

The following account of the church building at Moscow, is extracted from a Hamburgh paper:—

“Moscow, Dec. 18.

“The plan of the church of ‘Christ the Redeemer,’ which is building on the eminence called the Sperlinberg, is by M. Wilberg, an academician, and formerly pupil of the Russian Academy. This temple will be one of the largest and finest works of modern architecture. The whole height of the building, from the bottom of the eminence to the cross, is about 110 fathoms. A flight of steps, 50 fathoms broad, beginning at the distance of 70 fathoms from the river Moscow, and forming five divisions, which serve for the foundation of this great building, leads to the middle of the eminence, where the foundation is laid for the lowest temple, that of ‘The birth of Christ,’ which rises fifteen fathoms towards the summit of the eminence, to which the flight of steps, divided into two branches, takes another turn. Then begins the temple called ‘The appearance of Christ,’ with a fine entrance, five fathoms broad; and on each end 89 fathoms long. Upon this temple, round a dome 25 fathoms in diameter, the third and highest temple will be erected, called ‘The resurrection of Christ.’ The lowest temple has the form of a parallelogram; the second, that of a square and equal armed cross; and the highest, that of a circle. In this temple there will be 48 bells, which form the four harmonic accords

cords of music, and the solemn peal of which will particularly announce the festival of the resurrection. The upper part of this temple, from the summit of the eminence to the cross, is 80 fathoms; on both sides of the lowest temple will be a colonnade of 300 fathoms, at the two ends of which there will be two monuments of 60 fathoms in height, one of them to be made out of the cannon taken from the enemy in the year 1812, between Moscow and the Russian frontiers, and the other of the cannon taken between the Russian frontiers and Paris."

NETHERLANDS.

The journal of the Low Countries contains the following singular narrative:—

"Some days ago, a curate in the suburbs of Louvaine was sent for to fulfil the last duties with a sick person. Having discharged them, he returned to his own habitation. It was night. In passing near a house he perceived a light, and the door open. He entered; and what was his surprise at seeing a bloody corpse stretched near the entrance! He recognised it to be the body of the master of the house. A little further he observed that of his unfortunate wife, killed in the same manner. At length, by the assistance of a light, he discovered in the chimney-place legs which appeared to be in motion by the effect of convulsive movements. It was the female servant suspended by the neck, in the last agonies of death. He hastened to cut the cord, and with much difficulty restored her to the use of her senses. He interrogated the girl respecting the circumstances of this horrid deed; she hesitated for some time

to give an explanation. At length she told the curate, that the principal author of these assassinations was his own nephew; she gave such an account of him, that the curate could not misconceive her description, and also described the villains that accompanied him. Furnished with this information, the curate pursued his way to his own residence; but resolved to cause his nephew, with the murderers, to be arrested. Before he reached home he applied to the mayor, declared to him what he had seen and heard, and requested him to assist him by every means which his functions would admit of, to succeed in his plan. The mayor with much prudence employed the measures necessary in such a case; and having arranged the plan with the curate, the latter returned home. He there found his nephew, who appeared watching for his return. 'I have had a painful visit,' said he to him, 'and I want some refreshment; go down into the cellar, and bring me a bottle of wine, that we may partake of it.' The nephew hesitated, and endeavoured to persuade his uncle that he would do better to go to bed. 'Well then, I will go to the cellar myself,' said the curate, 'since you fear to put yourself out of the way to do me a service.' In effect, he rose to execute his design; when the nephew, with an eagerness accompanied with excuses, told him he was going to do what he desired. He descended; but scarcely had he entered, when the curate closed the door upon him. The nephew thought at first that it was only a trick; but soon after the mayor arrived with an escort, and the cellar door was opened. They

found there the nephew, with fifteen brigands, companions of his crimes. They recognised them to be the individuals that the servant had described. They were disarmed, bound, and conducted to the neighbouring prisons."

FRANCE.

'From the vigilance of the wolf-hunters, 2416 wolves have been killed in France between the 1st January 1816 and the 1st of July 1817.

In the night of the 10th and 11th of February, when his grace the duke of Wellington was returning to his hotel in his carriage, a pistol-shot was fired, which neither touched him nor the carriage. Search was in vain made for the ball, it could not be found. It is said that the assassin came from behind the sentry-box to the left, and the sentinels who were under the outer gate immediately ran in pursuit of him. The darkness prevented them from apprehending him. According to information obtained by the police, it is believed that the author of this act will be discovered.

AMERICA.

The account of the following most distressing case is extracted from a letter sent to a person in Greenock, and will be read with feelings of sympathy and interest :

'Quebec, October 20, 1817.

"Since our arrival in Montreal, in the ship Montreal, Richard M'Fie and I, thinking to better ourselves, left the vessel, and getting a small boat, departed from Montreal to seek better fortune. We were three days and three nights before we reached Quebec; there we were six days before we found employment; we engaged with one captain Maxwell, in a

schooner, bound to the Labrador shore. We made a very good voyage, and were going off for the Mediterranean, to make our market along with the same captain, who had now taken a liking to us both. But, alas! on our passage through the Straits of Belleisle, we encountered a hard gale of wind, lying-to under bare poles for three days and three nights; the vessel strained herself so much that she sprung a leak; we were obliged to bear up all that night, and were drove on a lee shore, the man looking out being unable to see the land till we came close upon it, the snowing and drifting being tremendous. The look-out man now jumped to the fore-scuttle, saying, 'Bear a hand up, men, for we are close to land.' Before I had time to get out of bed, she struck on a rock, and we (the watch below), before I had time to get on my boots, were up to our knees in water on the fore-castle. We had just time to cut the boat loose, and get into it before the vessel went down. We got safely ashore; but from the intensity of the cold (it being the 23d of November) four of the crew perished on the island. The third day after, the captain and the rest of us took the boat, and pulled across to the mainland; by my holding fast the oar, I could not bring my hands to any feeling. The captain soon after perished on the beach. After this we set off (Richard, myself, and the cook) over the snow drifts, without any provisions except what berries we could pick up here and there, travelling for thirteen days, when we arrived at a place called Cape Carpoon, at a fisherman's hut, a hundred and fifty miles from the wreck. This man put our hands and

and feet into cold water to thaw them : but it had no effect : in cutting off our boots, and trying to get off the stockings, the skin came off both Richard and myself. During this time the cook died, and there was no relief for us two, but that our arms and legs should be cut off to save our lives—which was performed on Christmas day last, by a man who, with his knife, acted the doctor as well as he could, amputating both our legs and arms : but poor Richard, in about twenty days after, also gave up the ghost, lamenting his hard fate, but saying he would die contented if one person survived to inform our friends at home of our sad disasters. Our legs were cut off about an inch above the ankle, and our arms at the wrist—Thanks to Providence, I remain at present in very good health and in a comfortable situation, and may stay here, at the General Hospital in Quebec, as long as I live.

“NIEL DEWAR.”

The Boston Sentinel of the 7th ult. furnishes the following article.

“Children of the Forest—The Seneca Indians, lately arrived here from the borders of Lake Erie, have embarked in the Sally for Liverpool. The Sachem of them is called colonel Thomas or Long Horn, and five of the warriors are named Swamp, Beaver, Handsome, Lazy Traveller, and Two Guns. They have visited several of our public institutions, and colonel Sargeant’s painting of ‘Christ entering Jerusalem.’ They appeared gratified with the picture, but could not be made to comprehend the divine character of the principal figure in it. The sentiments of all Indians on religious and moral subjects are the same.

They have a moral sense of right and wrong, the same as they have the sense of tasting and feeling. They say the Great Spirit has never given them a Bible, but their prophets and sages have taught them to be just, good, hospitable, and honest—that crime is hardly known in their tribes, and that they have full confidence in a happy immortality. The Senecas have long been the most numerous of the six nations, Senecas, Onondagoes, Mohawks, Oneidas, Tuscaroras, and Cayngas, but they too are dwindled away ; and very shortly scarce a relic will be left of them. These nations have always been friendly to the American cause ; and during the war of the revolution kept a very respectable force continually with the armies of the United States. Their country is now surrounded with a numerous white population.”

EGYPT.

Antiquities.—By a letter from a gentleman now in Egypt, we learn, that the attempt to remove the colossal bust of Memnon from amidst the ruins of Thebes, made in the course of last year, had perfectly succeeded ; it had been conveyed to Alexandria, where it was embarked for Malta, for the purpose of being brought to England, to be placed in the British Museum. The bust is described in the letter as consisting of a single piece of granite, of a flesh-colour from the top of the head to the neck, the rest being gray ; the weight is computed at fourteen tons. The writer of the letter made several excavations, and discovered a row of sphinxes (of black marble) with the bodies of women and lions’ heads beautifully sculptured, and several of them quite perfect ; and

(B 3) also

also a statue of Jupiter, of cream-coloured marble. After reaching Alexandria with the bust, he took a second journey to Thebes; and recommencing his excavations, he discovered a beautiful colossal head of Osiris; one of the arms was also found, which measured eleven feet. After working for twenty days, a temple was opened, containing fourteen large chambers, including a spacious hall, in which were found eight colossal statues, thirty feet high, all standing, and quite perfect. Four others were found in the sanctuary. The walls were covered with hieroglyphics. A small statue of Jupiter, found in the great hall, and two lions with ox heads, were brought from thence, for the purpose of being also conveyed to England.

ASIA.

Chinese shop bill.—The following is a correct translation of a Chinese shop bill, which enveloped a packet of Indian ink. It will prove that the art of *puffing* is as well understood and practised in China as by any of the most celebrated quacks in this country.—

“SINBONE.—Very good ink, very fine; very old shop; grandfather, father, and self make this ink; fine and hard; picked out very fine and black, before and now. Sell very good ink, prime cost is very dear; this ink is heavy, so is gold; no one can make like it; the others that make ink, do it for money, and to cheat; I only make it good for a name. Plenty of gentlemen know my ink, my family never cheat, always a good name. I make ink for the Emperor and all the Mandarines round; all gentlemen must come to my shop and know my name.—*Unwhanghi Fuki.*”

The passage of the Dutch frigate *Wilhelmina* to Batavia may be reckoned among the shortest recorded in naval history. Captain Dibbets, who commands this vessel, sailed from the Texel on the 1st of May 1817, and arrived on the 15th of June at Rio Janeiro, where he remained till the 7th of July; he then sailed, and arrived on the 30th of August following at the bay called Peper-Baai, in Java; so that the whole passage lasted one hundred and one days and nights. There were neither any deaths nor any sickness among the crew or the troops on board.

The returns lately made to the house of commons represent the rapid increase of saving banks in a more flattering point of view than has been anticipated. It appears that, from the 6th of August 1817 to the 5th January 1818 no less a sum than 325,054*l.* has been received by the commissioners for the reduction of the national debt, from the trustees of the saving banks in Great Britain, to be applied in the purchase of stock for the subscribers. This sum has purchased 376,733*l.* of three per cent. stock.

For some time past it has been the practice to cast in a mould, from cast iron, table knives, forks, scissors, razors, &c. which, by the polish given them, are made to resemble those of steel and wrought iron and steel; many of them are stamped *warranted* and *shear steel*, which are the marks put by the respectable manufacturers of wrought steel. Large quantities of these cast articles have been exported; and unless some means are used to prevent the deception by their being properly stamped,

so that the purchaser may not be deceived, our trade to foreign countries may be most materially injured.

APSLEY-HOUSE.—Thirty thousand pounds was the sum paid by the duke of Wellington to his brother the marquis of Wellesley for his town residence in Piccadilly, including the furniture, to which his grace has since added many superb additions of French manufacture in bronze and *or molu*, or which the Parisian artists are so much distinguished. It was intended to have changed the name of Apsley-house to that of the new owner; but the duke being told that there was a *Wellington-house* in every street, where dwelt a *linen-drapeer* or a *haberdasher*, he determined to preserve the old name by way of distinction.

The bargain for the estate of Strathfield-say has at length been completed, and it is now the duke of Wellington's. There was an obstacle to the negotiation about a month since. Upon a survey of the timber, it was found to be worth 170,000*l.*, a sum much exceeding the duke's expectation, and also beyond the capital which it was agreeable to him to employ in the purchase of wood. Government removed this obstacle, by agreeing to take about 120,000*l.* worth of timber for the dock-yards. The four thousand acres, of which the estate consists, are nearly adjoining, or in the vicinity, of the late Tylney Long, esq. now the property of the duke's nephew, W. P. L. P. Wellesley, esq. They are also in the neighbourhood of the large property of lord Langford, a relative of the duchess. An estate of about 1200 acres, which lies with-

in three or four miles of it, was offered for sale not long since, and may ultimately be added to the duke's possessions in that quarter. Another circumstance, which gives an appropriate value to this territory, is its nearness to the military college at Sandhurst, the pupils of which will thus have always in their view the splendid rewards of one who has rendered eminent services.

MELANCHOLY OCCURRENCE.—

A very melancholy event took place on Friday afternoon last, in the workshop of Mr. R. Morris, painter, of Chester. The greatest part of the men employed by Mr. Morris had assembled, we understand, in one room, for the purpose of celebrating the enfranchisement from a state of apprenticeship of one of the young men. After they had been regaling themselves some time, two of them (of the names of Udol and Usherwood) engaged in a variety of antics, in the course of which they overturned a bucket of water, and a large tin can which was filled with spirit of turpentine, in which they rolled each other. Udol then, without the slightest intention of injuring his friend and fellow-workman, applied a piece of lighted paper to Usherwood's pantaloons. The effect of this act was awful in the extreme; in an instant the young man was enveloped in a body of fire. His companions immediately resorted to a variety of expedients to extinguish the flame, but without effect. His wearing apparel in a few minutes (with the exception of one garter and a part of one of his stockings,) was burnt to ashes. His body was dreadfully scorched,

(B 4) and

and presented a frightful spectacle. He was carried to the infirmary, a short time after the fatal event took place, where he lingered in the most excruciating agony until about six o'clock on Saturday evening, when death relieved him from all his sufferings. An inquest was held on the body on Sunday last. Verdict—Accidental death.

STAFFORDSHIRE POTTERIES.—It is not in the power of language to convey an adequate idea of the appearance of the Staffordshire potteries: they form a scene of a novel kind, totally different from the general character of an English town; and if the term *amorphous* can ever be with propriety applied to an aggregate of buildings, no place on earth can more forcibly claim the epithet. Conceive twelve or fourteen populous villages, covering an area of ten miles by two, so closely connected as to leave between them no perceptible separation, and you will have a tolerable idea of the extent of this manufactory! Conceive again a large house, built of the finest materials, furnished in the most superb manner, and apparently better adapted for the palace of a grandee than the modest mansion of a tradesman; surrounded with furnaces, kilns, and sheds, and perpetually involved in smoke; and you have a faint sketch of the habitation of a gentleman potter! The smelting of lead, and the converting of it into any oxide, is universally allowed to produce the excruciating disease called the *belland*; the vapours of sulphur lay the foundation of spasms and contractions; the inhaling of sublimed arsenic causes almost instant suf-

focation; nor is any preparation of tin, copper, or antimony, perfectly salutary to the functions of vitality.—Imagine then all these ingredients mixing with the steam of the drying clay, and you will have some conception of the purity of air breathed in a pottery. Paint to yourself some thousands of human beings subjected to the joint influence of such an atmosphere, labouring under a complication of disorders which generally terminate in asthma or consumption. See these emaciated wretches every day renewing an occupation which shortens the enjoyment of life, for the sole purpose of procuring a scanty aliment to prolong, if possible, a miserable existence. Survey then the ornaments of your tea-table, and learn by reflection, how numerous are the sufferings and privations of one part of mankind, in order to supply the other with imaginary comforts and useless luxuries. In a commercial view, however, the potteries rank high. Foreign markets are hence supplied with a ware peculiar to our country, and superior in its kind to any continental manufacture. India is rivalled in her porcelain, and even the antique vases of Italy have yielded up their composition to the chemical research of the philosophizing potter, who can reproduce them in such perfection, as to elude the scrutinizing criticism of the most curious connoisseur.

HORRID MURDERS.—We have the painful task to record two most horrid murders which were discovered yesterday at Greenwich, of Mr. Bird and his house-keeper, who resided in a house belonging to Mr. Bird, near the Mitre

Mitre. Mr. Bird was near 70, and has resided many years in the town of Greenwich, where he carried on the business of a tallow-chandler, and by which he acquired sufficient property to retire and live upon his income. His wife died about two years ago, since which no person has resided with him but his housekeeper. He was a constant attendant at Greenwich church, and was always in his place as soon as the service began, accompanied by his housekeeper. Yesterday morning it was noticed by the beadle of the parish and others, that they were not in their seats as usual. At the conclusion of the service, the shutters of Mr. Bird's house not having been opened, the beadle and others went there, and receiving no answer, they forced an entrance by the garden at the back of the house. On their entering the passage a shocking spectacle presented itself; the body of the housekeeper was found near the street-door, lying on her face, in a shocking bloody state, her head drove in and cut open in a most inhuman manner. The horrid act had been perpetrated with a blunt large instrument. In a parlour adjoining the passage the body of Mr. Bird was found, lying on his back, with arms stretched, and his head in a more shocking state than that of his housekeeper. His forehead was drove in about an inch deep, and the wound as large as a crown-piece. The wounds of Mr. Bird had been inflicted also by a large blunt instrument, supposed to be a bludgeon. The horrid discovery created a very considerable degree of agitation

and alarm in the town of Greenwich during the whole of yesterday. Mr. Bicknell, the solicitor, sent off an express to the public office, Bow-street, for assistance. Adkins and Lavender, the officers, arrived there with all possible speed, and proceeded to examine the premises, and to endeavour to find and interrogate suspicious characters. There is no doubt that the object of the attack was plunder.

We are very much concerned to state, that the cotton factory at Coln-bridge, near Huddersfield, occupied by Mr. T. Atkinson, caught fire about five o'clock on Saturday morning, the 14th inst. and raged with such rapidity and violence that it destroyed the whole, with the machinery and stock in the same, in half an hour. But what is most tragical to relate, there were about 26 persons at work, and only nine escaped. Seventeen (all girls, the eldest about 19 years of age) fell victims to the devouring flames. The manner in which this awful and melancholy disaster took place is related as follows, by a boy, about ten years of age, who was the unfortunate instrument of so calamitous an event. He says, that about five o'clock he was sent into the card-room (which is on the ground-floor, but not worked in the night,) with a lighted candle, to fetch some rovings, and, in taking them, some loose cotton lying near caught fire. He says, he ran up stairs to inform those at work that the factory was on fire, and then ran to the top of the mill, under the idea of greater safety; but finding such intense heat and smoke, he

he again descended; and when he came to the stairs, under which the fire was, he laid himself down, and rolled to the bottom, and appears to be the last person who escaped. The two overlookers succeeded in getting all the children to the top of the stairs, (which were only a few yards from the door) and some of them were dragged down when the stairs were on fire: the remainder, it is supposed, were so terrified, that they ran back into the mill, and were instantly suffocated; for as soon as it was known that they had returned, a ladder was immediately placed to a window at the opposite end of the mill, to which it was thought they would flee for safety, (and near which place 14 were afterwards found,) which was forced open; but the smoke and flames issuing out with such violence, totally precluded all possibility of any assistance being given; nor could any thing be heard of them, although every exertion was made to stimulate them to approach the window. After this attempt to save them, no idea could be formed what point the poor children had fled to, and immediately a scene ensued amongst those without, which is beyond description, as the floors gave way, and all in an instant was one volume of fire. Fifteen bodies are found, and a number of persons are employed in searching for the rest. Insurances on the property had been effected in the Sun and Phoenix fire offices.

The earl of St. Vincent, now the senior flag-officer on the naval list, and justly termed the father of the navy, completed his 83d year on the 20th ult. The

gentlemen in his neighbourhood (Rocketts in Essex) offered their congratulations on the occasion; the villagers accustomed to receive his lordship's bounty in food, raiment, and firing, expressed their feelings of gratitude and joy; and his lordship, notwithstanding his late serious indisposition, we are happy to learn, entertained a large party of friends at dinner, and was in good spirits. This nobleman is a rare instance of a person in such advanced years retaining every mental faculty unimpaired, with all the cheerfulness of early life. A peculiarity of style has long marked his epistolary correspondence, and those with whom he still maintains written communications cannot observe any change either in his writing, the perspicuity and elegance of his style, or in the facility he has always displayed of expressing much in a small compass.

Dumfries, Feb. 10.—The great bell of St. Michael's church here having been damaged, it was lately removed in order to be recast, and, on examination, it is found to bear the following inscription:—O MATER DEI, MEMENTO MEI. WILIELMUS ME FIERI FECIT ANNO D. M.CCCC. LII. *O mother of God, remember me. William caused me to be cast in the year of our Lord 1452.*—As Dumfries lay within the diocese of Glasgow, we may reasonably conclude that this bell had been given by William Turnbull, who held the see of Glasgow from 1448 until 1454. Bishop Turnbull was of the family of Bedrule, in the county of Roxburgh, and a person of excellent character. He was at first
prebend

prebend of Glasgow, and afterwards doctor of laws. Being made archdeacon of St. Andrews, within the bounds of Lothian, he had the superintendence of all that district which had afterwards been erected by Cha. I. into the see of Edinburgh. He seems to have been much esteemed by his sovereign James II. who made him a privy councillor and keeper of the privy seal. He became bishop of Glasgow in the beginning of the year 1448, and received consecration in the month of April of that year. It is said that in the year 1452 or 3 he procured a bull from pope Nicholas V. for erecting a college for literature within the city of Glasgow, and that, after having established it, he took a journey to Rome, where he died on the 3d of September 1454.

KING ROBERT THE BRUCE.

During the preparations that have been going on in the Psalter church-yard of Dunfermline, towards the building of a new church, which promises, from its plan, designed by Mr. Burn, to be one of the handsomest, and, from its site, the most commanding in Scotland, a tomb, supposed to be that of the celebrated king Robert the Bruce, was the other day discovered. There is as yet no absolute certainty of the tomb being his, no inscription to that effect having been found, but there is much circumstantial evidence to prove the supposition. The situation corresponds very nearly with that of king Robert's sepulchre, pointed out by our two earliest Scottish historians, Barbour and Fordun, while the appearances of the grave indicate it

to have been one of a personage of no small distinction. There is a large trough, built of polished stone, about seven feet in length and eighteen inches in depth; the cover of which, when first observed, had on it several iron rings in a very decayed state, and some of which were even entirely loosened from the stone. In this trough lies a large body, six feet two inches in length, cased in lead. The lead is pretty entire, except on the breast, where it is much consumed, exhibiting part of the skeleton of the body in a state of considerable preservation. The body itself has been wrapped in damask cloth, extremely fine, and interwoven with gold, some fragments of which remain. Something like a crown has been observed upon the head; but, from the hurried inspection that was made of it, this has not yet been accurately ascertained. A wooden coffin appears to have surrounded the body, of which some vestiges still exist. The mouldered wood, conceived to be oak, lies strewn on the bottom of the tomb, and one or two nails have been picked up from amongst it. The grave is now closed, and secured against any violent depredations by three rows of large flag stones, fastened to each other by iron bars, in which state it is to continue until the intentions of the barons of exchequer, as to further procedure, are learnt. Several fragments of marble, carved and gilt, were dug from the ruins in the immediate neighbourhood of the tomb, which, in all probability, are the remains of the monument that have been erected over it.

MARCH.

MARCH.

GERMANY.

Letters from the Tyrol announce that the glacier of Ortler, in the vicinity of Chiavenna, has increased this winter in a most extraordinary manner, notwithstanding the general mildness of the season. From the depths of the ice incessant and tremendous roarings are heard. The Suldenbach stream, which formerly issued from this glacier, has been dried up ever since Michaelmas 1817, and great apprehensions are entertained for the neighbouring countries, should the heats of summer re-open a passage to the waters which seem to have collected within the bosom of this immense mass of ice. Similar phenomena have been observed in the glacier of the valley of Naudersberg. The storm of the 23d ult. from the effects of which our shores were exempted, spread its ravages over the greatest part of the continent. At Turin it was attended with two shocks of an earthquake. Genoa, Savona, Alcona, and San Remo, were thrown into the greatest consternation for two days, by repeated concussions, and several houses were partly demolished at Allazzes, but happily no lives were lost. At Antibes, in Provence, the weather (the 23d February) had been very tempestuous.—About four minutes past seven in the evening, a most tremendous rush of wind took place, and was followed by an instantaneous calm. A dull subterranean noise was heard, the sea suddenly dashed against the rocks, and in the space of three seconds three oscillations of the earth were felt in a direction from the S. E. to the N. W.—The wind then rose again, and all the violence of the storm revived. At

twelve o'clock a fresh concussion was experienced; and at a quarter past eleven the next morning a fourth, which was also preceded by the same deep and solemn rumbling. Before seven o'clock on the morning of the 25th a fresh phenomenon presented itself; a parhelion presented itself north of the rising sun; but the earliness of its appearance prevented its being generally noticed, and adding to the terrors of the people. The shocks were felt throughout all Provence, where no earthquake had been experienced for eleven years.

BRUSSELS.

13.—The violent tempests which have succeeded each other for some days past have occasioned numerous disasters. A great number of vessels have been wrecked or stranded on the coast of this kingdom, as well as on that of France; both are covered with dead bodies and fragments of vessels. Travellers who have witnessed this afflicting sight give the most heart-rending description of it. Yesterday Mrs. Rickson, an English lady, passed through here, who was shipwrecked at Ostend. She saw her son perish, and has lost every thing. But for the assistance of some charitable persons, it would have been impossible for her to continue her journey, to join her husband at Valenciennes. Captain Le Bien, who commanded the sloop La Caroline, which has been wrecked on the coast of Holland, has also passed through here, going to Havre.

ASIA.

The following is an extract of a letter from Tobolsk, dated December 18:—"News has been received here, that the English ship Brothers, direct from Bengal, had arrived

arrived on the 21st September at Ochotz, on the eastern coast of Siberia. This event has excited the more interest, as it is the first of its nature, which opens a source of new speculation to our commerce.—The seamen are all natives of Bengal. They are objects of much curiosity to the Siberians."

6.—We had, on Wednesday night, a most tremendous storm from the south-west, far greater and more awful than any that has been experienced for many years. Many houses have sustained most serious damage, some of them being entirely unroofed, and stacks of chimneys have been blown down in various directions. Some unfinished new buildings, close to the Cobourg Theatre, belonging to Mr. Short, of Newington, were blown down with a tremendous crash; a lady and a gentleman were but a few minutes before taking shelter within the premises from the storm. Several of the passengers had a very narrow escape. Some of the trees in St. James's Park were also blown down.

A little before eleven o'clock on Wednesday night the servants of Lady Haye, who resides in Somerset-street, near Portman-square, were sitting in the kitchen, which is situated on the ground floor, and at the back of her ladyship's house, where it is surrounded by walls; the wind at this time blew remarkably strong; and a wall which was at the back of the kitchen, and adjoining to Gray's Place, in an instant fell with a tremendous crash into the kitchen. The shock was so sudden and loud, that the inhabitants considered it a clap of thunder. There were at the time, sitting near the fire, three female ser-

vants, of the names of Mrs. Mary Mattialy the cook, Mary Smith and Mary Dence, housemaids. In an instant they were involved in the ruins. Assistance was immediately procured to rescue them from their perilous situation. In a short time they succeeded in bringing out from under the rubbish Mary Smith alive, with one of her legs broken, and severely bruised about the body. Mary Dence received a terrible blow on the back of the head, and was greatly hurt all over. The cook, we regret to state, was brought out a corpse, nearly bruised to pieces; she was an elderly woman, above fifty years of age. Three surgeons are in attendance on the two survivors from this accident, and great hopes are entertained they will recover. Her ladyship has them in her own house, that proper attention should be paid to them.

Wednesday evening, half-past ten o'clock, as Mr. Kinnard, one of the magistrates of the Thames Police, was sitting in his back parlour, at his house in Holborn, with Mrs. Kinnard and his two daughters, during the tempestuous storm, a stack of chimneys fell in upon them. They had just a moment's time, and a moment only, for escape. The chair in which Mr. Kinnard was sitting was broken into shivers, as well as the flap of the table on which he was leaning. The assistant also, who was sitting in the counting-house, narrowly escaped with his life. We are happy to find that none of the family are actually injured. What makes the above case very remarkable is this, that if Mr. Kinnard *had not* instantly quitted his chair when he heard the noise, he must have been killed; and if Mr. Bradford,

ford, the assistant, *had* quitted his, he would infallibly have been killed.

THE STORM.

9.—Three post-chaises were blown over on Winchester Downs, and one of the drivers was much bruised; all the passengers escaped without injury.

On the Bath road, near Devizes, several large trees were torn up by the roots, and had fallen across the road, so that it was impossible for any carriage to pass.

On the same night, about eight o'clock, the house of Mr. Thatcher, of Union-street, Chelsea, was unroofed by the violence of the wind, great part of which unfortunately fell upon that gentleman, who was sitting by his fireside reading, and was instantly buried in the ruins. —An alarm was given, and his neighbours immediately set about removing the rubbish, and got him out alive, but very severely injured, and conveyed him to St George's Hospital.

The carriage of the prince of Hesse Homburg was actually lost, for a time, during the hurricane on Wednesday night. When the servants went to put the horses to, at the time appointed, to take his Serene Highness from Almack's, they were thrown into considerable alarm at finding it removed from its station in the King's Mews, and it was some time before it was discovered in an obscure corner, at the bottom of the Mews, near Cockspur-street. The wind had blown it a distance of nearly 200 yards.

On the top of Broadway-hill, Worcestershire, when the mail coach arrived there, the wind and snow were so tremendous, that it became impossible for the coachman to force the horses on; the

consequence was, they became ungovernable, insomuch that they turned completely round, and the coach was blown over. Happily no serious injury was sustained either by coachman, guard, or passengers; but it was impossible the coach could proceed, and a messenger was dispatched for a chaise and four to convey the mail bags on as soon as possible. The coach was left on the road, without any hopes of getting it up until the wind subsided, and the passengers retired to the Fish public-house.

A young man, named John Lint, belonging to Leith, who was proceeding to London as a passenger in one of the Gravesend packets, was forced overboard by the violence of the wind; every effort to save him proved abortive. The body has not yet been found.

Ramsgate, March 5.

Last night, the wind blowing strong from the south, one of the most tremendous gales took place that we ever experienced, accompanied by most awful claps of thunder and vivid flashes of lightning. At daylight our shores presented a most frightful aspect, being literally covered with wrecks and timbers which had been cast on shore by the violence of the gale. A collier laden, struck against the east pier, by which four of her crew (consisting of seven) were drowned, and two of them have just been picked up. She afterwards went on shore on the sands, and by the violence of the waves was completely beat to pieces. Two brigs also were driven on shore with loss of bowsprit, fore top-masts, and other damage; one ship on shore with foremast gone; one sloop on shore much damaged. The *Asia*, an extra Indian,

diaman, drove from the Downs, and afterwards went on shore under East Cliff Lodge. A large ship is on shore in Pegwell bay; two brigs on the rocks under the West Cliff, with loss of foremast, bowsprit, &c.; and a brig on the rocks close to the west pier. The confusion that took place in the outer harbour during the raging of the storm is beyond description. Such was its violence, that the vessels broke from the moorings, which were unable to hold them, and ran foul of each other, by which a very great deal of damage was sustained. Some are sunk, in others the sterns are stove in, and many have suffered much injury. Such a scene was never before witnessed here. The buoys in the harbour were torn up by the numerous vessels moored thereto. The iron bridge over the entrance to the inner harbour was much injured, and the railings were carried away by a vessel. Three transports from Calais, which were unable to make Dover harbour, came in here, and have received severe damage. We are happy to state, that the following troops on board have been safely landed, viz.:—Detachments of the 4th, 29th, 71st, 79th rifle brigade, &c. some of the 2d dragoon guards, 3d dragoons, Scots greys, 7th hussars, 11th and 12th light dragoons—in all amounting to about 400 invalids, and some sent home to be discharged. A man belonging to this place, named Hopkins, in attempting to get on board the brig on shore close to the western pier, in order to render assistance, was dashed off and consigned to a watery grave. His body was washed on shore this morning near the bathing sands.—Upwards of 200 feet of

the parapet wall on the east pier was knocked down by the brig striking against it, and by the violence of the waves beating over. The storm raged most violently from about nine till twelve last night. This morning, at high tide, it recommenced blowing very hard, and several ships have come into the harbour, some of which have received damage. Nearly 200 vessels of different descriptions are at this moment sheltered in this port, and the extent of the damage suffered is very great indeed. We observe upwards of 20 sail in the Downs dismantled by the gale. The night was exceedingly dark, and being only occasionally illumined by the flashes of lightning, added to its horrors. Rain fell, and the sea ran mountains high. A large Swedish ship, the Woolfahrt, from Amsterdam, was wholly dismasted, and towed hither this morning; but being unable to make the harbour, went on shore on the sands. She drove from her anchorage in the Downs, and ran down two brigs and a cutter, the crew of which last are saved, but of the fate of the crews of the two former we are at present in doubt. The clock plate at St. Lawrence church steeple was blown off last night; and we are informed that the steeple of Ash church, near Sandwich, has been much injured by the lightning.

Brighton.—A letter from our correspondent at Eastbourn, of March 5, states as follows:—A very heavy storm arose last night, with rain and hail, which caused considerable damage both here and in the neighbouring villages. Part of the watch-house belonging to the customs of this place was washed away by the high tide, several

several lengths of the groins were torn up; and had the tide been at its height, in all probability very serious mischief might have befallen the houses. A cottage was levelled to the ground, and the family with great difficulty extricated. Many houses were partly unroofed. At Willington, a chimney of the mansion of Inigo Thomas, Esq. was blown down. At Hannock, a barn belonging to Mr. Thomas Noakes experienced a similar fate, but fortunately a small quantity of corn only was in it. A large tree near the same place was also torn up by its roots. At Jevington, a carpenter's shop belonging to John Kine was blown down; and a great deal of damage in other respects has been occasioned by the storm.—On Wednesday night Arundel was visited by a most terrific storm of wind, accompanied by thunder and lightning; several houses were unroofed, chimneys blown down, and few escaped damage. Many venerable trees in the domain of the duke of Norfolk were torn up by the roots. The vessels in the harbour were driven from their moorings, and cast ashore. The tide at the same time flowed higher than was ever known.—The above storm was also severely felt in this town. It was accompanied by a heavy fall of rain, and several peals of thunder and flashes of lightning. Two walls, the one of brick and the other of boulders, were partly blown down at the West Cliff Mansion. Much mischief was done to several of the houses on the Cliffs, by the windows being broken, or the lead or tiles being forced away by the wind. We have not heard of any mischief at sea by the hurricane, but we fear

that some disasters on that element could hardly have been avoided.

Bath.—We dread reading accounts from the coast; as we fear the violence of the storm on Tuesday and Wednesday nights must have caused deplorable effects among the shipping. In this city and neighbourhood it raged with tremendous fury—thunder, lightning, hail, rain, and wind, successively vented astounding horrors; in various parts of the city houses were partially unroofed; the vane on the Abbey tower, after braving many a boisterous gale, was blown down—a newly erected wall, of 130 feet in length, near the road leading to Claverton-down, was levelled to the ground—and the river has overflowed its banks, and is at a very unusual height.—Almost innumerable trees have been rooted up in Mells-park, and some in Orchardleigh-park. Farmborough church, we hear, has been unroofed, and two of the turrets blown down. The Portsmouth mail was completely upset by the violence of the wind, about three miles from Salisbury; but though there were six passengers, we are happy to hear no one received the least injury. A large elm-tree fell across the road, near Calne, between two London coaches, just on the point of meeting; they happily received no other inconvenience than the great delay occasioned by the removal of the stupendous impediment to their progress. In consequence of the continued heavy rains, the roads in various places in the neighbourhood of Exeter were on Wednesday impassable. The water at Honiton's Clyst was breast high to the horses; and several trees were lying on the road, blown down by the

the wind. The Subscription coach arrived safe at ten o'clock, after experiencing great difficulty and delay, being four hours in performing the journey from Honiton. The mail did not arrive till several hours after its usual time.

Canterbury.—The morning of Wednesday last, which like mornings of several preceding days presented the appearance of spring, was succeeded at night by one of the most violent storms of wind from the S. W., accompanied by rain, hail, and lightning, that has been experienced within recollection. It commenced early in the evening, and attained its greatest fury about the hour of midnight, when the lightning was extremely vivid, and the thunder awfully loud; at this period the electric fluid, attracted by the steeple of Ash church, struck the summit of the spire, which was instantly ignited, and threatened the destruction of the sacred edifice and the whole of the dwellings in the village; but by the prompt and judicious exertions of the inhabitants in the neighbourhood, aided by an engine which was procured from Sandwich, the flames were extinguished about four yesterday morning, by introducing the engine-pipe into the interior of the spire, after burning between three and four feet downwards from the top.

Norwich.—March has come in like a "roaring lion" indeed, and with those violent gales of wind which in the western part of this county are called St. Winnold's storms; for, according to the old Clackclose distich—

"First comes David, then comes Chad,
Then comes Winnold, as if he were
mad."

1818.

On Wednesday night last we had a most tremendous gale from the south-east, accompanied with heavy rain at intervals. During the night several vessels were driven ashore on the coast, and some damage has been sustained inland. At Hempnall, the top of a newly-erected mill (on the Green) with its four sails was blown off. Four large trees at Mr. Matchett's of Lakenham were torn up by the roots, making very extensive chasms in the ground, but fortunately the trees were at some distance from the house. Along the Yarmouth road to this city the effects of the storm were very visible.

—At Filby, a timber tree on Mr. Lucas's estate was literally snapped in two close to the ground.—At Birmingham, the wind blew a large hole through the thatched roof of a barn. In this city several chimneys were blown down; amongst others, the whole of the chimney of Mr. Thompson's brewing-office in King's street, which in its fall broke through the roof of the building, and demolished the steps which lead to the coppers: fortunately it happened at an hour before the time at which the stoker comes to light the furnaces. Part of the wall of the city gaol was damaged.

Leicester.—Wednesday night was one of the most boisterous recollected for years past; much damage has been sustained in this town and many parts of the county. Our correspondent at Loughborough informs us that a severe shock of an earthquake was felt in that town and several of the neighbouring villages, between the hours of one and two on Thursday morning, which, combined with the high wind, did much damage, and

(C)

entirely

entirely demolished a newly erected unfinished meeting-house belonging to a Methodistical sect under the denomination of *Ranters*.

Portsmouth. 8.—It is with extreme regret we announce the drowning of the honourable Mr. Thellusson (brother of lord Rendlesham), Mr. Hassall (son of J. Hassall, Esq. of Hartshorn, Derbyshire), and Mr. Leeson (son of the honourable Mrs. Leeson), all midshipmen of his majesty's ship *Tiber*, who left that ship soon after the gale commenced on Wednesday, in a wherry, which was pooped by a sea at the mouth of the harbour, and was never seen afterwards. The waterman (Brown) and a boy also perished. These young gentlemen, who were most highly esteemed by their brother officers, were tempted to leave the ship at this hazardous moment by their anxious desire to see the performance of Mr. Kean that evening.

Liverpool. 7.—Of all the unusually hard gales of wind which we have experienced during the present season, that of Wednesday night last is thought to have been the most furious. We find that considerable damage has been sustained by land, and at sea we doubt not the mischief will be found to have been much more serious. At Low Hill a garden wall was overthrown; and in the same neighbourhood several chimneys were blown down and windows driven in by the force of the hurricane.

Miraculous escape of the passengers on board the Countess of Liverpool packet.—On the 2d instant she sailed from Holyhead, with about twenty passengers; among them were sir William Roberts, sir N. Colthurst, M. P., colonel Odell,

M. P., major Vereker, M. P., colonel Pepper, &c. &c. She sailed at eleven A. M.; at half-past twelve it blew a gale, and at half-past one a hurricane which continued until eight.—About this time vivid lightning came on with peals of thunder, and a black compact cloud descended on the mast, and opened with a dreadful explosion, and a large ball of fire issued from it, took a diagonal direction, and sunk in the sea within four yards of the packet, throwing up the water to the height of forty feet. Five out of seven of the crew that were on deck were knocked down, but afterwards recovered. Part of the ball entered the cabin, and struck a dog which lay at the stove. Fortunately the man at the helm, though stunned, held the tiller fast—had he let it go, the vessel would have been immediately buried in the sea. The wind suddenly ceased, and the captain ordered the sails to be set, and with incredible exertion found himself at day-break off Cambay; but so far out as to prevent his making Balbriggan, which he intended, he bore away for the bay of Carlingford; and, though still blowing a gale, landed the passengers and mails at Warren Point at eleven o'clock on Wednesday forenoon. During the gale, some horses which were on board broke loose, kicked some trunks to pieces, and considerably increased the danger, alarm, and embarrassment. The mast was slightly damaged by the lightning.

A man entered the Spanish ambassador's chapel, Spanish-place, Manchester-square, with a drawn sword in his hand, kept his hat on, and proceeded up to the altar, while the clergyman the reverend Mr. Matthias was perform-

performing divine service; he made a blow at him, which cut him across the hand and wounded him severely: the reverend gentleman ran from the altar towards the vestry, and was followed by the man; but he was apprehended by some of the people, and conducted to Mary-la-bonne watchhouse for his examination before the magistrate. It was ascertained that he was a Mr. Cossack, a gentleman of property, and that he left home that morning about half-past seven o'clock for the purpose of going to chapel. It is supposed that the unfortunate gentleman committed the act in a state of insanity.

In one of the matches run at the spring meeting of the Turiff Coursing Club, Speed, a greyhound belonging to Mr. Gordon of Nethermuir took a most extraordinary leap over a hedge six feet high with a double ditch: when the distance was measured, it was found that at this leap the dog had cleared an extent of not less than twenty-three feet, after which he continued the course with unabated vigour, and won his match.

There are 80 churches within and without the walls of the city of London, for a population of 125,700. The metropolis and its vicinity contain 1,100,000 people. It is estimated that not ten of the eighty London churches has near a thousand attenders; and that in those within the walls (the most numerous) two hundred each would be no unfair average.

The fecundity of pigs is universally known, but the following instance is believed to be unparalleled:—Mr. Henry Mellersh, of Chichester, has a sow which he

bred, and which has in seven farrows brought no less than 166 pigs! viz. 22, 21, 25, 26, 25, 27, 20. The sow is admitted by amateurs to be perfectly handsome, is of the Bantam species, and is supposed to weigh 100 stone.

APRIL.

FRANCE.

Fatal Duel.—Statement of the fatal duel at Cambray, in which Lieutenant Gordon, of the Coldstream guards, was killed by a French officer:—Lieutenants Gordon and M——, of the guards on the evening of the 31st of March were walking on the esplanade: some other officers joined them, stopping to enter into conversation. At this moment a Frenchman having the appearance of an officer passed them several times very close, making very short turns, and, though no sort of provocation had been offered, staring them full in the face in the most insolent manner; yet no notice whatever was taken of his conduct. The officers then separated, lieutenants G. and M—— walking away arm in arm. As they passed the Frenchman, he made use of the grossest epithets; when lieutenant Gordon, in the mildest manner, asked if such expressions were intended for them? The French officer's reply was, *Prenez cela comme vous voulez; si vous le prenez pour vous, tenez le donc.*—"You may receive them as you please; if you suppose them meant for you, so take them." Cards were then exchanged, and a meeting took place the following morning. The French officer, when called upon by lieutenant M—— to retract his words, refused to do so, though he had acknowledged to the

the commissaire de police on the previous evening that he had misconducted himself, promising to make an apology. The party having taken their ground, at the first fire the Frenchman's shot took effect; the ball passing through Mr. Gordon's body, and he instantaneously expired.—Since the unfortunate affair, it has been discovered that this French officer is a systematic duellist; and it is known that he publicly declared in a coffeehouse that he would take the life of some English officer.—He is in active service, belonging to the legion du Nord, and came to Cambray to see his friends. To three different parties he gave a different name. It was the unfortunate lot of lieutenant Gordon to fall the victim of the national prejudices of a ruffian; and at the early age of 20 has his country been deprived of a young officer, who, from his rising talents and his characteristic bravery, promised to be one of its fairest ornaments, both as a gentleman and a soldier.

Curious Marriage.—An article from Brussels, dated March 12, has the following: An inhabitant of Commynes, named Butin, died there on the 6th of this month, aged eighty-four. This man was twice married; and what is very remarkable, his second wife was born on the very day that his first wife died, and he then declared that he would never have any other wife than this infant. In fact he waited till she was twenty years old, when he married her. He was then sixty-four years of age; he had a daughter by her the first year of his marriage, and a second twenty years afterwards, in the month of January last. He leaves

several children, the eldest of whom is sixty years of age, and the youngest scarcely two months. This man lived twenty years with his first wife, remained twenty years a widower, and his second marriage lasted also twenty years.

The body of marshal Ney, interred in the Pere la Chaise at Paris, has been taken up and conveyed to his country seat, where it has been deposited, and an elegant monument erected over it.

GERMANY.

The official gazette of Vienna contains a circular from the government, announcing for sale by public auction twenty-eight estates belonging to the crown, in order to apply the profits to the payment of the national debt. Some of these estates are of very great extent, with 9000 or 10,000 inhabitants.

An article from Hamburg states, that there go this year from that coast to the Greenland whale and seal fishery, from Hamburg, 13 ships; Altona, 9; Gluckstadt, 15; Bremen, 8; Itzehoe, 2; Brunsbuttle, 1; Baydenfleth, 1; Ebnthorn, 1; Ost, 1.—Total 51.

RUSSIA.

Coal in Russia.—A letter was received at Whitehaven on Sunday, dated at Toul, Jan. 13. (O. S.)—Every thing wears the most promising appearance. Before the emperor left Moscow, Mr. Longmire had the honour of presenting his imperial majesty with specimens of coal from five different places in the province of Toul. The strata are found to lie very level, in nine different places. Great quantities of machinery, tools, &c. were preparing. Operations were to commence as soon as the snow left the ground.

Five

Five trial pits are to be sunk, in different parts, for coal of the best quality. The party (who were all in perfect health) were to be assisted in this important concern by fifty miners from Siberia and two hundred smiths, carpenters, and labourers.

WEST INDIES.

Admiral Douglas, previous to his departure from Jamaica (which island was very healthy), received a visit from a native man, who is regarded as the patriarch of the island; he is 143 years of age, and in so good health, that on that day he walked from his house (which is on the Hope estate) to the Penn (the admiral's residence) and back again—about 14 miles. He was never off the island; the great earthquake there in 1687 is yet impressively remembered by him; he was then a stout lad. The admiral was so highly gratified by the compliment, and the venerable man's interesting appearance, that he brought home a correct likeness of him, which, we understand, he intends to send to the Royal Exhibition in London.

ATTEMPT TO ASSASSINATE LORD PALMERSTON.

About one o'clock on Wednesday, lieutenant David Davis, of the 62d regiment of foot, went to the War-office, and inquired of lord Palmerston's messenger if his lordship was in the office. The messenger informed him that he was not, that he expected him in every moment; he desired him to walk into the waiting-room, and write his name on the list of visitors, as is usual. Lieutenant Davis declined doing so, and waited about the lobby, frequently asking if his lordship would soon come. A little before two, his

lordship arrived at the War-office alone, and was going up the stone stairs when the messenger informed lieutenant Davis that "he was lucky, for his lordship was come, and there was no visitor before him." Lieutenant Davis immediately followed his lordship up the stairs, and taking a pocket pistol from under his coat, fired at his lordship. The assassin ran down stairs with the pistol in his hand, saying, "I've done for him." The messenger immediately seized him, and with the assistance of others secured him until a constable of St. Margaret's parish, Westminster, arrived, and conveyed him to Queen-square police office. His lordship was taken into the office, his top coat was taken off; and Mr. Astley Cooper being immediately sent for, he very soon arrived, and examined his lordship's wound, from which, we are happy to say, there is not the slightest danger. The pistol was loaded with ball, which lacerated his lordship's right side; the ball did not lodge in the flesh, but passed through it, and fell on the stone stairs. Mr. Cooper attended lord Palmerston to his home in his carriage. In the mean time lieutenant Davis had been conveyed to Queen-square by the constable, assisted by the messenger, where he was examined before Mr. Markland the magistrate. Crowds of persons collected round the office.

The prisoner being placed at the bar, appeared very wild in his looks; he is, we understand, not more than 23 years of age.

The magistrate (Edward Markland, esq.) asked the prisoner where his friends lived, that he might inform them of his situa-

tion, and procure from them every assistance. The prisoner said his family lived at Monmouth; and he had a brother in the navy. He was generally remanded till lord Palmerston and Mr. A. Cooper can attend.

Davis is a native of Wales; his father was a military officer. He was himself for some time an officer in the West Middlesex militia, in which he attained the rank of lieutenant, when he volunteered to join the militia corps which offered its services for the army of lord Wellington in the year 1814. In consequence of thus volunteering, Davis was appointed to a lieutenancy in the 62d regiment, with which he served for some time in Canada. He was lately placed upon half-pay, and has not long returned from Canada. Since his return this unfortunate man has inflicted a wound upon himself, which can leave no doubt of his insanity. We understand, indeed, that lord Palmerston declares his conviction that the man is insane, and that such has been his impression from the tenor of his letters. This declaration, we are assured, the noble lord made on Wednesday, soon after he received the wound, upon the name of the assassin being made known to him. Notwithstanding the noble lord's opinion of the mind of Davis, his lordship had shown every disposition in his power to attend to the applications of Davis, who solicited for a pension, and therefore nothing else than insanity can account for the attack which he has made upon this nobleman. It is somewhat a singular coincidence, that among the first who laid hold of Davis, after he fired at lord Palmerston, was colonel

Bird, of the West Middlesex militia, who appeared at once to recognise the unfortunate man.

The undermentioned bulletin was this day, at twelve o'clock, exhibited to the nobility and gentry who made inquiry after his lordship's health, at his residence, viz.—

*“ Stanhope Street, April 10,
twelve o'clock.”*

“The contusion that lord Palmerston received from the ball is much better, and likely to be quite well in a few days.

“ G. H. MAY, Surgeon.”

The following phenomena, observed at Hull on Wednesday the 4th ultimo, have not before been made public. At high water, about thirty minutes past four o'clock in the afternoon, the wind then blowing from the south-west, with moderate weather, the tide flowed at the old dock gates 18 feet 6 inches. After the tide had fallen from one to two inches, the dock gates closed as usual with the ebbing of the tide, which then began again to flow to the height, as near as can be calculated, of four to five inches, thereby opening the gates again; and continued flowing a sufficient time to allow one ship and several small vessels to pass into the dock, before it again began to fall. The tempestuous night of Wednesday ensued; the wind blew a heavy gale still from the SW., and at high water at five o'clock on Thursday morning the tide flowed fourteen feet one inch, being four feet five inches less than on the preceding evening; although, from the spring tides having put in, the water ought, according to the usual state of things, to have flowed higher than on the Wednesday

nesday evening. No particular remark was made at the time at the Humber dock gates; but from the tide table kept there, it appears that the difference in the flowing of the water between the evening and morning tides was much the same as at the old dock gates. As these circumstances can scarcely be accounted for by the tempestuous state of the weather, it is probable a great convulsion of nature has taken place in some distant quarter; of which we have not yet received any account.

Extraordinary Animal.—There was shown last Wednesday, at Mr. Potter's, Crown inn, Dumfries, a bullock, of the Galloway breed, the property of Mr. McMichan, of Corbieton, of the following dimensions:—Length, from the nose to the tail, seventeen feet two inches; height, six feet two inches; breadth, over the rump, two feet eight inches; girth, eleven feet two inches. The animal weighs between 150 and 160 stone, although it is far from being fat, and is not yet five years old.

Saturday several persons of distinction, and a number of mechanical gentlemen, were present at Mr. Dodd's coach manufactory, Crawford-street, Montague-square, to see the first carriage finished on the new principle of Mr. Ackermann's patent moveable axle. Among the gentlemen of note in the science of mechanical invention, was Mr. Brunell, whose government works at Portsmouth, Woolwich, &c. have raised him into such just estimation, and who, in conjunction with the personages present, after a minute investigation of the improved construction, and after seeing the different evolutions of the carriage,

pronounced the improvement to be original and most useful. The principle of the patent moveable axle is, in fact, a simplification of the complicated structure of the old carriage, and the following are the main advantages which it gives: first, a short turn within a space little exceeding a foot from its own centre, so as to make the most abrupt turnings, without incurring the dangers so frequent on the old plan. During this short turn, the equipoise is kept secure and unerring on the four wheels; it rests equally on each, and thus the liability to accident is most materially removed. Another advantage is, that it admits of a higher fore wheel, and therefore prevents that unequal action and repair of the fore, as compared with the hind wheel, which was previously unavoidable. But the great desideratum is observable in the structure of the perch-bolt; this, on the old plan, united the upper and lower carriage, and by its opposite action caused a double and contending friction, which necessarily led to great wear and tear, much expense, and not unfrequent accidents. This is greatly obviated by the new principle, which, instead of having this two-fold and opposite working of the perch-bolt, throws the stress upon six points—the main action being the simple motion of a pivot, which regulates the pole, and of course the wheels. The greatest air of lightness is also obtained by this principle, in addition to its more complete security. To those who wish it, a carriage may be made full eighteen inches shorter than on the old plan, and with much less timber, iron, &c. The saving in repairs, and also in
(C 4) draught,

draught, must be very considerable.

Hussey, the person accused of the murders of Mr. Bird and his servant at Greenwich, was apprehended on Wednesday morning, at Headington, about two miles from Oxford. He was in Oxford on Saturday, and by writing and directing a letter to a person in Greenwich, and afterwards skulking in the neighbourhood of Oxford, excited a suspicion which has terminated in his being taken into custody. He was examined last night at Bow-street. It appears that, on his being apprehended, a ring belonging to Mr. Bird was found in his apartment; and on his arrival in town another ring and two watches, also belonging to the deceased, were found on his person—the ring was concealed in his boot. He has been committed to the house of correction till Thursday next.

INVISIBLE FLAME.

The public curiosity has been much excited of late by the account of a lamp, which burns for any period, so as to maintain wire in a state of permanent ignition, without visible flame or smoke. One of these instruments is now in full action, constructed by Dr. Ure, professor of Anderson's institution, Glasgow. It appears to be among the most wonderful discoveries of the present age, and forms one of the numerous corollaries from sir H. Davy's experiments on flame. The doctor has determined the circumstances which modify the performance of the lamp; and finds, that the only notice hitherto published on the subject is vague and erroneous. The platina wire, which is kept

constantly red hot; should be about one-sixtieth of an inch in diameter, and not one-hundredth, as has been stated. When of the latter size, it is too rapidly cooled by the atmosphere. The wire is coiled into a cylindric shape. The lower short part, which loosely embraces the wick, may be about 3-10ths of an inch in diameter; that above the wick, which continues ignited, 3-20ths of an inch wide and 3-10ths in length, containing about 16 turns of the wire, nearly in contact with each other. If the coil be all of the same size with the base, the ignition is violent, and the metal is destroyed; if the upper part be only 1-10th wide, ignition ceases in a few minutes. By attending to these particulars, and using good alcohol, the lamp will continue to keep the wire steadily ignited, and ready to light a match at any instant of the day or night. Dr. Ure has made a particular kind of matches adapted to the lamp, consisting of sulphur on a slip of card, tipped with a small bit of *amadou*. In daylight it is amusing to see a person kindle a light by touching a little coil of wire apparently cold.

In an action for compensation for a breach of promise of marriage, at the Lancaster assizes, Orford v. Butler Coles, the jury awarded the lady 7000*l.* damages.

The annual duty paid by country bankers for stamps, &c. on notes under 5*l.* is 350,000*l.*, and with the addition of notes of and above 5*l.* will be 700,000*l.*

CALAMITOUS FIRE.

Liverpool, April 20.

One of the most extensive fires took place on Thursday last that has happened in this town since the destruction of the Goree buildings

ings in 1802. About two o'clock in the afternoon of that day it was discovered that the large bonded warehouses in Suffolk-street, known by the name of Parr's Factory, had taken fire, owing, it is said, to an officer of the excise having left a lighted candle burning in one of the rooms. For several hours the flames raged with so much fury as to set at defiance every effort to arrest their progress, and between six and seven o'clock one of the main walls of the building fell in with a tremendous crash. In the mean time the most active exertions were made by the firemen and the people assembled, and a considerable portion of property, consisting of rum, wine and tar, that had been lodged in this mercantile dépôt, was rescued from destruction by the energy and enterprise of the persons engaged in that service. Notwithstanding these efforts the destruction of colonial produce was very considerable; and it is stated that, along with other property of less magnitude, a quantity of coffee, amounting to 250 tons, was consumed.—The whole amount of produce destroyed by this calamitous conflagration is estimated at 50,000*l*.—several thousand pounds worth of which had been sold on the preceding day. During the whole of the afternoon of Thursday, and for a considerable part of the night, the most serious apprehensions were entertained that the flames would extend their ravages; but though fragments of the burning pile flew over the neighbouring streets with awful menace, the damage was confined to the warehouses in which the fire originated. About eight o'clock on Friday night the flames,

which had been with difficulty restrained, again burst forth with so much vigour as to spread a renewed and general alarm, but we are happy to add that no further mischief ensued. One man, by a fall from the upper story of a warehouse, had his thigh broken; and a soldier, with several other persons, received considerable injury by the falling of one of the walls.

MAY.

FRANCE.

The following account of a duel, at Caen, between a young English gentleman of the name of Pickford, and M. Marinier a Frenchman, is copied from a private letter received by a gentleman in the county of Sussex:—

“Caen, April 30, 1818.

“A fatal duel took place yesterday morning: the relation which follows will account for it.—Some weeks since a Frenchman, a monsieur Dubuisson, who passes here for a gentleman, spat in the face of a lieutenant in the navy: the insult was unprovoked, but is supposed to have originated in an unfounded jealousy. The fair object of it was a nursery-maid of general H.—The prefect was applied to, and requested to interpose his authority: of the result of this application I am ignorant. Nothing further occurred for several days, till a M. Allan, a friend of Dubuisson, following the lieutenant, and a captain in our army, out of Longuet's Caffé, struck from behind the lieutenant across the head with his cane, and also as grossly insulted his companion. This happened at night, a little after ten. There was not any previous quarrel between the parties,

nor

nor was intimation given of the intended assault. A considerable difference of opinion appeared among our countrymen as to the course to be pursued in punishing the aggressor. Those to whom the lieutenant and the captain applied for advice, decided, that as M. Allan had not sought a quarrel in a gentlemanly manner, he had no right to be considered as a gentleman, and that he ought to be prosecuted. On Saturday the cause came on, and he was condemned to a month's imprisonment, and to a fine. On returning from the place of justice, the English who attended the trial had to suffer under the most revolting scurrilities, showered upon them by the townspeople, and by the friends of Allan, irritated by his condemnation, and exalting themselves mightily at the supposed pusillanimity of the prosecutors. Young D. and young F. had each an affair on their hands; but these were settled by their receiving apologies. Charles Pickford, who had his share of the words "*cachon Anglais, polisson, canaille*," marked his man, and, avoiding all present altercation, pursued his way through the mob. In the evening, having found him on the *Cour*, he requested satisfaction, which was promised, with the significant hint of "the nearer the better." They met near Vancelles the following morning, about seven, M. Marinier with Dubuisson for his second, and Pickford with lieutenant Morgan of the navy. There was some dispute about distances; Marinier wanted 15 paces; Pickford said that he was no shot, and would allow of none beyond four. To this Marinier had no objection,

provided he had the first fire. P. insisted that they should fire together; but this species of equality was stiffly opposed. Another proposal was then made, that Marinier's friend should charge one only of his pistols with ball, and give P. the choice; or that Morgan should charge with ball one of his pair, and should let Marinier choose. This was acceded to. Marinier first took one, and then P. the other. They presented together; the interval between them was about two feet. After a moment or two of hesitation the word was given, and Pickford put a ball under his adversary's ribs on the right side, which passed clean through him. He presently expired. The survivor was brutally insulted by the second of the fallen man. After a proper display of theatrical feeling, he wanted to proceed to another duel à l'outrance, and instantly; but P., though terribly provoked, kept perfectly cool. He said only 'Fetch a witness, and I will wait for you.' After remaining more than an hour on the ground, and seeing no one, they went into Caen.

"P.'s quarrel was fortunately unknown to his father and mother till all was over. The young man played whist at colonel H.'s on the preceding evening, with his accustomed coolness, and till a late hour. There is no occasion to make any remark on the lad's conduct. I must add, that when they arrived on the ground, he said, "I do not approve of Monsieur Allan's prosecution; my opinion was entirely against it; I have had no concern in it. Only make me an apology for the insulting expressions of yesterday, and

and I shall be happy to shake hands with you. I have not the slightest wish to push this matter further." The unfortunate sufferer and his second refused all concession; and to them only can any blame be imputed. It gives me great pleasure to tell you that every respectable Frenchman applauds heartily young P.'s behaviour; I have not seen one, whatever his party and politics may be, who does not say that this humanity, forbearance, and steadiness cannot be excelled."

The trials at Albi closed on the 4th of May, when, on the unanimous declaration of the jury, Bastide, Jausion, the woman Bancal, Bax, and Colard, were pronounced guilty, and sentenced to death. Bax, however, in consequence of his discoveries, has been recommended to the royal mercy. Anne Benoit has been condemned to perpetual imprisonment, and to be branded; and Missonnier to a year's imprisonment and a fine of 60 francs. Madame Manson has been acquitted, and set at liberty.

BATTLE OF AGINCOURT.

It was some time ago mentioned, in one of the English newspapers, that some of the officers attached to the British staff of the army of occupation had been employing themselves in searching for reliques on the field on which the famous battle of Agincourt was fought on the 25th of October in the year 1415.—We are very happy to learn that their labours have been crowned with success far beyond their expectation, and the number of gold pieces already found amount to upwards of sixty.—One of these, which is in the possession of his grace the duke of Gordon, is in

the highest state of preservation. On one side is the arms of France, with the following inscription :—*Karolus Dei Gracia Francorum rex*; and on the reverse, *PC vincit, PC regnat, PC imperat*.—*PC* meaning *per Christum* or *Crucem*.

The gentlemen engaged in this research discovered the spot where the nobles who fell on that fatal day were buried; and, besides the coin above mentioned, various other reliques have been got; many fragments of iron, and among them several arrow heads, one of them in the most perfect state of preservation; two lance-heads, one six, the other eight inches long, and a spur. Several rings have also been found, some of gold, and from their diminutive size are supposed to have been pledges given to the knights by their fair dames, on departing to the wars. One ring is enamelled, and on the outside bears, in old characters, the words *Pleine amitt*, and inside a flower like a rose, with *belle* after it, possibly intended as an enigma for the lady's name, *Rosabelle*. One brass ring was found, filled with clay, and a finger bone sticking in it; the wearer did not expect it to remain there for upwards of 400 years. Buckles and other insignia of the fray have likewise been collected.

The gentlemen engaged in this anxious research had, previous to beginning, secured the right by purchase, else it is shrewdly suspected their operations would have been impeded long since by the French government.

GERMANY.

Vienna, April, 25.

On Monday the 15th, the town of Gran, in Hungary, was visited by

by one of the most dreadful conflagrations that ever afflicted any city. It broke out about one o'clock in the afternoon, through the negligence of a baker, as it is stated, and totally destroyed the fourth part of the town of Gran, which lies in so fine a situation, and is inhabited by a very industrious and honest race of people. Credible letters say that the fire, excited by a furious storm of wind from the north, spread with dreadful rapidity, and in three hours reduced 220 houses to ashes.

The storm having rendered all the efforts both of the firemen and citizens fruitless, it may be well supposed that many of the inhabitants, and great numbers of the domestic animals, being overtaken and surrounded by the flames, must have perished.

The wind carried the ashes and firebrands to the distance of some miles from the town, and set fire to the press-houses lately built at a great expense, at a distance from the town, which were mostly reduced to ashes. After the fire eleven human bodies were taken from the ruins, in a dreadfully mutilated condition, and several persons are still missing. Many were injured in their attempts to extinguish the flames. Two fine chapels, the military hospital, and other great buildings, were destroyed.—The ruins of that part of the town to which is added the row of press-houses, above half a mile in length, present a terrible sight. This misfortune has unhappily fallen on the poor and labouring classes of the inhabitants, who have lost all their little property, even the implements of husbandry by which they gain their livelihood.

Letters from Germany state, that a German colony has been founded in the Brazils, near the river Mucan. Each colonist receives gratuitously from 50 to 100 arpents of land. A town is to be built, to be called Leopoldina, in honour of the archduchess Leopoldine, now princess-royal of the Brazils:

Dr. Jassmeyer, professor of chemistry in Vienna, has made the discovery of a means to extract from coals two hitherto unknown acids, a resin, a resinous gum, and other elements, which he has employed with surprising success to the purpose of dyeing wool, silk, hair, and linen, and has produced from them red, black, yellow, and various shades of brown and gray.—Count Von Chorinsky, president of the Aulic chamber, and many other enlightened judges of these matters, were present at these experiments, and testified their entire approbation of this useful discovery.

TURKEY.

In no city are fires more frequent than at Constantinople. Not less than seventy-five are reckoned to have taken place there in the course of four months. On the night of the 21st March there were three at one time, one of which consumed the hotel of the Swedish ambassador, M. Paolin, with a fine cabinet of antiquities, which he had been many years collecting, and at a great expense.

ITALY.

The Naples journals of April 9, contain a triple convention between that government, his majesty the king of France, his majesty the king of Spain, and his

his royal highness the prince regent of England, from which it results that the privileges and exemptions which the subjects of these three powers enjoyed, in the commerce of the kingdom of The Two Sicilies, are abolished. His majesty promises that the subjects of these three nations shall be treated on the same footing as the most favoured nations, and that the exemptions and privileges thus abolished shall not be renewed in favour of any state; that they shall enjoy an abatement of 10 per cent. on the amount of the duties payable after the tariff in force since the 1st of January 1816, on the totality of the merchandize or productions of the three states which shall be imported into his majesty's dominions, besides other advantages mentioned in the said convention.

AMERICA.

The officers of the United States' army, who now receive brevet emoluments, are only two brigadier-generals, three colonels, three majors, fourteen captains, and three subalterns—Total 27. All the army brevets amount to 72.

More than 1300 Creek warriors have been mustered into the service of the United States, and are actually employed in the expedition against the hostile Seminole Indians. They are commanded by the distinguished chief, colonel Macintosh, and are organized into 19 companies.

A bill to alter the flag of the United States has been a second time read in congress, and ordered to be engrossed. After the 4th of July, the flag to be thirteen horizontal stripes, alternate red and white; the Union to be twenty stars, white, in a blue field;

and, on the admission of every new state, one star to be added.

WEST INDIES.

The following details of a most horrible scene of human butchery were received by the last Jamaica mail:—

“ Kingston, Jamaica, Feb. 28.

“ The schooner Curaçoa packet, Arndtz, from the Indian coast, bound to Aruba, but blown off the coast, out seven days, put into this port yesterday in distress. The arrival of this vessel puts it out of all manner of doubt as to the loss of the brigantine Saxe Cobourg, Glaister, two of her crew having arrived here in her. These men, whose names are James Berry and John Peters, state, that the Saxe Cobourg was taking in cattle on the Indian coast in the beginning of January; that on the 9th she had on board 184 head; that between the hours of ten and eleven in the forenoon of that day one of the Indian chiefs was on board, who got drunk, and behaved in so very outrageous a manner that captain Glaister was compelled to confine him till he became sober; but from the quantity he had drunk, he died shortly after he was sent on shore. His followers, imagining the chief's death was caused by ill-treatment from captain G., went on board the vessel in vast numbers, and commenced butchering every soul they could lay hands on; and out of her whole crew only the two men who arrived here in the Curaçoa packet escaped, they having secreted themselves effectually until the savages' rage was somewhat abated; and they were taken on shore as servants to the Indians, and were sold to captain Arndtz like

like beasts. The Indians plundered the Saxe Cobourg of every portable article; and afterwards set fire to her. Mr. Jacob Glaister, brother to captain G., and Mr. Webb, a passenger, were among the unfortunate victims."

Proceedings upon prosecutions have been most laudably instituted by the board of excise, against several persons charged with selling spurious imitations of tea and coffee. There are other articles of human consumption equally exposed to similar frauds. Porter and Ale, it has frequently been proved, have been mixed with drugs of the most pernicious quality. Port wine, as it is called, and especially that sold at very low prices, it is known, has been manufactured from sloe-juice, British brandy, and logwood. Gin, in order that it might have the *grip*, or have the appearance of being particularly strong, is known to be adulterated with a decoction of long pepper, or a small quantity of aquafortis. Bread, from public convictions, is known to have been made of a mixture of flour, ground stone, chalk, and pulverized bones. Milk to have been adulterated with whitening and water. Sugar to have been mixed with sand. Pepper with fuller's earth, and other earths. Mustard with cheap pungent seeds. Tobacco with various common British herbs. There is scarce an article of ordinary consumption which is not rendered destructive by the infamous and fraudulent practices of interested persons. The following mode of discovering imitation tea has been communicated to us:—Lay the tea on wetted paper, and rub it; it will easily discharge the colour-

ing it receives from logwood, Dutch pink, or verdeggris.

A man named Alford, formerly in the capacity of gardener and gamekeeper to the late countess-dowager of Chatham, at Burton-Pynsent, was about 28 years since convicted at the Somerset assizes of forging two receipts, amounting to something less than ten pounds. He was accordingly sentenced to death; but great interest having been used in his favour, he was reprieved, and the sentence commuted to transportation for life, and he was almost immediately sent off to Botany Bay. In consequence of his skill as a workman, he became useful, and was employed as head gardener in the governor's garden, where he appeared to have merited the good opinion of his employers, and continued there till about twelve months since, when he petitioned the governor for leave to revisit his dear native country. The governor, in consequence of his having conducted himself, as he expresses it, "to his entire satisfaction," granted his request, and on Sunday the 19th ult. he arrived at Curry Rivel, near Langport, where his wife with part of his family lived, in an extremely feeble state, aged 81 years, and there he expired on the Thursday following.

REMARKABLE DELIVERY FROM DEATH.—The following are some interesting particulars of the fate of the men who were inclosed in the Quarrelton coal-pit, near Glasgow. Two of them, by a remarkable providence, have been got out alive, but with regard to the rest there is no hope. The water from an adjoining waste broke into the pit on the morning

morning of the 2d inst., and, though a powerful steam engine was instantly set to work to pump it out, and continued to do so night and day, it was observed by the following Monday, that such was the vast accumulation of water, that little progress had been made, and there was no prospect of speedily getting at the men who might be above the level of the water by this means; it was therefore resolved to drive a mine from the pit to the place where it was probable the men might be. Accordingly, on Tuesday morning, the 5th inst., the mine was begun, and completed on the morning of the 12th inst. This mine is about four feet by three, and only two persons could work at a time. From the plans kept of the workings of this coal-work, it was known, for some days, that by Monday or Tuesday the mine would be driven through, and the public anxiety was excited in no common degree to learn the result. The opening of the mine into the work was considered to be attended with danger from the foul air, and it was arranged that Robert Hodgert, and his brother William, should encounter this danger. When they broke through, the foul air instantly extinguished their lights, and the feelings of the parties may be more easily conceived than described; when the words, "Is that you, uncle?" saluted the ears of Robert Hodgert. These words were uttered by his nephew, William Hodgert, who, along with his brother James, had heard the sound of the mining, for, as they conjecture, two days, and were waiting for deliverance from one of the most aw-

ful possible situations. They immediately entered the mine, and got out, and fortunate it was that they were able to do so, for their father and uncle declare, that such was the effects of the bad air on them, that they could not have entered to render them assistance. Their only sustenance for ten days and ten nights, in total darkness, amidst bad air, was the impure water of the pit, and three pieces of oat cake, which, by groping round the work, they found in the pockets of the clothes left by some of the men who escaped. The only person in the same awful situation with themselves that the Hodgerts had any communication with, was Alexander Barr, but whose voice they had ceased to hear, as they suppose, for at least two days before their deliverance. From the time they heard the miners at work, the occasionally threw stones at the place from which the sound proceeded, in order that the miners might know they were alive, but the miners did not hear them. To enter the mine is now impracticable, owing to the bad air, and it will be a number of weeks before the water is drawn from the pit, consequently the fate of the remaining five men is certain.

Thursday evening, Mr. Turner, a schoolmaster, about 30 years of age, was killed by lightning as he was passing near a farm-yard at Owlerton. Every thread of his garments was completely stripped from his body, except a string of his sleeves, which, from his occupation of a schoolmaster, he wore: this adhered to his arm, and was nearly the only emblem by which his singed and emaciated person could be recognised. Small vestiges

stiges of his clothes, which the electric fluid had partly reduced to tinder, were lodged here and there in the crevices of the wall against which the body was discovered: the watch, seals, and chain were each found in different directions from the body; and an umbrella, which belonged to the deceased, was stripped to its skeleton.

On Tuesday afternoon last, a man of the name of Smith had the temerity, after having drunk about ten pints of ale, to ascend the spire of Louth church, which is nearly 300 feet high, and tie a handkerchief round the iron which supports the weathercock. After he had remained some time upon the top stone, danced a hornpipe, and performed several other antics, he descended with all the composure imaginable to the bottom of the spire, and, on the point of one of the pinnacles of the tower, he stood upon one leg with his arms extended, and made his congee to the numerous spectators below, who had witnessed this piece of presumption with horror and astonishment.

CURIOUS EFFECT ATTRIBUTED TO SAFFRON.—Among the English who crossed from Calais to Dover with Mr. Cadet, in a late visit to England, there was one gentleman who wore upon his stomach a small bag of saffron. On being asked the reason of this, he said he did it to prevent seasickness, and that he had become acquainted with that beneficent property of this vegetable in the following manner:—A mercantile man, who had invariably been incommoded with vomiting, during the voyages which he was frequently under the necessity of ta-

king, one day purchased about a pound of saffron, and, with a view of evading the heavy duty imposed upon it, concealed the packet in his shirt. During the passage he experienced no inconvenience from sickness, although the sea was rough. The good effect in question he ascribed to the saffron, and communicated his conjectures to several others, who have repeated the experiment with success. From that time the narrator has never gone on board a vessel without his saffron packet.

A new optical instrument, called a Kaleidoscope, is at present *all the rage* in the metropolis. With the aid chiefly of two longitudinal darkened pieces of glass, placed at a certain angle inside a circular tube, and some common bits of coloured glass at the end, optical illusions are produced by reflection, of the most beautiful colours, shape, and symmetry, and in form ever varying. Such is the amusement with this simple instrument, that tin-men and glass-cutters are in one universal requisition. The instrument is the invention of Dr. Brewster.

SALT IN BUTTER AND CHEESE.

—Mr. Weaver, in a letter to the Editor of the Chester Chronicle, on this subject, gives the following curious particulars, which will interest our agricultural readers:—"Having taken an active part, in regard to the great county meeting held at Northwich last January, and hearing it asserted at that meeting, that the farmers were repaid very handsomely for the salt they put into the butter and cheese by the consumers, I tried the following experiment on the 10th of April:—I divided two equal parts of new butter of 10lbs.

10lbs. each (made ready for use); to one part one pound of salt was added, between eleven and twelve o'clock, and worked into the butter; the butter was re-worked between five and six that evening; the salted part weighed 11lb. 2 oz. and the part that was without salt weighed precisely as before. The following morning, Saturday, about thirteen hours after, the butter was worked and weighed; that without salt remaining the same, 10lb.; that with salt weighed 10lb. 1 oz. having lost 15 oz. in weight from the first weighing. It was worked and weighed again on Monday morning, between seven and eight; each part weighed as on Saturday morning; the salted part 10lb. 1 oz.; that without salt 10lb. as at first—so that the pound of salt had decreased to one ounce only! On Monday, the 13th instant, I measured the same quantity of milk, which was made into a cheese, to which 1½lb. of salt was added. On Saturday morning, 18th, I weighed both cheeses, when they each weighed 46lb.; the cheese with salt has had 1½lb. of salt rubbed on and in it since; so that that cheese has had 3lb. of salt, and weighed this day 43lb.; that without salt 43½lb.—so that salt decreases the weight of cheese, as was always my opinion."

A very extensive contract with government for the supply of granite to the public works at Sheerness, has been taken by some gentlemen in Aberdeen. The quantity required is about 700,000 cubic feet; which will give work to quarriers, labourers, &c. as well as afford employment to shipping for some time to come.

The physicians of Dublin, in 1818.

their report on the typhus fever, state that this epidemic has already infected at least 7000 of the inhabitants of that city, and that, should it continue its ravages for one year at the same rate as during the last two months, it must afflict upwards of 30,000 more; and, at the same rate of mortality, must consign to the grave about 3000.

THE LATE MR. PLEASANTS.—

A late Dublin gazette contains a notice from Mr. Pasley, one of the executors, announcing the following bequests by the late Mr. Pleasants:—15,000*l.* for the maintenance, clothing, and education of poor orphan Protestant girls; and also his house, &c. in Camden-street, Dublin, for the use of the institution. The girls to remain in the institution till marriageable, and then to be matched to a Protestant: the portion to be according to his or her merit, not to exceed 300*l.*—To the parish school at St. Bridget, 3000*l.*; and to the widows or alms-house of said parish 3000*l.*—To the fever hospital 5000*l.*—To the hospital for incurables, 5000*l.*—To St. Luke's charity-school, 1000*l.*—To St. James's parochial school, 1000*l.*—To the school of females, 1000*l.*—To the Meath charitable loan, 3000*l.*

SPINNING.—It is already known to our readers, that Mr. Marshall, of Derry, lately introduced into this country, from Scotland, the mode of spinning linen yarn with both hands at once. It will be satisfactory for the public to learn that the practice is rapidly gaining ground in the north of Ireland, and is likely to be attended with important consequences to the linen trade. Under the influence

fluence of the Linen Board, a female was some time ago invited from Scotland, to teach this mode of spinning at the House of Industry of this town, and several women soon acquired such a proficiency as enabled them to teach others. It has thus successfully been introduced into Lisburn and other towns. In the city of Derry we understand that a vast quantity of excellent yarn is constantly manufactured by the improved method, and we have no doubt that it will in a short time be generally adopted in Ireland.

DAMP WALLS.

A remedy has been contrived by an ingenious inventor for damp walls; it is sheet lead, wrought in such width and of such delicate substance, as to be put up like paper hangings; and damp, it is affirmed, cannot penetrate it.

TAR FUMIGATION.

Sir Alexander Crichton, physician to the emperor of Russia, has made some experiments on the vapour in boiling tar, in the case of pulmonary consumption: the favourable result of these experiments has been published in Edinburgh. Such of our readers who have friends labouring under the complaint, and wish to make trial of this remedy, should observe the following precautions:—To use the tar employed in the cordage of ships; with each pound or mutchkin of tar mix half an ounce of the salt of tartar; care must be taken that the tar be not boiled in a cracked vessel, and that it be only evaporated, not burnt. After adopting these precautions, the patient may inhale the vapour for several hours every day. At first it frequently occasions headache.

JUNE.

GERMANY.

The German papers speak much of the prophecies of M. Dittmar, a physician, who published, in the month of March last, a volume in which he prognosticates the kind of weather which we are to have during the summer.—“April (he says) will be fine, but in the first half of the month of May the melting of the polar ices will cause a short cold, which towards the end of the month will be succeeded by great heats.” This is what has happened. M. Dittmar assures us, that during June, July, August, and September, the heat will go on increasing. The harvest of grain will be immense in humid situations. The vintage will be abundant, and the wine of an excellent quality. The fruits will be so abundant, that it will scarcely be known what to do with them.

ITALY.

A Neapolitan frigate, says one of the Paris papers, has carried twenty-five thousand piastres to the Dey of Algiers, as the annual tribute of the king of the Two Sicilies.

RUSSIA.

The emperor of Russia is now in the Crimea, after having visited his flourishing city of Odessa, which promises to become an emporium so great, that its commercial interests are more likely than any other cause to embroil Russia with the Porte.

Several communications, from the interior of Ireland concur in representing the state of the country as “most glorious.”—Such a season as the present, is scarcely within the

the recollection of man. 1798 was a fine year; but those who remember it—and where is the mature man who does not remember this year?—was inferior, not only in point of the duration of the fine weather, but even with respect to the intensity of heat.—Our skies for the last six weeks are truly such as travellers describe those of Italy. Our mornings are quite as refreshing, and almost as odouriferous—our evenings are as calm and as warm; while the heat of the mid-day is almost as intense. The consequence has been, that the meadows, particularly in the neighbourhood of the metropolis, are subjected to the scythe—that new hay has already been introduced into our stables—that the oats are in ear, and promise to be ready for the sickle by the end of the month of June—a circumstance, we believe, unexampled in the agricultural records of our country. Vegetables are coming in great quantities into market; and beef and mutton are looking down, notwithstanding the steady demand from the other side of the Channel. In a word, typhus fever has met its steadiest and most powerful enemy, and we may now expect, under Providence, its banishment from our land.

Belfast, June 13.

We have had no weather like the present, since the memorable year 1798, which was exactly twenty years ago, and the striking resemblance that the present month has to the month of June, in that year, is very remarkable, the heat being nearly as great, and some days even greater than it was at that time.

Vauxhall gardens were on Monday night thrown open to the pub-

lic under the most flattering auspices. The serenity of the weather and the refreshing coolness of the air induced a vast concourse of company, amongst whom we observed many persons of distinction, to visit a scene in the decoration of which art and nature have been equally liberal. Between the acts of the concert, Madame and Mademoiselle Saqui performed on the tight rope. The former is, beyond a doubt, the most astonishing *artiste* that ever exhibited. At the conclusion of the fire-works, which were exceedingly ingenious, she performed the well known but fearful feat of ascending a rope forming an inclined plane to a height of 60 feet, and descending amidst a shower of brilliant stars. It is a terrific undertaking—but this lady, whom no danger can appal, whose firmness and presence of mind are unequalled, executed the task with the utmost ease and alacrity.

We were exceedingly gratified on Monday by what we believe may be considered a very novel exhibition in this country—a lecture delivered in English by a modern Greek, on the true pronunciation of the language of Homer and Thucydides. The lecturer was a young man of interesting appearance, named Calbo; he is a native of Zante, but has left that island for five years, during which time he has travelled over Europe, and has, in addition to other tongues, acquired such a knowledge of English, that his lecture would not have disgraced one of our best writers either in style or argument. His object was to show, that though the purity of the Greek tongue has been considerably debased,

yet that the pronunciation remains the same as in the earliest and most classic times; and among other arguments he showed, with considerable spirit and truth of reasoning, that neither the conquest of Greece by the Romans, nor that by the Turks, were at all calculated to effect a change in the Grecian habits of speaking; because the Romans had so great an admiration of those they conquered, that they themselves became imitators, rather than models for imitation, and that the brutal ignorance and ferocious arrogance of the Turks precluded all possibility of any voluntary adoption of their modes of speech by their indignant slaves. He refuted the theory of Erasmus with great success, and read a passage from Homer, and another from Thucydides, as specimens of the genuine pronunciation. It would lead us far beyond our limits to enter upon this interesting controversy; but we certainly think that Mr. C.'s remarks, for their logic no less than their eloquence, deserve much attention and consideration. The meeting, which was at the Argyle rooms, was respectable, though not numerous.

The Rob Roys sailed from Glasgow on Saturday about half-past eight o'clock in the morning, was in Belfast at half-past two o'clock on Sunday morning, notwithstanding being detained an hour and a half at Greenock by the Custom-house; passed the Sally Belfast packet, which sailed from Greenock on Friday; sailed from Belfast on Monday, at half-past six o'clock morning, and arrived at Glasgow at half-past twelve o'clock the same night, against the tide, after being detained two

hours at Lamlash and Millport for coals, having consumed their coals sailing with the Belfast people on Sunday.

The duke of Rutland, since his coming of age, expended regularly six thousand pounds per annum on the improvements and repairs of Belvoir castle, up to the time of the destructive fire. Since that period, his grace continues to expend, upon the rebuilding of that noble edifice, twenty thousand pounds annually. Upwards of 100 mechanics are constantly employed in the interior of the castle, which, it is said, will be one of the finest in England when finished.

CHARACTERISTIC ANECDOTE.

When lord Amherst, on his return from his late embassy to China, mentioned to Bonaparte that the interesting people of the Loochoo islands, according to captain Hall's account, used neither arms nor money, Bonaparte broke forth—"No arms! *Sacre!* how do they carry on war then?" When the same circumstances were related to the chancellor of the exchequer, he exclaimed, "No money! Bless me! how do they carry on the government?"

Last week, two sturgeons got entangled in the fishermen's nets near Inchyra. One of them broke the net, and made its escape; the other was brought ashore, and measured 9 feet in length, and 3 feet 10 inches in circumference at the thickest part of the body. This huge fish, which weighed nearly 20 stone, has been sent off for the London market.

HARVEST MOON.

This year is the third of a series of ten years in which the moon will prove the most beneficial to the farmers, for reaping and gathering

thuring in the fruits of the earth, natural causes) the harvest moon viz. from 1816 to 1825 inclusive. has been least beneficial. Such The preceding nine years, viz. will also be the years from 1826 to from 1807 to 1815 inclusive, were 1884 inclusive. in the class of those in which (from

BREWING.

An account of the number of barrels of strong beer brewed within the limits of the chief office of the excise, during the three years ending 5th July 1817; distinguishing the total quantity brewed each year, the names of the brewers, and the quantity brewed by each brewer, as laid before the House of Commons—(the names of persons brewing less than 10,000 barrels per annum are omitted):

Names of the brewers.	Barrels of strong beer.		
	Years ending 5th of July.		
	1815.	1816.	1817.
Barclay and Co. - - -	307,306½	309,593	258,981½
Ditto, ditto, 2d house - - -	30,315½	20,608½	22,503½
Charrington and Co. - - -	20,444	18,172	16,886½
Calvert and Co. - - -	119,333½	85,925	98,301½
Cocks and Co. - - -	38,107½	86,101½	25,756
Coombe and Co. - - -	103,081	100,665½	110,776
Dickenson - - -	16,281½	9,521	8,420
Elliot and Co. - - -	56,922½	46,587½	55,163
Goodwin and Co. - - -	72,080	77,249½	60,307
Green and Co. - - -	14,072	14,181½	10,991½
Goding and Co. - - -	14,491	12,729½	12,352½
Hanbury and Co. - - -	172,169½	185,041½	168,756½
Hale and Co. - - -	10,134½	9,274½	7,763½
Hollingsworth and Co. - - -	32,256½	31,273½	7,029½
Hodgson and Co. - - -	21,641½	22,592½	22,730
Marlborough and Co. - - -	17,889½	19,812½	
Meux, Reid, and Co. - - -	182,104½	189,020½	157,131½
Meux, Henry, and Co. - - -	123,100	99,671	124,468
Starkey and Co. - - -	15,234	23,078½	12,538½
Stretton and Co. - - -	27,074	26,122½	25,050½
Taylor - - -	51,294	50,533½	42,980½
Tickell - - -	22,089½	21,185½	17,688
Whitbread and Co. - - -	161,618½	168,855	151,888
Wyatt - - -	22,146½	18,497½	18,119½

General account of the Waterloo Subscription to the 31st of May 1818.

Dr.

Amount received by the committee	-	£486,666	13	6
Increased by dividends on stock	£45,432	19	0	
Interest on exchequer bills	-	192	0	4
Profit on stock sold	-	28,782	19	6
			<u>74,407</u>	<u>18 10</u>
Total amount of receipts	-		561,074	12 4

Cr.

Cost of £53,500 3 per cent. cons.	£33,952	10	0
10,000 Reduced	5,787	10	0
17,300 long annuities	274,349	4	6
Total investment in public funds	£314,089	4	6

Payments and donations.

To officers, non-commissioned officers and privates wounded; to the parents and dependent relatives of officers, non-commissioned officers and privates killed; and in annuities to widows and children commencing from the 18th of June 1815; and to the Prussian and other foreign troops - £228,621 8 11

Expenses from 18th of June 1815 to 18th of June 1818:

Advertising, printing, and stationery	4,475	6	1
Lease of house, fixtures, rent and taxes	2,133	12	4
Salaries to the secretary, assistant secretary, and clerks, for three years	3,353	10	0
Engraving, stamps, postage, and other incidental expenses	-	2,520	15 8
Balance at the bankers'	-	5,880	14 10

561,074 12 4

Statement of the appropriation.—Annuities granted for life.

To the widows of officers, non-commissioned officers, and privates killed - £ 9,930

To the wounded non-commissioned officers and privates totally disabled - 1,698

To dependent relatives - 540

Amount of annuities for life - £12,168

Brought

Brought forward £12,168

Annuities granted for limited periods.

To the children of officers, non-commissioned
officers and privates, and to complete orphans - 9,708

Total amount of annuities - - £21,876

Voted in money.

To the wounded officers, non-commissioned officers
and privates - - 83,834

To the parents and dependent relative officers, non-
commissioned officers, and privates killed, leaving
no widows or children - - 34,172

To the foreign troops, viz.

Prussians, Brunswickers, Hanoverians,
and Netherlanders - - £45,000

Additional for the exclusive benefit of
their orphans, rendered such by the
campaign of 1815 - - 17,500

62,500

Total amount voted in money £180,506

JULY.

GERMANY.

Berlin, June 13.

The great wool fair has brought to light a circumstance which proves, it is true, the temporary prosperity of the great landed estates, but which must be followed by the total ruin of the industry of the cities. Ordinary wool has risen to the price of from 12 to 18 dollars per stone, and fine wool risen to 46 dollars. These high prices have been caused by travelling English speculators; and our *Physiocrats* triumph at this admirable result of their system; for they say, Our cloth manufacturers must certainly be able to sell at the same prices as the English; since they have over them the advantage of shorter and cheaper conveyance. But they forgot that the English find money at a much cheaper rate; and besides, this wool is paid for by bills from the

balance due to them on their cottons; that they have larger capitals, better machines, a more certain market, secured by their extensive commerce and navigation. Formerly they purchased in Germany only fine wool, but now they purchase the coarse also, in order to annihilate our cloth manufactories entirely. While the free exportation of wool is prohibited by them, as it was among us under Frederick II. we have now allowed the free exportation. How the landed aristocracy gains is evident; this aristocracy, which formerly, when the government was united with the cities, was under restraint, now marches triumphantly over the ruins of the cities, where all the taxes besides are higher, and the number of beggars daily increasing!

A serious accident has occurred at Berlin. A metal statue of prince Blucher was ordered to be cast for

the ornament of his native town of Rostock. No such thing having been executed in Berlin since a statue in bronze to Frederick William the Great, and sufficient confidence not being reposed in the artists of that capital, the person who lately finished the statue of Henry IV. at Paris was therefore sent for. The statue was to be done by a new process, namely, casting it in separate parts, instead of all at once. On the first day of casting, a number of the Berlin artists attended to see the process, when all the melted metal flew off the mould, and severely burnt many of them. The people of Berlin are inclined to think this a wicked trick played off by the Frenchman on their artists, because they consider it as an almost unaccountable thing that the Parisian should have escaped unhurt. They do not consider that the mould being moist; or even too damp, would occasion the molten metal to fly off from it; and as to the statuary being unhurt, while others around him were much scorched, every day's experience furnishes us with examples of far more miraculous escapes than that.

SWITZERLAND.

INUNDATION OF THE VALLEY OF BAGNES.

Lausanne, June 19.

From the intelligence received from every quarter, it would appear that the waters of the lake Bagnes have forced a passage opposite the barrier of ice, and have produced disasters the details of which are not yet known. The following is the official account of what occurred previous to that event.

On the 13th, at ten o'clock at

night, the water commenced flowing by the gallery. Towards the morning of the 14th it was discovered that pieces of ice had entered and blocked up the passage. Some bold workmen meantime succeeded in removing them, and opening a course for the water. A report of the commission of government of Vallais, stationed at Bagnes, dated the 14th, at nine in the evening, stated they saw signals burning, without knowing the reason, but that the state of the Drance had not then given them any uneasiness.

The report from Martigny, on the evening of the 14th, said likewise, that at half-past ten signals were lighted even at Martigny itself, but at four in the morning the state of the Drance was the same as on the preceding day. During the entire day the Drance was not raised higher than is usual at that season, but its waters were charged with a black earth, and carried with them torn-up roots.

Such was the situation of the valley of Bagnes and the plain of Martigny on the morning of the 15th. The official accounts do not come down later than that period. In the mean time we shall inform our readers of whatever else has come to our knowledge. On the 17th, at seven o'clock in the evening, the waters of the Rhone, as seen from the bridge, were considerably elevated. They were muddy, and charged with the wrecks of houses, pieces of wood, and other objects. A courier that left St. Maurice had not been able, it is said, to reach Martigny, as the road was inundated in a few moments. From these different statements it would appear that the breaking of the ice happened

happened on the 16th, towards evening, and was accompanied by some calamities. It would be folly, however, to give much credit to report, which is always exaggerated. The official accounts, we fear, will arrive too late to be inserted to-morrow: we shall collect and publish all the details.

P.S. We have just seen some whom the breaking of the ice surprised on the road near Saint Branchier, on Tuesday at five in the evening, as they were returning from the Glacier.—They had only time to take refuge on the neighbouring heights, and from thence, witnessing the passage and tumult of the waters, they saw the disasters their irruptions had produced. Houses totally or partially destroyed, were hurried down the current, and the ruins passed successively before their eyes. Others assure us that the village of Benachizes is utterly destroyed, while Martigny has suffered frightfully, and a multitude of single houses and cottages have been carried away. The damage reaches from Boyne to Martigny, and numbers have perished; among whom they mention the keeper of the Swan tavern enveloped by the waters in his own garden.

It is difficult to obtain accurate information. Communication is nearly impossible, and we can only judge of the extent of the calamity by the quantity of ruins still carried down by the waters of the Rhone, but that would lead us to dread great and irreparable misfortunes.

AMERICA.

NEW RIFLE GUN.

The following is from the Massachusetts Gazette of May 2.

We have seen a new rifle gun, likely to be of some consequence, which is said to be the invention of captain Artimas Wheeler of this town. We have not had sufficient opportunity to examine it so minutely as to give a description of it that would do it justice; we are inclined to think it a new and important invention, more particularly in case of an action with an enemy. It has one barrel through which the charges pass, that is of common length, also seven short ones; not much longer than sufficient to contain a charge each; these have a pan attached to them to contain powder for priming, and are kept perfectly tight by a slide that covers them; these barrels are made to move circularly round, near the lock, which is also of new construction; after firing the first charge, the half cocking moves by a spring one of these short barrels round, and confines it tight in the breech end of the long barrel, through which the charge must pass; the shutting the pan of the lock opens the side which covers the priming. This gun is but little heavier than the common one, and, when once loaded, which requires little more time than to load a common rifle, it can be fired as expeditiously as will be convenient to cock the piece and take sight, until the seven are discharged.

Large islands of ice have been seen so far south as the West Indies. A very extensive one gave rise to a great sensation, being seen in the neighbourhood of the Bahama islands.

INDIA.

From private letters from India we learn a very novel fact, and which will be productive of incalculable

culable results. There has long been a great and increasing population in India—the descendants of Europeans from Indian mothers and their progeny. Many of them are well educated, and people of considerable property; and latterly, they have been studiously investigating what are their rights as free-born British subjects. They have commenced a newspaper, to facilitate the objects of their inquiry, a measure which has excited no small degree of alarm in a country where the supreme government has been, till lately, in the habit of dispensing very summary judgement on all who presumed to talk of a free press. In fact, the individual who would have ventured, a few years ago, to publish any thing not approved of by the servants of the government in that quarter, would have been instantly shipped off for England. On inquiry it has been found that the rights of this mixed race are so completely guarded by the last charter granted to the Company, that it is not in the power of the Indian government to adopt summary measures against these *free-press* men, the race in question being expressly put under the protection of the courts of judicature, and their rights secured as British subjects, amenable only to the British laws. In this dilemma, the question under discussion by those who regret this extension of a free press in India, when these letters came away, was—Whether they should oppose the free journals, by establishing counter journals? or, by occupying the columns of those before printed with the license of the government, with counter statements and arguments.

HURRICANE AT ISLE OF FRANCE.

Our distressed colony has probably suffered more in the late storm than in the fire of 27th September 1816. The storm which happened on the 28th of February and 1st of March has spared nothing by land or water. All the vessels in the port were lost or damaged in some degree, and many lives have been lost. The French frigate *Magicienne*, captain Purvis, ashore and sunk; ship *Melantho*, Eckley, ashore, having lost her bowsprit. Many houses in the town are ruined. On the plantations, the buildings have suffered as much as the fields. Many planters have lost their all, and the distress is general. It is impossible, while every one is busy to see what is left to him, rather than to tell his losses, to obtain an exact account of the losses the colony has sustained. We beg our friends and the inhabitants in general to give us every aid in a general statement, for which they shall have our thanks. The barometer sunk lower than was ever known, and most of those who observed it, were unable at first to account for the notices it gave in so extraordinary a manner. It appears that the most violent blasts were from the N.E., but with a force very unequal, as we could see small vessels stand it, while others of the greatest strength were destroyed at a small distance from them. Many persons observed that the rain water was salt, and on the day after the storm the water which flows near the town was found brackish.

On the 28th of February, at seven in the morning, the barometer was at 28, at six in the evening at 27, at five next morning at 20.6. The thermometer (French) 22. At

six the wind abated, and from N.E. passed N. and at seven was N.W. and began to abate; had lessened much at eleven; and at six in the evening there was a pleasant breeze at N.W. the barometer then at 27.9.

The Russian brig *Rurick*, under the command of lieutenant Kotzebue, who arrived at Portsmouth about three weeks ago, had been out on a voyage of discovery two years and eleven months. The crew had continued remarkably healthy, but the vessel was obliged to put into Portsmouth for supplies of provisions.—During his voyage, which at first was directed to the North, lieutenant Kotzebue reached a very high latitude, but we are not yet able to state it with accuracy. He fell in with a most singular iceberg, of great magnitude, which not only had a portion of its surface covered with earth and mould, and bearing trees and vegetable productions, but a portion of its *water-line* covered with a shore formed by the deposit of earthy matter, washed down from the higher parts of the earth-covered iceberg. On this shore a landing was made, and considerable quantities of remains of the mammoth were found in such a state of putrefaction as to produce a most insupportable stench. The *Rurick* brought away a number of the tusks and other parts of these immense animals, which had probably been preserved in a frozen state for many ages, till the mass of ice which inclosed them, put in motion by some unknown cause, reached a more temperate latitude.

Some interesting facts relative to what is called the pseudo volcano, near the Bradley iron-works,

in Staffordshire, have been published.—The tract of ground is situated by the road side from Birmingham to Wolverhampton, about half way between Wednesbury and Bilston. It is mentioned by Plot, in his *Natural History of Staffordshire*, as being on fire in 1686, when he wrote; and he says it was not then known how long it had been on fire. It then occupied a space of eleven acres; but its ravages have since extended about one mile and a half in extreme length, and one mile in breadth. Whether the fire originated in accident, or from the sulphur contained in the coal and pyrites, is not known; but it probably arose from the latter cause; as, at other pits, the small coal has taken fire on being exposed to the air. As the combustible matter is exhausted, the hand of cultivation resumes its labour; and even in parts where the fire still exists, by carefully stopping the fissures, and preventing the access of air, different crops can be raised. A neglect of these precautions sometimes destroys half the produce, whilst the remainder continues flourishing. About two years ago it began to penetrate through the floors of some houses; it produced great alarm by appearing in the night; and four of the houses were taken down. It exhibits a red heat in this situation, and the smoke has forced its way through a bed of cinders forty feet in height.—On the south it is arrested by beds of sand, which cover the coal formation in that part; and on the north-east it is impeded by cultivation. At first view a stranger might suppose himself in a volcanic region. The exterior view of the strata exposed by the fallin

falling in of the ground, presents a surface blackened by the action of fire, and presenting most of the porphyritic and trappeau colours in high perfection. The cinder dust on which you tread, the sulphureous vapours and smoke which arise from the various parts of the surface, and the feeling of insecurity which attends most of your footsteps, all combine to give a high degree of interest to the scene. In some places of this region coal is found only four feet from the surface.

LUSUS NATURE.

There is now living, in the possession of Thomas Dixon, of Poles Inn, Holm Rock, a duckling with four webbed feet and two tails.

DREAMING.

On Friday night Mrs. Peat, the landlady of the Carpenter's Arms public-house, in John-street, Tottenham-court-road, retired to rest about twelve o'clock, but had not slept many minutes before she dreamed that some person had given three knocks at her chamber door, and she fancied that she heard a female voice exclaim—"Mistress! mistress! here's some one putting a child down the privy!" During the night the idea haunted her, and she arose extremely troubled. At the breakfast table she related the circumstance to Mr. Peat, the brother of her late husband, who treated the idea with ridicule; but seeing that it had made more than a common impression upon her mind, he endeavoured by every means in his power to divert her thoughts from such an improbable circumstance; but it gained too much credence with her, and, in order to gratify her curiosity, she determined to explore the drain of the privy. For

this purpose she provided herself with a stick; and after about a minute's search, succeeded in bringing the arm of an infant above the surface of the drain. Information was sent to the parish officers, who caused proper steps to be taken to investigate the matter.

Accordingly on Saturday evening an inquest was held at Mrs. Peat's house, before Thomas Stirling, esq. and Mr. Raynsford the police magistrate, with many other gentlemen.

The first witness examined was the maid servant, but nothing could be elicited to throw the least light upon the subject; and indeed from her manner the girl seemed to have no knowledge of the transaction.

Mrs. Peat detailed, in a firm unhesitating manner, her singular dream to the jury; and her brother-in-law confirmed her in that part which related to finding the body.

J. Moody, the watering-man at the coach stand, stated, that on Saturday he was in the Carpenter's Arms; he heard Mrs. Peat scream, and accompanied her brother-in-law to her assistance. She told him that she had found the body of a child in the water closet; but although she said she had found it in half a minute, witness could not find it in five minutes, or more. He was afterwards told that she had dreamt over-night that some person had buried it there. Mrs. Peat has been for some time a widow.

Mr. Upham, a surgeon, said that he had examined the body; it appeared full grown, but he could not positively say whether it was still-born.

This

This witness, at the request of the coroner and jury, examined Mrs. Peat and her female servant, and he gave it as his opinion that neither could have been recently delivered.

The coroner charged the jury at some length, and at two o'clock on Sunday morning they brought in a verdict of—"Wilful murder against some person or persons unknown."

LOSS OF THE SHIP SOLON.

The brig Poacher, captain Malcolm, arrived at Boston on Wednesday, in 55 days from Liverpool, *via* Fayal, and furnishes the following detail of the loss of the Solon by lightning:—

"April 28, fell in with the ship Solon, Stoddart, from London for New York, with hemp, dry goods, copper, &c. which had been struck with lightning the evening previous, and set on fire in lat. 40. 15. long. 27. then twenty days out. Took out the passengers, 27 in number, and crew, amounting in all to 38, and shortly after the fire burst through the deck, and we saw the masts go over the side. The following account of the disaster, furnished by a passenger, agrees with the minutes made on the log-book, with which we have also been favoured:—

"On the 27th of April, at nine o'clock p. m. a body of lightning struck the ship, attended by a singular explosion, disordering every thing in its passage down the main-mast: the captain and many others on the upper deck were at once knocked down; on the middle deck the same effect was produced, yet in either case no lives were lost. Immediately columns of smoke rose from the hold through every aperture. In this

emergency the thickness of the smoke became such as to prevent further respiration. All rushed on deck in confusion—the lightning still bursting forth, so that the whole sea appeared like a furnace. Here was one of the most distressing scenes that ever was witnessed; the most of the people half naked, and it being impracticable to return for their clothes, and with no more of the necessaries of life than would be required for about two days subsistence. In this state we continued till next day about eleven o'clock, when the brig Poacher, captain Malcolm, appeared in sight, and ultimately saved our lives. The last boat had scarcely reached the brig when the Solon's mizen-mast fell by the board, and the main-mast followed in about half an hour after. At this time the flames had burst out in every direction, so that Providence had sent this vessel to our aid at a most critical moment. So great a number of persons being added to those already on board the Poacher, she having before seven passengers, it became necessary to make for the Western Islands, for water and provisions. We arrived at Fayal on the 1st May, where every attention was paid to our wants by Mr. Dabney, the American consul, and other persons, particularly Messrs. Searle, Parker, Bayley, and Correa."

Three of the Solon's passengers here went on board the ship Norfolk, for London; seven of the passengers and crew on board the schooner Prudence, Legget, for Halifax; and the remainder have arrived in this port in the Poacher.

The Solon had a cargo on board valued at nearly 200,000*l.*, including about 90,000*l.* worth of drugs.

—She

—She was a fine ship newly coppered.

SCOTS PEERS' ELECTION.

At Holyroodhouse, the election of 16 noblemen to represent the Scots peerage in the ensuing parliament, the following were duly returned :—

<i>Peers' names.</i>	<i>No. of votes.</i>
Duke of Roxburgh	48
Marquis of Queensberry.....	54
— Tweddale	56
— Lothian.....	57
Earl of Errol	56
— Home	56
— Kellie	54
— Balcarras	56
— Rosebery.....	54
Viscount Arbuthnot	45
Lord Forbes	51
— Saltoun	55
— Gray	55
— Sinclair	50
— Colville of Culross ..	47
— Napier	51

Unsuccessful Candidates.

Earl of Caithness	3
— Selkirk	13
Lord Reay	26
— Belhaven	36

The following peers personally attended and gave their votes : the rest sent proxies or signed lists :—

Duke of Roxburgh
Marquis of Queensberry
— Tweddale
— Lothian
Earl of Caithness
— Cassillis
— Moray
— Home
— Kellie
— Elgin
— Findlater *
— Northesk
— Balcarras

Earl of Marchmont

— Rosebery

— Glasgow

— Hopetoun

Viscount Arbuthnot

Lord Forbes

— Saltoun

— Gray

— Sinclair

— Torphichen

— Blantyre

— Colville of Culross

— Napier

— Reay

— Elibank

— Belhaven

— Rollo.

Of the truth of the following facts we are assured upon the testimony of credible eye-witnesses :

—A short time since a poor woman died at Dunbar. She had lived in a house by herself, and during her latter illness had been waited on by some of her neighbours, who relieved each other by turns in administering to her wants. She suffered but little bodily pain ; but appeared to labour under a great mental oppression, frequently talking incoherently, and complaining of being disturbed by the crying of children and the rocking of cradles. The expenses of her funeral were paid from a charitable fund ; and her effects exposed to public sale. These consisted of a bed, two old chairs, and a large chest. On opening the chest, the bystanders were horrified by finding sewed up in a bag the skeletons of two infants ; and the skull of a third was discovered sewed into the straw bed on which the woman had slept. The matter immediately underwent every possible in-

* A protest was entered by the earl of Rosebery against the vote of the earl of Findlater, on account of his not being duly qualified.

vestigation by the proper authorities, but without eliciting any further discovery; and there seemed no way of accounting for the shocking scene before them, but by supposing that the infants had been the offspring of the unhappy wretch deceased, by whom they must have been inhumanly murdered.

An entirely new source of trade to the West Indies has very recently been opened by the invention and erection of a mill for carding and cleaning old blankets, however dirty and ragged, into a comfortable stuffing for bed-tickings for the use of the negro population of the islands.—Thus, an article which has hitherto been thrown away as totally useless, or of very trifling value indeed, will now readily produce from 6*d.* to 8*d.* per pound to the collectors who perambulate the streets.

A roller pump, on an improved principle, for which a patent has been obtained, is erected at Worcester, for the purpose of raising water from the river Severn into a large basin of the Worcester canal, where it throws up 900 gallons of water per minute through a ten-inch bore.

So intense was the heat of the sun on Saturday morning, the 13th June, at Taybach, Glamorganshire, that a gate-post within a short distance of Mr. Philip Jones's house was actually set on fire, and partly consumed before it was discovered.

The average of six thermometers in the sun, at two o'clock on Friday, was 144 degrees Fahrenheit, or two degrees above fever heat.—Thermometer in the shade, northern aspect, 87 deg.—ditto, southern aspect, 88 degrees.

Yesterday Mr. Usher, the clown

at the Cobourg theatre, undertook to go from Blackfriars Bridge to Westminster Bridge in a washing-tub drawn by four geese. He started with the tide at half-past one, and accomplished this singular wager in one hour. An immense number of persons witnessed the undertaking, when, after completing it, he sailed to Cumberland Gardens, and there offered, for a wager of 100 guineas, to return from thence through the centre arch of London Bridge: but no person would accept the challenge.

DREADFUL SUICIDES.

Friday an inquest was held at the sign of the Feathers, Deanstreet, Westminster, before Anthony Gell, Esq. coroner for the city of Westminster, on the body of Ann Carpenter, aged 36, whose death was caused by her own act, in jumping over the Pagoda bridge in St. James's Park.

Ann Awger sworn.—I am wife of William Awger, a corporal in the 1st regiment of life guards: I have been separated these two years past from my husband; the deceased and I were school-fellows together; her husband was an officer's servant; the deceased had been abroad, and I did not see her for five or six years until last Sunday week, when she was walking along Sloane-street, and we met by chance, and have been ever since constantly together. On unbosoming our misfortunes to one another we found we exactly corresponded, which caused us to live together; the deceased had three children, all off her hands: during the time, we parted with all the things we had to procure a living; the deceased told me that her troubles were so great that she would

go and take leave of her children, who were at Lewisham, and she would then drown herself. I being in the same kind of trouble, agreed to accompany her, and would do the same. I went with her to Lewisham, and on our return we went to the bank of a river, and were shaking hands before we threw ourselves in, but were prevented by the appearance of a man.

[Here the witness, who is a good looking woman, was so affected that she burst into tears. The coroner exhorted her to reflect on the magnitude of her crime, and exert herself for the future to think of her God, and pursue a better course of life.]

Witness continued—On Friday night we proceeded to Westminster-bridge to drown ourselves; but not being able to climb upon the balustrade, we went round to the steps at the water side; she took off her cap and bonnet, got into a boat, and would have jumped over, but was prevented by a man who perceived our intention and followed us. The deceased then told me she would take me to a better place, and took me to the Pagoda bridge in St. James's Park. We proceeded thither; but not being able to get in at Storey's Gate, the deceased took me round another way. When we got to the bridge, I said, "Now, Ann, let us say our prayers before we do it." She refused, and we then proceeded to the centre of the bridge (witness drowned in tears); it was then a quarter past ten o'clock; we shook hands, and proposed that one should go to one side and the other to the opposite side; we then got on the battlements, and, as I had one leg over, the sentry ran, and, laying hold of me, prevented me

jumping in at the same time; the deceased threw herself head foremost into the water; I heard the splash after I was saved; I looked over the bridge, and saw the deceased struggling in the water; I had previously proposed to the deceased to commit the act in the Serpentine River, so that my husband, who would be close by, might see me after I was dead. We spent the whole of the day in Covent-Garden, and there spent half a crown in victuals and drink. We were crying out "Burdett for ever!" but were not drunk.

Coroner.—"Do you think the deceased knew what she was doing, or do you think she was in the same state of mind as yourself? You seem to be in a perfect state of mind?"—A. "I don't think that either of us could be in our proper mind at the time, to think of such an act—we were very dull till we had something to drink. We were broken-hearted all the day. The deceased made me no answer when I desired her to say her prayers. We did not look for any work. I proposed looking for work in the Garden, but the deceased was above it; but advised that we should go into the streets for our living, which I refused. She fretted very much after her husband. My husband behaved very ill to me; he only allowed me 2s. a day, though he sometimes earns 30s. a week as a rough rider, and has several scholars."

Coroner.—"Did you not think of the next world?"—"No; we only thought that we should leave a troublesome and miserable world where we were starving. The deceased said, that sir Richard Croft, who was a sensible man, made away with himself with impunity,

nity, and why not they?—Don't think they were at the time in their proper senses."

Daniel Hammon sworn.—"About half-past ten o'clock on Wednesday night, I was sentry on the Pagoda bridge, and observed two women come on the bridge, and speaking in an agitated manner, and shaking hands. The deceased said to last witness, "Go you to that side, and I'll go to this," which they accordingly did, when the deceased threw herself from the bridge into the water, and I then laid hold of the last witness as she was about to throw herself over. I afterwards heard the deceased making a noise in the water, and cry out, 'Lord have mercy upon my poor children!' Could not go to her assistance, as the last witness said she was determined to drown herself, and would have jumped in if I had not kept hold of her; the deceased was a fine-looking woman."

The jury, which consisted of twenty persons, returned a verdict—*That the deceased drowned herself, being at the time she died in a state of lunacy.*

Same day an inquest was held at Islington, on the body of William Butcher, aged 28, found on Saturday in the New River with his hands and legs tied. A card with his name and address, and threepence, were found in his pocket. From the evidence it appeared that the deceased had formerly kept a shop in the oil and colour trade in Ratcliff Highway, and, having failed, became a porter to a broker in the City Road. He was, however, unable to do the work required of him in this situation, and was discharged. Being destitute of employment, and 1818,

his family in great distress, he manifested occasionally great agitation of mind and lowness of spirits. On the day previous to that on which he was found dead his family had no food, and he no means of procuring it. Before he left home he kissed his wife and children, and with tears in his eyes said, he would not return till he got some kind of employment to procure them bread. After going out of the room he returned again, and kissed them a second time, and then tore himself away in the greatest agitation; he had five-pence when he left home, and it is supposed he gave twopence of it for the rope with which he contrived to tie himself. The jury returned a verdict of—*Insanity.*

SHOAL OF WHALES.

Extract from a letter dated Stornoway, 30th June 1818.

"On Monday week a shoal of whales was discovered coming into this bay; all the boats belonging to the place immediately turned out, upwards of 50 in number, with more than 300 men on board. After some time they formed a line behind the shoal, and by throwing stones, and making a loud noise, gradually wore them into the inner harbour, on one side of which the town stands. Here the leader soon went on shore, and was followed by most of the rest. The whole were in a short time killed or secured, to the number of 205, great and small, the largest about 22 feet long, the smallest about eight.—They are of the species known by the name of *calling* or *bottlenose* whale, the former name from the piteous howling the poor animal makes when he is attacked. For two or three hours the struggle and exertion lasted,

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you may conceive what a scene of noise and bloodshed—the whole population of the place either assisting or beholding the combat ; in a little narrow bay not half the size of one of your Leith docks, the water was completely tinged with blood, and the roaring of the animals was such, that the people say they were not able to hear each other speak for some time. The fishes were in general easily killed, but it was remarked that those with young retained the vital spark much longer than the others.

The beach is now covered with corrupting carcases, which are towed out to sea as fast as time will permit ; there is not sufficient agricultural energy to turn them to the proper purpose. The whole capture was sold on Wednesday for about 300*l.* to be divided among the boats that took them. This morning another shoal made its appearance, and I was hopeful of being in at, as extraordinary a death as a sportsman ever saw, but the flock took another direction."

THE LIST OF THE ROYAL NAVY, CORRECTED TO THE 30TH JUNE, CONTAINS THE FOLLOWING OFFICERS, VIZ. :—

Admiral of the fleet	1	
Admirals of the	Red White Blue	18 17 18..... 2 employed.
Vice-admirals of the	Red White Blue	23 18 18..... 2 employed.
Rear-admirals of the	Red White Blue	25..... 1 employed. 25..... 6 employed. 23..... 2 employed.
	176	13
Superannuated rear-admirals	25	
Superannuated and retired captains	29	
Captains	858	65 employed.
Commanders	789	34 employed.
Lieutenants retired with the rank of commanders	98	
Lieutenants	3920	385 employed.
Masters for service	643	142 employed.
Physicians	16	
Surgeons for service	934	104 employed.
Assistant surgeons	367	155 employed.
Dispensers	19	
Hospital-mates	6	
Purser	885	122 employed.
Chaplains	51	30 employed.

AIX-LA-CHAPELLE.

The place which the allied sovereigns have selected as the place of holding the royal and imperial congress, is a large, handsome, and once strongly fortified town of Germany, in the circle of Westphalia, and is included in the new territorial acquisitions of Prussia. It was formerly a free imperial city, and the emperor Charlemagne was so delighted with the beauty of the place, that he chose it for his residence. He is interred in the church of Notre-Dame, where his sword, belt, and a volume of the four evangelists written in letters of gold, all which were used at the coronation of the emperors, are carefully preserved. Its mineral waters draw a great number of persons yearly to the place. In 1668 and 1748 it was distinguished by two treaties of peace. It is seated in a valley, and its castle stands on a hill, from which sixty towns or cities, the sea and even England, may be seen in a clear day. The city contains thirty parish churches, and a splendid market-place. It was destroyed by the Huns in 451, but repaired by the emperor Charlemagne, who made it his capital.

AUGUST.

INDIA.

SHIP LAUNCH IN THE EAST INDIES.

On the 8th of January the inhabitants of Calcutta were gratified by the most magnificent spectacle of the kind ever witnessed in that country. The first line-of-battle ship built on this river was committed to the waves from the dock-yard of Messrs. Kyds and Co. at Kidderpore, amidst the acclamations of some thousands of Europeans and natives, whom curiosity

had assembled to view this beautiful and grand specimen of naval architecture. In honour of the most noble the governor-general, she is named the Hastings. After the launch spacious rooms were opened in the dock-yard, for the accommodation of a very numerous and respectable assembly of ladies and gentlemen, invited to partake of the *dîner* provided by the committee of management, at which the vice-president presided. Many toasts applicable to the occasion were drunk, and the day passed in cheerful conviviality. The following are the dimensions of the Hastings.

	Ft. In.
Length of the gun-deck	176 8
Breadth for measurement	47 3
Burden in tons	1705 0

This ship carries on the lower gun-deck twenty-eight 32-pounders; on the main ditto, thirty 18-pounders; on the quarter-deck and fore-castle, eighteen 12-pounders; and on the poop, six 42-pounders.

A GREAT GUN.

In a late Calcutta paper we perceive a description of the great gun which was taken by the British in the fort of Agra, when it surrendered to lord Lake in October 1803. It is called a *fifteen hundred brass pounder*, and weighs one thousand and forty-nine hundred. On the gun is written the following in Persian characters :—

“ In the reign of Akhber Shah, made by Seetul Pershand, weight 1,469 maunds.” Value of the gun, as old brass, at the company’s price, St. Rs. 53,400. Ditto, do. (if serviceable) 160,200. Weight of shot (suitable) if made of iron, 1,497 lbs. 6 oz. Ditto, if made of marble, 567.

The prize agents at Calcutta
(E 2) value

value the metal alone at 100,000 rupees. It was intended to have forwarded it to England, and with that view it was, after great labour, got down as far as the banks of the river Jumna, but no boat could be found sufficient for its safe conveyance to Calcutta.

AMERICA.

FLOATING SHOPS.

Many of the families residing in the new settlements in America, to the south of the Genessee country, on the bank of the great river Ohio, are supplied with shop goods from vessels which navigate it, and are fitted up with counters, shelves, drawers, in the same manner as are shops on land, and as well stored as many of them with all kinds of goods that are in demand. On approaching a plantation, while they sail along the river, a horn or conch-shell is blown, to give notice of their arrival, when the planters with their wives and daughters repair to these floating shops, and select such things as they require; and make payment in the produce of their plantations, such as flour, cotton, tobacco, dried venison, the skins of wild animals, &c. The shop-keeper having disposed of his goods in his way, returns home with the produce he has collected, and again renews his stock, and proceeds on another voyage.

FRANCE.

The most conspicuous article in the French papers, which have arrived to Thursday last, is an account of the extraordinary labour attending the conveyance of the equestrian statue of Henri Quatre from the Pont des Arts to the Pont Neuf, over which short distance it required the strength of sixty-eight horses during four hours, from

five on Monday morning until nine, to transport the weighty monument.

The ceremonies which took place at Paris on St. Louis's day form the principal subject of intelligence in the French journals of the 27th inst. The number of military under arms on this grand occasion is said to have amounted to 30,000. The French princes, of every branch of the house of Bourbon, attended on horseback, the king's carriage from the Thuilleries, by the Rue de la Paix and along the Boulevards, to the Pont Neuf. There, his majesty being seated on a throne, to the right and left of which were placed the diplomatic body and the French authorities, the statue of Henri Quatre was unveiled amidst the loud and universal acclamations of the people. This monument, to the memory of the most illustrious of the Bourbon race, was erected, as is well known, by voluntary subscription throughout the French monarchy: the marquis Barbe de Marbois, therefore, president of the committee of subscribers, addressed his majesty in an appropriate oration, complimentary both to the deceased hero and to his living descendant, when the king expressed his gratitude for the gift in a speech of extraordinary energy and feeling. The day was closed by a general illumination. The duke of Wellington was present during the whole of this great festival, his grace taking post with the British embassy.

The review which is about to be made of the allied forces is, with natural eagerness, denominated by the French "*La revue de depart.*" The troops, however, it has been surmised, will re-occupy immediately

ately their old cantonments, until the decision of the approaching congress shall be formally promulgated as to the time and circumstances of their return home.

On Friday the thermometer at the Observatory, in a northern aspect, at half-past 12, rose to 28 degrees according to Reaumur's scale, which had not happened at Paris for ten years.—Chevalier's thermometer, at two o'clock, was as high as 23 degrees 1-10th.

It is stated, that the number of English, Irish, and Scots, in France, appears on the police-books to amount to 62,000, every one of whom is registered as to name, residence, &c. and could be arrested in 24 hours. The evacuation of the country by the army of occupation will be the signal for the return of a great proportion of this emigrant population. It is estimated that their expenditure amounts to 50,000*l.* a day !

ITALY.

We understand that steam packets are now used in the Mediterranean, and that at Naples a beautiful packet, of 240 tons and 120 feet in length, was launched on the 24th of June last, intended to sail from Naples to Palermo. The steam engine for the above vessel was sent from hence ; it has been constructed by Messrs Hague and Topham, after the principles of Messrs. Bolton and Watt, of Birmingham.

METEOROLOGY.

One of those showers which in times of ignorance and superstition would have been considered supernatural and ominous, fell on the 14th of last March in Naples and Calabria. M. Sementini has given an account of this red rain, which the people called blood and fire, as

it impressed their imaginations. The weather was very stormy, and much thunder and lightning; the sky overcast with a dismal redness. On analysing the earthy matter held in solution by the rain-drops, and which gave them this appearance, it was found to be of a yellow colour, unctuous to the touch, and 2·07 specific gravity. Its component parts were silice 33, alumine 15·5, lime 11·5, chrome 1, iron 14·5, carbonic acid 9, loss 15·5, which was found to be a combustible substance soluble in alcohol, leaving on combustion a residuum of charcoal.

ANCIENT ART.

It appears from the foreign prints, that arrangements are now making at Rome for the construction of an apparatus to fish in the Tiber, in the hope of regaining some of the sculptural and other vestiges of ancient art which once adorned that celebrated city. It is astonishing that this speculative process has remained so long unattended to, though so often pressed on the attention of the Papal government.

An article dated Naples, 16th ultimo, expatiates on the benefits derived to that kingdom from the monetary system recently established by royal ordinance, under which the silver coin has become the standard of value, to the exclusion, or rather in disregard, of gold, which elsewhere operates as the standard. The Neapolitan writer alleges, that in consequence of this enlightened policy, the royal Mint is overrun with bullion in such quantities that it cannot be coined in time to meet the multiplied demands for specie.

GERMANY.

Bamberg, August 6.

We have received circumstan-
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tial details of the new sect which was formed some time ago in Saxony, the fanaticism of which occasioned lately a frightful assassination. This sect is established principally in the circles of Leipsic and Misnia; it pretends to observe with the greatest rigour all the doctrines of the Old Testament, to reject the New, to destroy all those who do not follow the same system, and to proclaim the regeneration of the whole human race. It teaches and adopts a great number of superstitious tenets, and among others, thinks that it merits the favour of God by inflicting tortures on men and animals. The principal leader of the sect is one Kloos, a tailor, who has been continually going about near Leipsic, preaching his dangerous doctrines. He held numerous meetings in the open air; he then preached in the villages, and inspired his fanaticism into a great multitude of persons. This sect would not perhaps have excited so much public attention, had it not been for its most fiery partisans, the miller Fischer of Beyersdorff and his wife, who committed, from their fanaticism, a murder under horrible circumstances. The leader, Kloos, had been instilling his principles into them for several days. They were before persons of excellent character; but after remaining for some days on their knees in the open air without taking any nourishment but a few roots, they believed themselves called upon to make sacrifices. They declared that they received a commission to bury some children alive; but happily they were unable to execute this frightful project. A servant called Flor arrived at their mill at the instant when the fury of Fischer and his

wife was in a state of the most perfect exaltation. They looked upon him as a victim whose sacrifice would be agreeable to God. They assassinated him in a horrible manner, cutting off his hands and feet, and then beginning immediately to sing and pray.

A young miller for whom they had reserved the same fate escaped from their hands by flight. He described what passed—the miller and his wife were arrested—they boasted of the deed they had committed, and declared to the judge appointed to draw up their indictment, that God had given them a commission to exterminate all those who would not profess their doctrines, because they were children of the Devil. It will be observed that these principles bear a near resemblance to those which the famous Foeschl professed the last year in Austria. It is likewise known that other fanatics of the same sect projected fresh assassinations. As soon as the report of this event was carried to Dresden, the government took measures adapted to the circumstances. Troops were dispatched to take military possession of all the villages where the fanatics were established. Informations were taken against those who excited Kloos, for it is said he received his instructions from persons who belonged to a better class of society. As soon as Kloos heard they were in search of him, he took to flight; but he was seized in the city of Meissen, and has been for some days in prison.

At Munich there prevails a singular custom:—"Every child found begging in the streets is arrested and carried to a charitable establishment. The moment he enters

enters the hospital, and before he is cleaned and gets the new clothes intended for him, his portrait is painted in his ragged dress, and precisely as he was found begging. When his education is finished in the hospital, this portrait is given to him, and he promises by an oath to keep it all his life, in order that he may be reminded of the abject condition from which he had been rescued, and of the obligations he owes to the institution, which saved him from misery, and gave him the means by which he is enabled to avoid it in future."

NATURAL PHENOMENON.

The following extraordinary fact is narrated in the Bamberg Gazette. Mr. Agricola, at Goltitz in Altenberg, has in his garden an apple-tree, which in the year 1816 bore 268 sorts of apples and other fruits; in fact, the tree has on it above 300 sorts, but those last grafted have not yet borne. This gentleman has effected this curiosity, for his amusement, by inoculating and grafting, and has fastened to every branch a little board with the name of the sort of apples it bears. The tree has a strange appearance, from the various shapes and colours of the leaves, blossoms and fruits. Some years ago the Russians bivouacked near this tree, and were so surprised at the strange shape of it, and the number of little boards, that they did not injure it, though they cut down other fruit-trees for fire-wood.

GERMANY.

Göttingen, Aug. 13.

All the native students of our university, and all the foreign students on the foundation, have resumed the course of their studies. A considerable portion of

the students from foreign countries have left the university. There are some of the latter who wait for the decision of their parents or guardians, and the result of this affair generally. The royal commissioner exerts all possible zeal in accelerating the final adjustment, which there is no doubt will be favourable to our town, and to our university.

A proclamation was posted up, bearing date August 7, in the name and by the special order of the reigning duke of Nassau, directing that all the students of his states who had quitted the university, on the occasion of the recent disturbance, should return to it without delay.

By a proclamation of the 4th, the royal commissioner makes known that he had received information that a certain number of students assembled at Witzzenhausen had taken upon themselves to declare dishonoured, such of their foreign fellow-students as should remain here and pursue the courses of the university. The proclamation adds, that any person who shall support such declaration, by insulting language or other personal injury or offence, or in calling upon a foreign student to depart hence, should be instantly arrested and handed over to the first authorities for severe punishment.

By another publication, dated the 8th, the royal commissioner declares, in confirmation of the former, and in virtue of an express warrant from the minister of the cabinet, that any person, native or foreign, who, in pursuance of the declaration of Witzzenhausen, permits himself to molest or insult the foreign students

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remaining here, or returning hither, shall be forthwith imprisoned in a fortress; and that any native, guilty of acting in contravention of this prohibition of the government, shall be for ever excluded from any employment in the service of the state.

Baron d'Arnsward, minister of state and of the cabinet, and visitor of the university, arrived here some days since, to examine more closely the state of affairs, and the progress of inquiry. The penetration of that statesman leaves no doubt but the ulterior measures that shall be taken for the preservation of order in this seat of learning, will repair very promptly the injury done by momentary disorder.

Manheim, Aug. 18.

Letters from Gottingen announce, as the final result of the events which have taken place in that city, that the university has lost near half of its students, the number of whom is reduced from 1,200 to about 600. In these 600 are comprised all those of the kingdom of Hanover, of the duchy of Brunswick, and the major part of those of the duchy of Nassau. The latter duchy not having an university of its own, that of Gottingen has been marked out for a year as the one where the youth of Nassau should study. The number of foreign students who have returned to Gottingen does not exceed 100.

Frankfort, Aug. 19.

We learn from Hanover, that the first regiment of Hulus is appointed to escort the emperor Alexander through that kingdom. They will wait for his imperial majesty near Buxtehude.

The remains of a Roman pave-

ment were discovered on the 17th of July, at Laybach in Illyria, equal in beauty to that discovered at Salzbουργ in 1815. It is not known whether this pavement belonged to a temple, or to any other edifice. It was discovered under the foundations of an ancient Capuchin convent, which has recently been demolished. It appears that in 1607, the period at which the convent was erected, no traces were seen of the ancient edifice.

NAUTICAL EXPERIMENT.

Thursday forenoon Mr. Trengrouse exhibited experiments at the receiving-house of the Humane Society, on the Serpentine river, with an apparatus which he has constructed for the purpose of opening a communication between ships and the shore, in cases of shipwreck, in order to save the lives of the passengers and crew. Mr. Trengrouse's mode of effecting this desirable object is, by firing from the end of a musket a rocket, to which is attached a small line, and having, after a few trials, thrown the rocket across the river, a hawser was drawn over by the line. From the hawser, which was fastened on each side of the river to a tree, a seat, called by Mr. Trengrouse a *chaise volante*, was suspended. This seat is rendered moveable by rollers, to which the suspending ropes are attached, acting on the hawser, and an infirm person might be placed in it and drawn from the ship to the shore. On this occasion a man, properly fixed in it, was drawn twice across the Serpentine. Mr. Trengrouse also made a successful trial of a life-preserving spencer, formed of several pieces of cork, covered with

with linen, and so constructed as to give perfect facility to the motion of the arms. These experiments were made in the presence of the duke of Sussex and several persons of distinction.

The *Gazette de Santé* contains the following interesting suggestions to the Humane Society of Paris:—"In general death is proved only by symptoms of putrefaction—relief should be administered in all cases of persons taken in a lifeless state out of the water, or in a state of lethargy from any other cause until symptoms of putrefaction shall have appeared. In persons taken lifeless out of water shortly after submersion, the principle of life is not always extinct, but only suspended as in cases of lethargy. It has been proved by experiment, that several hours submersion in water does not always cause death. The appearance of a red, violet, or black colour on the face, coldness of the body, and stiffening of the limbs, are not decisive symptoms of death."

The following paragraph relative to the American ship *Guerriere* is from the Hampshire Telegraph:—

"Cowes, Aug. 28.

The *Guerriere* American frigate, commanded by captain M'Donnough, with his excellency George Washington Campbell on board, sailed on Tuesday last. This gentleman is appointed ambassador from America to Russia, and has on board with him several cases of presents from the president of the United States to the emperor Alexander; after landing which at Cronstadt, the *Guerriere* will proceed to the Mediterranean, to join the American squa-

dron there. This ship has a clumsy appearance; her lower masts are short and of large circumference; her yards not very square, and her blocks are large; her tonnage is 1,550 by measurement; but her equipment is most complete and effective for the purposes of defence or aggression. She is remarkably clean, but nothing appears to be made for mere show; her bits are extremely large, and every rope is led through a separate block; each has its own belaying pin. She mounts on her main deck 30 long 24-pounders; on the quarter-deck fourteen 42-pounders carronades, and two long 24-pounders; and on the forecastle six 42-pounders carronades, and two long 24-pounders. She has seven lieutenants and 465 men on board, of whom about 300 are *British-born subjects*. Thirteen of her men deserted while she remained here, two of whom have since entered on board one of the sloops of war at Portsmouth; and they hold out no very flattering inducements for our seamen to cross the Atlantic. In this ship the most extraordinary attention has been paid to her warfare qualities: attached to every gun is all the apparatus, including lanterns, swords, pikes, and boarding caps; the tackles are rove through very large sheaved blocks, which considerably lightens the labour, and renders the guns capable of being worked quicker in than our ships: the trucks of the gun-carriages are of larger diameter, and the axletrees are much longer, and effectually prevent the guns from upsetting. Most of the principal visitors in the island went on board of her during her stay, and the

the officers most readily allowed the ship to be viewed. She passed through Spithead at between 8 and 9 o'clock at night, by which all saluting of the admiral at Portsmouth was avoided."

Tuesday, some people at work in a field between Arundel and Chichester, having lighted a fire for the purpose of making tea, the flames communicated to the hedge, and, raging with a rapidity which defied every effort to subdue it, caught a field of corn belonging to Mr. Hobbs, consisting of nineteen acres, the whole of which it traversed and completely destroyed. The devouring element pursued its course to a field adjoining, covered with furze, where, after consuming the whole, it finally ended.

GENERAL ELECTION.—The Irish elections being now closed, we are enabled to give the following statement of the new members:—

England, . . .	129
Scotland, . . .	18
Ireland, . . .	26

Total new members, 167

According to statements that have appeared in the London papers, the Opposition have gained upon the whole 42 new members:—

England, . . .	35
Scotland, . . .	5
Ireland, . . .	2

Total increase of the ———

Opposition, . . . 42

In Scotland there are 11 Opposition, and 34 Ministerial members. In Ireland 24 Opposition and 76 Ministerial. Balance in favour of Ministers from Scotland and Ireland, 75.

BANKRUPTS.—The following is a comparative list of bankrupts, as published in the London Ga-

zette, in the first six months of 1817 and 1818.

1817.

January, . . .	167
February, . . .	185
March, . . .	159
April, . . .	183
May, . . .	183
June, . . .	131

Total 1008

1818.

January, . . .	160
February, . . .	100
March, . . .	87
April, . . .	104
May, . . .	97
June, . . .	64

Total 552

Thus it appears, that in the first six months of the present year there were 456 failures less than were recorded in the same period of the preceding year—a conclusive proof of the renovated prosperity of the country.

EXTREME HEAT.—At two o'clock on Wednesday, a thermometer in the shade, a south aspect, in the Strand, was at 84 deg., and one in the sun 114 deg., ditto, bulb blackened, 122 deg. four feet from the ground.

THE WEATHER.—The weather in England, Ireland, and Scotland, in July, up to the middle of the month, was extremely hot and dry, which forwarded the crops in such an astonishing degree that harvest is already commenced in the southern districts of England and Ireland. Since that period rains have fallen to a considerable extent in Scotland and the northern counties of England; in many places accompanied with severe storms of thunder, lightning, hail, and water-spouts, which fortunately have, in

in general, done but little damage: that which happened in Cumberland on the 19th being the most serious we have heard of, and it was chiefly so only in the neighbourhood of Carlisle. This succession of heat and moisture has so matured the growth of the crops in the latter districts, that two or three weeks of dry weather would now bring us a general harvest.

The following circumstance took place on Wednesday at noon.—As the Emanuel, Captain Springal, bound to Elsinore, was sailing by the Gun-fleet beacon, in the Swin, (about 16 miles from land) the vessel was suddenly visited by millions of wasps; and although the crew kept sweeping them from the deck and gun-wale as they fell, they were assailed with successive swarms for full four hours, before they entirely got rid of their troublesome guests.

The total number of Sunday scholars in Great Britain and Ireland is about 550,000, attended by about 60,000 teachers.

As a proof of the earliness of the season, Muirpark apricots were ripe at Muirtown, near Inverness, on an open stone wall on the 9th instant.

The marquis of Hertford's gardener, at Ragley, cut early in the last month, in his lordship's pinery, a pine which weighed 10 pounds 10 ounces avoirdupois.

SAVING BANKS.—Up to the 31st ult. inclusive, the commissioners for the reduction of the national debt had received, on account of these banks, no less than 1,254,021*l.* 2*s.* 2*d.*, with which had been purchased 1,569,424*l.* three per cents.

In Sunda, one of the Orkney islands, the sand has been lately

blown away to the depth of nearly 20 feet, and has discovered the remains of buildings of vast antiquity, inclosed by stone walls nearly half a mile in extent. Some of the houses are very large, and roofed with stones of a prodigious size. There are several circular tumuli, each containing three graves, none of which are more than 4 feet 6 inches long. There is not the slightest tradition that can throw any light on these very interesting and curious remains, which have yet been but slightly investigated.

It ought to be generally known, that the composition for killing flies, commonly called *fly-water*, is a strong poison and very pernicious to the human constitution. A melancholy instance of its poisonous qualities occurred at Paisley last Thursday. A fine boy, about three years of age, having swallowed some of it, died the same evening in great agony. The fly-water was supposed to have been placed beyond the reach of the child, but he climbed up on a chair, and by this means got possession of it.

SEPTEMBER.

AMERICA.

RAPID EMIGRATION TO CANADA.—From the 25th to the 29th of June, 501 settlers arrived at the port of Quebec from Europe. The whole number that have arrived there this season, since the river St. Lawrence has been free of ice and navigable for shipping, is stated in the Quebec Gazette at 2378. The same paper informs us, that several thousand Scotch Highlanders have formed an association for the purpose of emigrating to Canada, and were to have sailed from Greenock in the month of May.

POPULATION.

We find by some valuable statistical tables in the Washington City Gazette, that the state of New York has increased in population greatly beyond any other state in the Union; and from having been in numbers the *fifth* in 1790, she is at this time beyond a doubt the *first*. We shall give these tables, which cannot but convey some surprising truths on this subject of the progress of the western country.

In the year 1790 this state possessed 340,120 inhabitants.

In 1800 586,050 do.

In 1810 959,049 do.

A Washington paper, correcting an erroneous account of a man's death, says, "We are happy to say major John Anderson is not *dead*, he is only *married*."

America appears to have suffered from intense heat equally as Europe. A New York paper of the 14th July says: "The thermometer during the last two days has indicated a greater degree of heat than has been experienced, we believe, for the last eight or ten years. At three o'clock on Saturday, the mercury stood in the shade at 93, and at the same hour on Sunday at 96."

SOUTH AMERICA.

The city of the Carraccas, before the earthquake in 1812, contained about 45,000 inhabitants. By that calamity and the subsequent and yet desolating war, its population has been reduced to 7,000 souls. The population in many other parts of Venezuela is supposed to have suffered nearly in the same proportion, and from the latter cause.

Jamaica Gazettes to the 8th ult. have arrived. The island was in

a healthy condition at that period. The naval intelligence communicates numerous depredations committed in those seas by the Insurgent privateers. A somewhat curious action was tried in the Surrey Assize Court of Jamaica, against the earl of Balcarras, to recover the freedom of five persons detained in slavery. The grounds upon which the plaintiffs sought to obtain their freedom, were, that they were the descendants of an Indian woman, and by the 14th Geo. II. cap. 6. it was declared unlawful to retain in Jamaica, after the 1st of June 1741, any Indians or their descendants in slavery. The evidence, however, which was brought forward in support of this claim, did not satisfactorily substantiate it. It was proved, indeed, that the reputed ancestor of the claimants not only was a Mulatto instead of an Indian, but that she never had children. It is curious, however, that a female, named Calista Drysdale Collier, stated to be the descendant of the same supposed Indian, brought a similar action and established her freedom in April Assizes 1817, owing to a deficiency of evidence to support the case of the defendant, the same witnesses not having been obtained as on the latter occasion.

GERMANY.

(Letter from East Friesland,)

Sept. 10.

It is said that the provincial states of East Friesland will shortly be re-established. The East Friesland provincial constitution is about 300 years old, and has many excellencies, though some defects had crept into the administration; which it would be proper to remedy; but the whole of the ancient constitution is excellent. The three estates,

estates, viz. knights, burgesses, and peasants, have equal rights and equal duties; only if the constitution is restored, the voting in *Curia* cannot well be introduced again, because the whole equestrian order of East Friesland consists of only two or three families, and most of the knights' estates are in the hands of the burghers and peasants, and the estates of the peasants (or farmers) possess near 5,000 free divided estates of the first class, and near 8,000 smaller ones of all kinds. In ancient times the numerous knights' fees and noble estates were all in the possession of the East Friesland nobility, which is quite different in modern times. According to the old constitution, the East Friesland diet was opened every year on the 10th of May, for the production of the public accounts; it was held with open doors, under the direction of a royal commissioner. The revenue was levied at a small expense. The Prussian government had a great revenue from East Friesland; the inhabitants of the country had few burdens and few taxes; all trade and every branch of industry were free; and the country flourished. These good times will certainly soon return, and still further promote the general satisfaction in East Friesland. If the Elms canal should be accomplished, it would be highly advantageous to the commerce and navigation of East Friesland.

RUSSIA.

St. Petersburg, Aug. 7.

Daniel Wheeler, a quaker, distinguished by his good character, religious way of thinking, and knowledge of agriculture, has lately arrived here from England, in consequence of a previous invita-

tion. His principal employment will be to drain the bogs in the neighbourhood of the capital, to make them fit for tillage, and to dig the turf (or peat), which has not hitherto been turned to any use. His majesty the emperor has not only signified his approbation of the undertaking, and assured the said D. Wheeler of his favour, but has also assigned him a salary of 500*l.* sterling per annum, and the sum of 25,000 roubles for the first beginning, towards the expense of the work, and a detachment of pioneers to dig ditches, &c. His majesty has confided it to the special care of M. Von Kosedacolloff, minister of the interior, and prince Galitzin, minister of national instruction. It is to be expected that the undertaking will be attended with complete success.

Sheerness, Sept. 1.

Last night, rather before eleven o'clock, a most alarming fire broke out in the High Street, Blue Town, at a linen-draper's shop, a few doors from Mr. Millar's the woollen-draper, which raged with the utmost fury till past one, when its destructive progress was only arrested by pulling down the house of Mr. Beal, grocer, after it had destroyed several dwellings and caused much damage to others. On the first alarm of this dreadful accident the alarm bells in the dock-yard rang; and the Northumberland, 74 guns, Captain Walker, commenced firing guns for the immediate assembling of the boats belonging to the ships. The military were also under arms with the greatest alacrity, and persons of all ranks rendering every assistance. From the contiguity of the dock-yard, it was at first conjectured

jectured to be there ; but although large flakes of fire fell in that place, and the fence that fronted the devouring element was burnt, yet from the able arrangements of the honourable commissioner Boyle, who was on the spot on the first alarm, no injury whatever was sustained ; and much praise is due to the respective officers for their prompt and judicious measures, and the celerity with which the orders of the commissioner were executed. No reason for the accident can be assigned ; and it is many years since this town suffered so severe a loss, although two similar accidents have occurred in the dock-yard, to which place they were confined. The loss in property is said to be great, and will be some time felt. Several persons have been very seriously injured, but no lives are stated to have been lost.

DISCOVERY OF AN ANCIENT CEMETRY IN ST. MARTIN'S-LE-GRAND.

As the workmen employed in clearing away the ground in St. Martin's-le-Grand which is to form the site of the new post-office were a day or two ago removing the foundations of some of the old houses which stood in the rear of St. Leonard's Fosterlane, they discovered the roofs of some ancient vaults. As soon as the rubbish on the particular spot was removed, three vaults were discovered, each communicating with the other by a narrow passage or gallery ; they are built chiefly of large square bricks, intermixed with stone and some flint, and the interstices filled up with a yellow chalky earth. They are rather spacious, the height being nearly nine feet, the

depth about eighteen, and breadth about six or seven. They appear to have been each originally divided into two compartments. In the back part of one of the vaults was found a large quantity of human bones, thrown promiscuously together, as if collected from different graves. In one of them is a stone coffin, rather short in length, made in the shape of the ancient coffins, square at the head, and inclining in a tapering form towards the feet ; a place is rather rudely shaped for the head of the body to rest upon, and the remains of a skull and some decayed bones are in the cavity. Adjoining, and in the same line with these arches, is a vaulted roof, supported by small and short stone shafts, or pillars, from which spring semicircular arches, intersecting each other at equidistant points, and presenting to the eye the skeleton of a structure, at once simple, durable, and beautiful. The subdivisions of the intercolumniation were evidently open when built, and so arranged as to admit a communication with other parts of a building. The floor of these vaults is about 20 feet below the level of the pavement in Newgate-street, the loose ground on the same level bears all the appearance of having been once a cemetery, from the fragments and calcined parts of bones intermixed with soft earth which are observable in the vicinity.

St. Martin's-le-Grand* was originally a college, founded in the year 700 by Wythred king of Kent, and according to Dugdale, in his *Monasticon Anglicanum*, rebuilt and endowed by a noble Saxon and his brother Edwardus, for a dean and secular canons and

* See "Survey of the Metropolis," by William Brayle and others, vol. III.

priests, and was dedicated to St. Martin. The epithet *le-Grand* was afterwards added, on account of the great and extraordinary privileges, particularly the dangerous one of *Sanctuary*, granted to it by different monarchs. William the Conqueror confirmed the endowments of this house, and the possession of the lands given by the founders, to which he added all the moor land without Cripplegate, and exonerated its canons from all interference or exaction of any bishops, archdeacons, or their ministers. He likewise granted them *soc* and *toc*, *tall* and *team*, and a long *et cetera* of Saxon liberties in the most ample degree. His charter, sanctioned by John and Peter, two of the pope's legates, concludes thus:—"If any person whatever shall presume to alter any thing hereby granted, let him perish with Judas the traitor."

Henry III. had the weakness to confirm these mischievous charters, and to extend them in cases of debt, felony, and treason: the indulgence granted was so obnoxious to the peaceable citizens, on account of the protection afforded to the lowest sort of rogues, ruffians, thieves, felons, and murderers, that they were frequently compelled to apply to the government for security against this sanctuary. Anciently, when this college was in a flourishing state, a curfew bell was rung here at 8 o'clock every evening, and at St. Mary-le-Bow, St. Giles Cripplegate, and at All-hallows Barking, to warn people to keep within doors. Edward the First, in consequence of the many mischiefs, murders, robberies, and beating down persons by certain Electors, walking armed in the night, commanded that none

should be so hardy as to be found wandering in the streets after the bell had sounded in St. Martin's-le-Grand. The college was surrendered to king Edward the Sixth in 1548, and soon after the church was pulled down, and many tenements erected on its site.

Such is the historical account of the ancient sanctuary or edifice of which these vaults appear to have been a part. The vaults in which the bones are found do not seem to be of very ancient date—they were probably formed by Edward VI. for the pious purpose of depositing therein the bones which were exposed at the demolition of the old church. The fine arched vault, supported by columns, which we have described, is not of earlier date than the reign of Henry the third.

There are, we believe, very extensive vaults under parts of Newgate-street, many of them used as cellars by the inhabitants, and walled up for their particular convenience. From Aldersgate to the Old Bailey was once a line of the residences of our gentry, and these excavations are exactly in this track.

Linlithgow, Sept. 19.

We are happy to observe that in consequence of an order from the barons of exchequer, a number of workmen have of late been employed to make repairs on the most decayed parts of the royal palace here, by which means this noble structure will in future be kept in a better state of repair for the inspection of strangers, of whom a great many constantly resort here to see the curiosities of the place. The town of Linlithgow is rendered memorable for its having been the place where regent

gent Murray met his death from the hands of Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh, and still more so from the circumstance of the solemn league and covenant having been burnt at the market-cross during the reformation. In this palace did the unfortunate Mary of Scotland first see light; and the room where she was born is still shown. In the church adjoining, the *apparition* made its appearance to James the Fourth, previous to the battle of Flodden, and predicted to him while at prayers the fatal consequences of that campaign. While the workmen were removing some rubbish out of one of the rooms in the palace, they discovered a lion rampant, made of wood, about two feet in length. It has been of exquisite workmanship, and still retains much of its pristine appearance, and is in a high state of preservation, considering the very great number of years it must have lain buried. Its mane, which is profuse in abundance of curls, has been richly gilt, and its lower parts are painted of a bright vermilion. In its dexter fore paw it holds the edge of a crown (said to be an exact representation of the Scots crown), as it were in the act of placing it on its head. The hind legs have unfortunately been broken off, and a long iron spike is fixed in its right side, by which it has most probably been fastened to the wall. The workmen entertain great hopes of finding other curiosities, and they certainly have great right to be sanguine in their expectations, as this palace was most part elegantly furnished when it was burnt by the king's troops during the rebellion in 1745, on the flimsy pretext that it had afforded a night's shelter to the Pre-

tender. Perhaps the Antiquarian Society will be able to elucidate for what purpose this golden lion has been used.

THE PAVILION.

The plan for the elevation of this royal edifice more and more develops itself every day. It is premature to anticipate what will be the extent of improvements which are only in part commenced; but while general remarks are made upon erroneous calculations, it becomes interesting to obtain a small portion of information upon the outline of a royal structure, which will ultimately present an external appearance of magnificence, and exhibit a monument of the *taste* of its illustrious possessor. We must take for the first division of our report, the centre range of noble buildings that are to be finished this year. This includes a space from the north and south minarets (improperly called pagodas). The large minaret to the north is designed for the music-room, while that to the south is internally finishing for the grand banqueting- or dining-room. Upon the angles of the north minaret are raised beautiful stone ornaments, designated Kremlin minarets. The elevation of them is nearly equal to the towering appearance of the centre. They are now exposed to the public eye, and are admired for their tasteful structure. The scaffolding formed round the south minaret, for the purpose of elevating its angular ornaments, is worthy of notice, inasmuch as it exhibits a specimen of intricate and superior workmanship for raising massy substances; for it must be recollected, a column of fluted iron runs up the middle of these minarets, the top sur-

surmounted with a ball of stone of immense weight, measuring six feet in diameter, over which there is a light cupola, terminating in a spheroidal vase. Having mentioned the large minarets, with their auxiliary ornaments, we shall notice the centre elevation, which will more properly assume the appearance of a pagoda, from its immense circular frame of massy iron-work, with ribs and supporters of the same material. The workmen have this week begun the Herculean labour. The exterior of this centre pagoda will be fronted with Bath stone. In the space from the centre to the north and south minarets there are formed four exceedingly fine globular Chinese vases, which are now receiving their exquisite oriental ornaments. Having inadequately described the scale of improvements for the present year, we ought to observe that it is impossible to convey a sketch of the probable architectural appearance of this palace, fronting the Steyne. In the first place, Marlborough-house adjoining the north side of the royal residence will be pulled down, to give correspondence with the large minaret; at the extremity of which the grand entrance-hall will be erected. At the south wing, the fine range of premises belonging to the Castle tavern will give way to the further extension of the improvements in that quarter. A full view of the palace will then be obtained from the Steyne. Columns of stone will be raised along the whole front. The west side of the Pavilion exhibits a fine order of architecture, which comprehends a suite of apartments for the royal family, baths, library room, &c. Our readers must be

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aware that a length of time is requisite to complete these extensive improvements, which require the co-operation of talent in the several departments of the arts and sciences. This palace will certainly present one of the first productions of oriental architecture in Europe. No language can describe the taste and splendid style in which the music-and dining-rooms are furnishing. The first artists in the kingdom are employed in the decorations. The consumption of materials is necessarily great. The immense iron-work used has been supplied from the foundries in the neighbourhood of Lewes, and a part from London. The stone has been procured from the quarries near Bath: upwards of 1000 tons are consigned from Bristol for the use of these works. The main iron-pipes from the Pavilion to the sea, for the purpose of supplying the royal baths, were laid down last week.

THE WRECKERS.

The following is an extract of a letter written by a clergyman of Penzance, Cornwall, and has been published in an evening paper:—

“The dangers of the coast from St. Michael’s Mount to the Lizard are too well-known to need description. Many vessels, especially foreigners from the East and West Indies, South America, and other parts, frequently in the winter, at night, make the light-house on St. Agnes, in Scilly, and that on the Longships at the Land’s-end, as their first landfall; if a strong gale from S. W. set in, they find it impossible to weather the Lizard, the southernmost point of land in Great Britain; they fall down deeper into the bay, and become embayed, or are more frequently

(F) driven

driven with a violence that nothing can surpass, on the coast between the Mount and the Lizard, and often dashed to atoms in a moment: at other times, through the concurrence of some favourable circumstances, they are thrown up into places where the greater part of the cargo might be saved. Natural depravity and the custom of centuries have inspired the inhabitants of the coast with a rapacity for plundering those wrecks, and the name of 'Wreckers' applies therefore to vast numbers who look for the season of booty. When the news of a wreck flies along the coast, thousands of these people are collected near the fatal spot, armed with pickaxes, hatchets, crow-bars, and ropes, not for helping the sufferers, but for breaking up and carrying off all they can. The moment the vessel touches the shore, she is considered as fair plunder, and men, women, and children are working on her to break her up, night and day. The hardships they, especially the women, endure, are incredible. Should a vessel be laden with wine or spirits, she brings them certain death: the rage and fighting to stave in the casks and bear away the spoil in kettles, and all kinds of vessels, is brutal and shocking; to drunkenness and fighting succeed fatigue, sleep, cold, wet, suffocation, and death! Once last winter a wreck happened on a Sunday; they had every thing ready, and sallied forth, not until the clock struck 12 at midnight, all checks of conscience being then removed. Five hundred little children in a parish are brought up in this way, and encouraged by precept and example to pursue this horrid system. The view of the

cliffs and promontories for nearly three miles on the coast is tremendous and sublime, far exceeding in romantic grandeur the rocks at the Land's-end. We visited the soapy rock from the side of which the soft clay is dug which forms our British china, from which many dinner services have been made for the royal family. It blew hard to the beach, the waves ran high in the ocean: but in approaching the beach at this place they had to pass so many rocks, each of which formed a kind of break-water, that it produced an astonishing appearance on the water. The billows were not only a perfectly white foam, but when they fell over a rock, they left it as it were painted for nearly ten minutes. A curious range of caverns succeed Kine's Cove, one of which is nearly 100 feet in length: the next range of rocks is called the *billows*, from the sea having forced its way a considerable distance under a huge hill and blocked up the cavern. The fixed air escapes through a small aperture in the rock; this occurs as every wave enters; the noise and the spray of the sea issuing from the hole are among the most grand and terrific ever heard. The practices of these wreckers having by one severe instance awakened the attention of the bishop of St. David's, he lately exhorted his clergy to preach every where against it. To this method may be added, with as great effect, the persuasion of those who will visit their cottages.

"The Wreckers seldom or ever reap profit by these nefarious labours, for they are found at the end of the year nearly the same as at the beginning. It appears, for the credit of the country, that these

these are confined to a few western parishes, and that even there no deeds of personal inhumanity towards the unhappy sufferers have been permitted in modern times, even by the plunderers themselves. To prevent these depredations the neighbouring gentry generally exert themselves, and every effort is made to wipe off this disgrace from the county; but hitherto, although they have been partially successful, many instances of plunder continue to take place, under cover of darkness, and amidst that confusion which a ship driven on shore by a violent tempest must inevitably occasion. Inheriting from their ancestors an opinion that they have a right to such spoils as the ocean may place within their reach, many among the more enlightened inhabitants secure whatever they can seize, without any remorse; and conclude without any hesitation, that nothing but injustice, supported by power and sanctioned by law, can wrench it from their hands. While these principles continue (says Mr. S. Drew, of Austel, the editor of the late Mr. F. Hutchings's papers) to predominate, the plundering of wrecks may be expected to remain; and, consequently, nothing short of moral and intellectual light in universal diffusion can accomplish its entire suppression."

OYSTER BEDS.

Brighton, Sept. 8.

The long continuance of a calm sea has enabled our fishermen to make a more accurate survey of the beds of oysters discovered off this coast about two years ago. From repeated trawlings they have calculated, that for an extent of 70 miles S. E. and S. W. this body of shell-fish lie in prodigious

quantities. The shortest breadth is not less than seven miles. The oysters caught to the S. W. are of excellent flavour. Several speculators have been examining the line of the coast, in order to find a convenient spot for forming oyster beds. Shoreham harbour is mentioned as a most desirable spot, as the bed of the river consists of a fine black sand. From the facility of carriage conveyance to the metropolis, it is likely that this new source of trade will enable the proprietors to supply a vast proportion of the consumption of oysters in the London market, in the course of another year.

An iron sloop was lately launched from the works of Mr. Joseph Shaw, at Hunslet, which a few days ago brought up to Leeds 32 tons of coals from Thorp Hall colliery. This vessel, which measures 56 feet in length, by 9 feet 6 inches in breadth, draws only 3 feet four inches of water, and would, if enlarged to the same size, carry fifteen tons more than a common sloop built of wood.

It is a very singular coincidence, that in 1718, at the distance precisely of 100 years from the present, the weather was extremely hot and dry all over Europe. The air felt so oppressive, that all the theatres were shut in Paris. The grass and corn were quite parched. In some places the fruit-trees blossomed two or three times. The following year was equally warm.

A carrier-pigeon, which had been brought down from London to Norwich, was started on Saturday week from that city—to determine a bet of five guineas, that it returned to town in five hours, which it did in five minutes under the given time. The same bird

arrived in town from Bury, a few days before, in three hours.

ANIMAL REMAINS.—MAMMOTH. CROCODILE.—There have been recently discovered on the south side of the Isle of Wight the bones of that stupendous animal the mammoth or mastodon. Several of the vertebrae, or joints of the backbone, measure 36 inches in circumference; they correspond exactly in form, colour, and texture with the bones found plentifully on the banks of the Ohio in North America, in a vale called by the Indians Big-bone Swamp.—Also, on the north side of the island, the bones of the crocodile have recently been found by the reverend Mr. Hughes of Newport. They seem to have belonged to an animal of that species, whose body did not exceed twelve feet in length. Their calcareous nature is not altered; but the bones of the mastodon contain iron.

The valuable cargo of the *Harmony* (the first ship that ever arrived at Hull from the East Indies direct) was sold last week at that port, nearly the whole of which was purchased by the mercantile houses of London and Liverpool.

The oak trees were never remembered to be more burdened with acorns than at this time, in all parts of the island. The produce of a single tree, on the estate of G. Witherden, near Bethersden, in Kent, sold a few days ago for the extraordinary sum of 5*l*.

The crops of potatoes in Jersey and Guernsey have this year proved so abundant, as to promise to supply, in some degree, the deficiency of that useful vegetable here. A considerable quantity was imported last week into South-

ampton, from the former island, and a much larger is hourly expected to arrive.

Illegal fishing of a curious sort has lately been discovered on the Thames—Regular fishermen and large bodies of poachers sweep the Thames, night and day, of all the white fish, for the sake of their scales merely; these are sold to Jews, for manufacturing beads in imitation of pearls:—roach scales are sold at 2*l*. a quart, dace 25*s*. whilst for bleak four guineas a quart is the present market price in Duke's Place! The scales are torn off them as fast as they are caught, and thus, often dreadfully mangled, they are tossed back into the water, to linger and die in torture.

The name of the Indian chief or interpreter, who is arrived at Portsmouth in the *Semiramis*, is George Perryman. He is the eldest son of Hopoy Mico by a black woman, and therefore not qualified to become his successor; giving place to the next son, who was born of a red or Indian woman. Perryman is at present about 36 or 38 years of age, and is well known to the officers who served in Florida at the close of the late war with America, where he rendered himself extremely useful, by acting as an interpreter between our troops and his countrymen. He also distinguished himself by his capacity for enduring fatigue, which made him peculiarly successful in procuring cattle and forage whenever wanted for the use of the army. He is of Herculean strength, so much so that it was no uncommon feat with him to carry an officer on his back through the swamps for four or five miles together all the way up

up to his middle in water. His tribe are settled on the river Appalachicola. From Pensacola, on the approach of general Jackson, he effected his escape to the Havannah, when sir James Yeo was induced to give him a passage to England, that he might lay the grievances of his countrymen before the British government. Perryman still remains on board the Semiramis, not having been suffered to go on shore since his arrival.

BREAKWATER.

The equinoctial gales have commenced, and on the 21st and 23d inst. they proved extraordinarily violent from the southward and westward, which occasioned a heavy pressure of the sea against the breakwater. During the former day his majesty's schooner Sea Lark, the Thalia East Indiaman, Providence coal brig, and Pilgrim merchant sloop, of about 60 tons, were in the Sound, the two first vessels being moored in good births, the Providence nearly where the unfortunate Jasper lay, and the Pilgrim close to the Melampus shoal, in the most exposed part of the Sound, and not far from the spot whence his majesty's late schooner Telegraph began to drive ashore. They all rode out the storm in safety, and when it had abated, the brig and sloop went into Catwater. On the 23d the vessels in the Sound were his majesty's ships Spartan, the Sea Lark, and the Thalia, which sustained the gale with the same ease as before, and report highly of the sheltering protection afforded by the breakwater. Notwithstanding the fury of the waves, not a single stone of the finished part of this structure has been injured or

displaced. The missing of the western arm already begins to have the most beneficial influence on the anchorage, particularly from half-ebb to half-flood.

Among the papers laid before parliament last session, is a correspondence between earl Bathurst and lieutenant-governor Bentinck, touching the treatment of a female slave on a plantation at Berbice, named America.—It appears that this poor creature had been flogged by order of a woman of colour, wife of the manager of a plantation, for some alleged impertinence, and the following is the description given by governor Bentinck of the hellish torture inflicted on her:—"Only conceive for a moment (says the governor) two strong men with heavy cart-whips corded, flogging a poor unfortunate *pregnant* woman, laid flat on her belly, stretched on the ground naked, with her hands and feet tied to stakes, receiving upwards of 150 lashes, with one driver on one side, and the other on the other, every stroke cutting deep and fetching blood; after which she was taken, and both her feet made fast in stocks for a fortnight or more, lying with her wounds upon a flat form of hard wood, in a state of pregnancy, and none of her friends permitted to give her any thing to eat! To put her into the stocks was necessary, to prevent her from coming to the fiscal to complain!"

On Saturday, Meerza Jaafar and Meerza Reza, two Persians of distinction, accompanied by Dr. Gregory, of the royal military academy Woolwich, inspected King's chapel, Trinity library, and several of the colleges in this University (Cambridge); and on Monday

finished their examination by visiting the Fitzwilliam museum, public library, senate house, &c. They were sent into this country by the ruling prince of Persia, to whose court they are attached, for the purpose of gaining an acquaintance, by actual study and inspection, with the language, institutions, arts and sciences of England, with a view to the improvement, of their own country. With the concurrence of our government various masters have been assigned to them for their instruction. They appear to be quite alive to their object, and were consequently much interested in their examination of our colleges, and with the accounts they received of the modes of education adopted in them. They speak the English language with considerable fluency, and in general correctly. They are in the habit of reading our best authors; and are capable of appreciating many of their excellencies. On visiting the garden of Christ-college, one of them (Meerza Jaafar, who is a warm admirer of Milton,) took away, with an intention most carefully to preserve them, some leaves from the mulberry-tree said to be planted by that immortal poet. On taking their leave, they expressed in strong terms the gratification they had received from their visit to this illustrious seat of learning. They were habited in the splendid costume of their country and their rank.

POLAR BEAR.

The following singular circumstance has occurred during the late fishing season at Davis's Straits:—Captain Hawkins, of the Everthorpe, of Hull, being with his boat's crew in the act of

contending with a bear in the water, after having speared him, lost his hold of the spear. Whilst turning round to procure another, the enraged animal, raising himself upon the gunnel of the boat, seized him by the thigh, and dragging him into the water, swam away with him in his mouth like a chicken (the significant phrase used by the sailor who conveys this information). The boat's crew having recovered from their momentary consternation, rowed after their endangered officer, and approaching the bear, he actually dived into the sea with the captain in his mouth, but necessarily, the water running into his mouth in consequence of its being stretched open, let go his hold. Captain H. immediately rose, and, being a good swimmer, reached the boat, the bear making off with all possible speed. Captain H. we understand, is fast recovering of his wounds.

It has been alleged on a number of occasions, both in and out of parliament, that gross abuses exist in the practice of the saving banks, whose receipts are said to have been unnaturally augmented by their having been made the depositaries of sums infinitely exceeding what the spirit of the late act would countenance, and what the legitimate object of those banks would justify. The following facts will show how unfounded the charge has been, at least in respect to these institutions in the metropolis; and there is no reason to doubt that the practice of the country saving banks would offer an equal refutation of it. Out of 5,678 single deposits of money made in the Bishopsgate church-yard bank, between the

21st of July 1817 and the 16th of March 1818, there were 1,905 from 1*s.* to 5*s.*; 1,166 above 5*s.* and not exceeding 19*s.*; 1,878 above 19*s.* and not exceeding 5*l.*; 296 above 5*l.* and not exceeding 10*l.*; and 215 above 10*l.* and not exceeding 20*l.* So that more than one half were under 20*s.* and very nearly seven-eighths of the deposits (4,949 out of 5,678) were from 1*s.* to 5*l.* Again, the single deposits of money made in the Southampton-row bank, between the 10th of February 1817 and the 3d of August 1818, were 7,970 in number. Of these;

2,768 were from 1*s.* to 5*s.*

2,456 — above 5*s.* and not exceeding 20*s.*

1,575 — above 20*s.* and not exceeding 5*l.*

489 — above 5*l.* and not exceeding 10*l.*

334 — above 10*l.* and not exceeding 20*l.*

246 — above 20*s.* and not exceeding 50*l.*

108 — above 50*l.*

BOW-CHURCH, CHEAPSIDE.

It is reported that the greater part of the beautiful steeple of this church will be pulled down. At the time of the building of the beautiful tower and spire, by sir Christopher Wren, in the year 1673, and for many years afterwards, it was held in so high estimation, and its fame spread so far abroad, that many foreigners came over to see it. It has been very justly deemed the masterpiece of sir C. Wren; he has not equalled it in any of his designs, public or private, nor indeed has any other architect. The height of this steeple is 225 feet, and it is built on an old Roman causeway discovered by sir C. Wren at the

time of rebuilding the present church.

Nottingham, Sept. 29.

A dreadful accident occurred yesterday at the canal company's wharf, by the explosion of gunpowder in a boat. The vessel was lying in the basin under the arch of the company's warehouse, and some men were employed in landing the cargo, when in an instant an explosion took place which threw the whole town into consternation, and spread the most extensive devastation throughout the neighbourhood. The report was so tremendous as to be heard at a distance of many miles, and every house in the town was shaken as if by an earthquake. The company's warehouse, with all its contents, was completely blown into the air, and not a vestige of the building remains. The fragments were scattered over the meadows to a considerable distance, and the boat was in part shivered to pieces, and the rest sunk. Several roofs were carried off from the adjoining buildings, lead and tiles torn off, window-frames blown out, and hundreds of windows demolished. But the most dreadful part of the calamity is the extensive destruction of human life, no less than eleven persons, already ascertained, having been precipitated into eternity, besides two taken to the hospital, who are not expected to survive. The mangled remains of eight men and a boy had been collected last night, and two more were known to be buried amongst the ruins. The bodies presented a shocking spectacle; two men were found lying on the edge of the boat, with their heads completely taken off; two others lay near the gateway of the yard,

yard, with their skulls dashed to pieces and otherwise disfigured; two other bodies were found in the meadows, having been blown across the canal, one to a distance of about one hundred yards, and the other more than three hundred yards, and the limbs and flesh scattered about in different directions: another was taken out of the ruins a complete trunk, with both legs and arms blown off: and the remaining two mangled in a manner equally shocking. Most of them were married men and had families. The accident (as related by a boatman belonging to another vessel lying near, and who happily escaped with a few light bruises) originated by a youth of the name of Cross, the son of a boat-owner, imprudently fetching a hot cinder from another boat, and applying it to some loose powder which lay scattered about, with a view of having a "flash," as he termed it. The consequence was, that the fire communicated instantly by a sort of train to the cask from whence it had dropped out, which ignited, and setting fire to five other barrels, the whole exploded with a most tremendous noise. The damage is estimated at many thousand pounds—some calculations go as high as 30,000*l.*, but certainly it is very great. Mr. Wilkes, the agent of the company, was fortunately from home on a journey, and the bookkeeper had only left the premises about some business not more than ten minutes before the accident happened. The explosion took place about 3 o'clock in the afternoon. Amongst the property destroyed was a large quantity of corn in the warehouse in sacks and loose.

The papers and books were fortunately deposited in a counting-house at some distance from the warehouse, which escaped destruction. A waggon belonging to Mr. Hooton was standing in the yard, and the waggoner, who was near the shaft horse at the time, lost his life; the waggon was utterly destroyed, and two of the horses in the team killed on the spot. The boy that was killed was a son of Mr. Howell; he was going on board with the intent of gathering some of the loose powder when the explosion took place; his two companions (boys), who were waiting for him at a short distance, happily escaped without other injury than being slightly struck in the face. The other sufferers were principally boatmen and labourers about the wharf. Mr. Wilkes's house, which stands near the gateway, sustained comparatively little injury; the windows and the furniture in the house were for the most part demolished: Mrs. Wilkes was thrown with great violence from a table to the other side of the house, but escaped without other injury than what arose from the suddenness of the shock and the fright. One person crawled out of the ruins unhurt, owing to several beams falling crossways over him, which fortunately preserved his life. The bodies of the sufferers now lie at the Navigation inn for the coroner's inquest. Their names are not yet ascertained.

OCTOBER.

AMERICA.

NOVEL ENTERPRISE, *July 14.*

A man arrived in this city last week, with his family, from Saybrook, Connecticut, bound to Ohio,

Ohio, *via* Lake Ontario and Buffalo. The singular plan of economy which he adopted to remove his family this great distance is worth recording, on account of its novelty. He left Saybrook in a two-masted boat of about 15 tons burthen, with his family and furniture, came through the Sound and up the Hudson to this place, when the boat was put on board a waggon, and transported by land to Shenectady.—At that place he resumed his water conveyance, with intention to proceed with his boat to the Rapids of Niagara; thence, after a portage of 16 miles, to launch it again in the Niagara river, proceed through Lake Erie to Dunkirk, and by a portage of eight miles to Chautauque lake, proceed down the Canowango creek, and the Allegany river, to Pittsburg, and from thence to Ohio, Illinois, or Missouri, as fortune may invite. Should he succeed in the enterprise,—and we see no obstacle to prevent him,—he will, when he reaches Pittsburg, have travelled nearly 1000 miles through the interior of the country, by water, with the exception of about 40 miles portage, in the boat with which he left the seaboard, and have an uninterrupted navigation below him, ere he reaches the ocean, of 2000 miles more. The Albany Register states the novel method adopted by our enterprising countryman for taking his shallop from her watery element on board of the waggon, as follows:—At the watering place a large six-horse waggon was backed into the river so far that the boat floated over it, when, being made fast, the waggon drove out loaded with the boat with her

cargo in, and set off for Shenectady.

RATTLE-SNAKES.

Dr. Thomas Wharton, of Woodstock, Virginia, in America, has confined in a wire cage two live rattle-snakes, a male and female; the male has nine rattles, the female seven: the male black, the female of a yellowish cast. The male was put in the cage on the 5th of August; it was quite cross the first day. On the 6th the female was put in, and appeared quite passive, but in a few minutes showed her anger, in biting a mouse that was put in soon after her; the little creature's fate was anticipated, it died in less than a minute. On the 7th, a large rat was put in with them; it did not appear in the least daunted, but made a most spirited attack on the rattle of the male, and bit off half of it; it now received a bite from the female, which enraged it more, and it made a second attack on the male, and bit off the balance of the rattle entire; while in this act it received two bites from the male, and was immediately taken out, and put in a wire trap, to observe what effect the bites would have on it, and, to the astonishment of all who witnessed the scene, it sustained no injury. The snakes now appear quite harmless. The doctor (we believe) intends presenting them to the proprietor of the Alexandrian museum.

NIAGARA FALLS.

We learn that a considerable part of Table-rock, well-known to all the visitors of this grand phenomenon by the fine view it afforded of the falls on the Canadian side, broke off by its own weight during last Thursday night,

night, and precipitated itself into the gulf below. The piece broken off, we understand, is about 25 rods long, and from one to six rods wide, comprising the principal part of the table or excavated rock. It may be considered providential that the fall of this piece, which during the summer months has been a great part of the time covered with visitors, should have happened in the night, without any superincumbent weight, or other known cause to occasion it.

EMIGRANTS.

During the present season nearly 5000 people have arrived at Quebec from Europe. Most of them are of the labouring class; and from Quebec direct their course into Upper Canada, and to the United States, without the means and the knowledge necessary to enable them to do any thing with advantage to themselves, or to the place in which they happen to stop. Several hundreds of them have landed at Genessee river, in a condition which cannot but excite the commiseration of all who behold them. We saw at Handford's landing the other day four Irish families, in all more than twenty persons, huddled together in a stable. They had expended all their money, and could find no employment. They appeared healthy and cheerful, but were ignorant of the ways and means used by our citizens in the wilderness. It would comport as well with sound policy as with benevolence, to give such people that advice which they so much need. If a proper direction be given to their industry, they may become wholesome inhabitants. To this end, would

it not be well for gentlemen at Rochester, and at other places where these strangers land, to form associations for the purpose of giving to them information relative to the country, the places in which they would be most likely to succeed, and encourage them generally in whatever may promote their welfare?

SINGULAR OCCURRENCE.

Last week, as an inhabitant of St. Henry (about 18 miles from Quebec, on the south side) was making hay on some newly cleared land, he observed a young bear in an adjoining field of oats. He, with his son, a lad of about 14 years, went immediately in pursuit, and took it alive; and, it is supposed, being in expectation of the dam's approach, the father directed his son to climb up a neighbouring tree with his prize. He was not mistaken; for the cub setting up a cry, she immediately appeared and rushed upon the man, seized him by the breast, and tore his flesh from his shoulders in a most shocking manner. Fortunately he had his pocket knife in his hand, which he resolutely thrust into her body and laid open her bowels, compelling her to relinquish her hold, when she fell lifeless at his feet. His name is Colichi Morissette. He is at present in the hands of a medical gentleman in this city, much lacerated.

COLONEL BOON.

This eccentric character, described in Birkbeck's "Letters from Illinois," has terminated his mortal career in the midst of the solitude which he loved, and in a manner suited to his habits and way of life. The following account of his death appears in the American

American papers :—"Chillicothe (Ohio) August 26.—As he lived, so he died—with his gun in his hand. We are informed by a gentleman, direct from Boon's settlement on the Missouri, that, early in the last month, colonel Boon rode to a deer-lick, seated himself within a blind raised to conceal him from the game; that while sitting thus concealed, with his old trusty rifle in his hand, pointed towards the lick, the muzzle resting on a dog, his face to the breech of the gun, his rifle cocked, his finger to the trigger, one eye shut, the other looking along the barrel through the sights—in this position, without struggle or motion, and of course without pain, he breathed out his last so gently, that when he was found next day by his friends, although stiff and cold, he looked as if alive, with his gun in his hand just in the act of firing."

AMERICAN STEAM BOAT.

The following is an account of the steam boat Chancellor Livingston. She sails at the rate of ten miles an hour, partly against the tide.—"The Chancellor Livingston is 526 tons burden, her length on deck 165 feet, breadth 50; she is extremely well fitted up for accommodations. Fifty ladies can sleep singly, and 150 gentlemen can have the same privilege, besides births for the people employed about the vessel. There are three gentlemen's cabins; one of them, the largest, is used for meals, in which all the passengers, ladies and gentlemen, dine; there is also one ladies' cabin on deck; a smoking-cabin, baggage-room, wash-room, clerk's office, and kitchen,

all on deck. The ladies are accommodated with female servants."

INTERESTING TO ANGLERS.

A successful and simple mode of fishing is practised at present in Loch Lubnaic, in Perthshire. A pair of thin leathern trowsers, or pantaloons, which reach to the arm pits, with two straps over the shoulder to keep them on, and tied close at the ankle, so as to admit no water; they are close in the seams, without any buttons except those for the straps; the leather is well oiled, and the seams well greased. Pretty far up the waist, a leather girdle is tied tight round the body, and affixed to it are two bladders. With this simple apparatus the fisher can move at pleasure from place to place, merely by a slight movement of his feet, and he is thus enabled to reach the finest of the trout, which are generally seen sporting on the off side of the reeds that grow on the sides of the lake. Query, would pieces of cork be a good substitute for the bladders?

SHOES AND BOOTS.

The following method of preparing water-proof leather, at a very small expense, will be found invariably to succeed.—Take one pint of drying (boiled linseed) oil, two ounces of yellow wax, two ounces of spirit of turpentine, and one ounce of Burgundy pitch, melted carefully over a slow fire; with the composition new shoes and boots are to be rubbed in the sun, or at a distance from the fire with a small bit of sponge, as often as they become dry, until they are fully saturated; the leather then

is

is impervious to wet, the shoes and boots last much longer, acquire softness and pliability, and thus prepared are the most effectual preservation against cold.

EXPEDITIOUS PRINTING.

It is stated, in the *Annals of Philosophy* for October 1818, that, by means of cylinders covered with stereotyped plates, the Bible is printed in North America in the short space of three minutes.

FRANCE.

The importance of the system of public instruction going forward in France, both to that country and perhaps to all Europe, may be seen from the following extract of a letter lately written from Paris:

"Here (in France) the seed sown by the British and Foreign School Society in 1815 has produced a most astonishing increase; upwards of 900 schools are opened in this and other departments, and every week increasing with a rapidity incredible, but for facts which attest the truth.

"I attended the meeting of the committee last evening, which takes place every 14 days, with count La Borde, Lasteyrie, baron de Gerando, &c.; so numerous an assemblage astonished me; there were 40 or 50 men of the first talent and zeal, and many others whose eagerness to propagate the system of education was evinced by their attendance on the occasion; there were 30 or 40 letters read, which had been received within the last 14 days, all of which evinced the rapid progress made, some containing the information that the boys of the city or villages who had formerly attended the schools on the old

system refused any longer to go there for instruction, and were pressing in crowds to the schools of mutual instruction. In fine, the spirit which animates the souls of these energetic men will never relax. The count Lasteyrie was in the chair; five secretaries forwarded the business, and the dispatch and precision with which the whole was forwarded surprised and delighted me. A bust of the late friend of mankind, the Abbé Gualtier, was voted to be placed in the hall of meeting, and eulogiums to his virtue are to be delivered and printed."

According to recent commercial accounts from Marseilles, the commerce of that port has seldom been in a more flourishing state. Not less than 233 vessels, of all nations, entered that harbour during the last month, exclusive of coasters from other French ports in the Mediterranean. Letters from Odessa, received at Marseilles, say, that the great demand last year at that place for grain had excited the industry of the farmers to cultivate large tracts of land, which formerly lay waste, and that in consequence the quantity of grain in the markets of Southern Russia is this year so great, that, unless Europe should come to their assistance, they have no hopes of selling it off.

CLUNY (SAONE AND LOIRE).

October 2.

The heart of Turenne was given to the abbey of Cluny by cardinal Bouillon; it was inclosed in a sheet of lead, and deposited in a silver box. At the period of the revolution, the abbey was visited by some pilferers, who carried off the silver box, and left the leaden contents.

contents. The heart of Turenne was then deposited at the municipal house of Cluny, where it has remained until this day. But a short time since, superior authority received information of these circumstances, and caused inquiry to be made in the affair. The prefect personally attended to identify this precious relic, which, it appears, will be conveyed to the Hotel des Invalides, and thus at length be divested of an obscurity which ill becomes the remains of a hero.

A precious discovery has recently been made at Tarn, a small commune near Valence (Drome). An individual, on digging rather deeply in the ground, found a very curious object, which may ultimately figure in the galleries of the museum of Natural History. It is the body of an elephant which lay buried in the soil; the head only has been exposed. The mayor of the commune has forbidden further research, until means can be adopted for raising the skeleton of the animal. Here is fresh subject for the discussion of geologists.

Three thousand butts of new wine have been embarked on the Yonne for Paris. For several years there has not been seen in Burgundy so fine a vintage as the present. There will be more wine by a quarter than had been expected, and the quality of it is remarkably fine.

A letter from Dijon of Sept. 26 says—"It is long since our vintage presented a picture so animated, so smiling, as it does in this year. Yesterday the weather was delightful, and a great part of the population of the town adorned the hills, while the roads

and paths leading to them were covered with persons walking, accompanied by an innumerable quantity of carriages filled with the purple offerings of the god of Naxos. Some rural repasts, scattered here and there, increased the charm of the scene, and a perfect hilarity was pictured on the countenances of the numerous performers who appeared in it."

CASTLE OF VINCENNES.

For this month past workmen have been employed in taking down the Gothic towers of the castle of Vincennes. They begin to work at six in the morning, and continue till seven in the evening. Judging from the speed with which this work is carrying on, one might suppose that fears were entertained, lest the decision relative to the destruction of this edifice should be revoked. The castle of Vincennes was flanked by nine towers, including the dungeon. The angular towers on the north-west and south-east were demolished in 1818, to make platforms.

The angular south-east tower is now taken down. It served the purpose of an infirmary in the time of queen Blanche.

It is said, however, that the tower vulgarly called the *devil's tower* will be preserved, beneath which is the principal entrance to the castle from the village.

Though all these towers present equal interest to the eye of the spectator, the one with the drawbridge on the eastern side is most to be regretted: from that tower queen Blanche used to come out to walk in the park. The towers are all built of the hardest stone; they are upwards of five centuries old, and, though entirely exposed, they

they have for the last 200 years resisted the inclemency of the weather. Their state of preservation proves the excellent quality of the materials employed in constructing them, as well as the talent and skill of the architect who directed the works, and of the workmen by whom they were executed.

This royal residence has been converted into a fort; but is there any reason for destroying the walls? Certainly none; for the curtains might have been enlarged by additional constructions, in the form of parapets for planting cannon. Such an arrangement would have rescued the towers from a fate which now calls forth the strongest indignation.

These towers were occupied by soldiers and workmen. New arrangements are making for lodging troops in the two divisions of the building. The first building on the left was called the King's Pavilion; the second, on the left, the Queen's Pavilion; both were built by Leveau, and ornamented by Philippe de Champagne.

GERMANY.

Aix la Chapelle.

(Extract from a private letter.)

"I have to-day made a circuit of the houses engaged for the different sovereigns and ministers, and have heard the sums for which they are hired. They are all engaged provisionally only for two months, and the rents which they pay would make it politic for less illustrious characters not to prolong the term on the same conditions. The good citizens of this place knew well that they had a monopoly of lodgings, and, like other monopolists, have taken advantage of their privilege, without making any deduction in solid cash

for the honour done their houses by the temporary residence of royalty. The emperor of Austria pays for apartments to himself and his suite, including prince Metternich, 45,000 francs. His majesty will occupy the house of Mr. Brammertz; a small but elegant residence in one of the best streets of the city, towards the south side. The emperor of Russia has engaged two houses, one in the town (that of madame Claus), for which he pays 30,000 francs; and one beyond the walls, about a mile towards Louisberg, for which he is to pay 26,000 more. The suite of his majesty Alexander will be more numerous than that of any of the other sovereigns. The Russian minister at the court of Berlin, M. Alopeus, is already here. The king of Prussia has engaged a house at 18,000 francs (that of madame Offerman), and his minister, prince Hardenberg, that of M. Bettendorff, at 28,000. Lord Castlereagh is to occupy the hotel of the banker Schlosser, and the duke of Wellington that of the burgomaster M. Guoita, each at a rent of between 28,000 and 30,000 francs. The duke of Richelieu is to occupy the house of M. Polen, for which he pays 22,000 francs: his suite, it is said, will be very limited. Among the Prussian financiers, diplomatists, and military officers who are expected to arrive, are mentioned, besides prince Hardenberg, the counsellor of state Jordan, the counsellor of state Rother, who negotiated the late loan at London, and general Muffling, who during the campaign of 1815 was attached to the staff of the duke of Wellington. M. Gentz, so celebrated for his political writings, will be in the suite of prince Metter-

Metternich. The princess of Tour and Taxis, the sister of the late Queen of Prussia, has hired a house, and will reside at Aix-la-Chapelle during congress. Bankers will be as necessary in a part of the ensuing negotiations as ambassadors, and accordingly Messrs Baring, Bothman, and Muhlen, are soon expected.—Two of the firm of Rothschild are here.

“The shopkeepers and the poorer inhabitants of the town, who have not hotels to let, are as busy in preparations as those who have, and have taken the hint with astonishing quickness regarding prices. In every street you see masons, plasterers, and carpenters at work, repairing, embellishing, or enlarging houses, to enable their owners to catch a portion of the golden shower. Loads of furniture are daily arriving from Paris or Brussels, to fill the formerly unprofitable spaces of empty rooms and unexplored attics; assortments of candelabra, candlesticks, lamps, house-bells, looking-glasses and ink-stands, are sold before they reach the magazine of the shopkeeper; and on every third or fourth window along some of the streets you see the inviting notice of *chambres garnies à louer*. Their numbers, however, have not yet reduced the price. The enormity of the demand made by the owners of these *chambres garnies* exceeds any thing we experience in the smallest towns of England on the arrival of the judges. They know not, indeed, here what to ask, as they have no experience to guide them in deciding what the daily sight of one king and two emperors is worth at Aix-la-Chapelle; and therefore they exhibit, when fixing the price,

the awkward appearance of people struggling between a violent desire to gain all they can, and a fear lest the magnitude of their demand should appear ridiculous. It is no uncommon thing for them to ask 20 or 25 francs a-day, during two months, for apartments which in London could be procured for less than that sum a week. Two thousand francs for a small bed-room and parlour during congress are frequently asked and given. If they ask more, they generally assign some reason, however unsatisfactory, for the excess. A pert little French woollen draper, in one of the principal streets, who is coining every inch of a large house into francs and Napoleons, had yesterday the conscience to ask for more, and justified the extravagance of his demand, when it appeared to excite ridicule, by elaborately proving that this congress would be different in point of facilities of accommodation from the congress of 1814-15, as Aix-la-Chapelle was not so large as Paris or Vienna. Lord Castlereagh pays forty francs a day for a stall for four horses, without including the expenses of their forage.”

The diamonds and other jewels worn by the princess de la Tour and Taxis at the late ball at Aix-la-Chapelle were estimated by an eminent jeweller present, at the sum of 2,000,000 francs, which is equal to upwards of 80,000*l*. She is much admired by the king of Prussia, on account of her superior talents for conversation, her graceful figure, and her personal charms. She is supposed to be one of the finest women in Europe.

Prices of provisions at Aix-la-Chapelle:—Beef, mutton, and veal, 6*d*. per lb.; fish, bad and very dear;

dear; butter, 22*d.*; bread, 1½*d.* per lb.; chickens, 2*s.* 6*d.* a couple; vegetables, excepting onions, very cheap;—cheese, bad and dear; eggs, 8*d.* per dozen; hares, 3*s.* 6*d.* each; partridges, 4*s.* a brace; ducks, 3*s.* 4*d.* a couple; thrushes, 3*d.* each; turkeys, 3*s.* 8*d.*; coals, 15*s.* a ton; candles, 10*d.* per lb.

RUSSIA.

Accounts from Siberia state, that on the 17th June vegetation was so backward, that neither a leaf appeared on the trees, nor any new blades of grass on the soil.

According to lists drawn up by order of the emperor Alexander, it appears that since the year 1814, 414,000 men have been discharged from the Russian armies.

SWEDEN.

The Swedish government has dispatched some naturalists into Lapland, for the purpose of examining the mines, and other natural productions of that country, so little known. Some copper-mines, very rich, have been found, but the wood necessary for working them is too far remote from the places where the mines are situated. Vegetation has been so powerful at Jackasjerfuri, and some other districts in Lapland, that ninety grains have been produced from one. The government travellers have admired a waterfall, formed by the river Lulea, which they represent as the most majestic in all Europe. The river, more than 2,000 feet wide, falls from a height of 400 feet. In winter, this waterfall is surmounted by an arch of ice.

ITALY.

The Genoa Gazette relates the following fact, which affords another proof of the excess to which

jealousy may mislead the human mind:—"A man named Passadore, aged 36, who was recently admitted into the corps of royal carabinieri, being quartered at Saint Pierre d'Arena, had formed an intimacy with a young female of that canton. He conceived that he had some cause to doubt of her fidelity, and all of a sudden his jealousy turned to fury. On the 5th October, at seven o'clock in the evening, he called upon her, and thrust his sword through her body. He afterwards hastened to the barracks, and, without any known motive, twice discharged his musket at the brigadier of his company, who was in bed with his wife. Not being badly wounded, the brigadier leaped out of bed and effected his escape. The wretch then directed his murderous attack against his wife, and shot her dead with a pistol. Thus remaining master of the field of battle, with arms and ammunition, Passadore barricaded himself in one of the barrack rooms, threatened those who attempted to approach, and fired several times through the window into the street. A detachment of soldiers at length arrived to take this ferocious villain into custody. The first of them who advanced he killed; and wounded four others, two of them mortally. The next morning, as they were preparing means which left the assassin but little hope of escaping, he appeared at the window, dressed in the full uniform of his regiment, and, after saluting the assailants, terminated with a pistol his life and his crimes."

LIMIT OF CONGELATION.

It appears, from information which comes from Switzerland and other alpine districts, that an opinion

opinion has partly obtained, of the increase of ice generally, and the descent of the limit of congelation. From the Tyrol, it is said, that "in this country an extraordinary increase of the glaciers is remarked in several places. A mass of ice, which advanced from the Sindner valley, has increased, from the 6th of May to the 30th of July, 76 fathoms." In many parts of Switzerland the same remark is made. Where, only one generation back, the most fertile alpine pastures were seen, there is now eternal ice; and the line of snow seems, in the course of time, to descend lower and lower from the summits of the mountains towards the plains and valleys.

As another proof of the intellectual enterprise excited among the Greeks of the Ionian isles, and the scientific as well as literary attainments which they have lately made, we feel great pleasure in the notice of a minute and accurate topographical sketch of the Bosphorus, Constantinople, and the environs, both in Europe and Asia, designed by captain Nicolas Chiefala, and executed at London under his own direction. The work, we believe, is not intended for general sale in this country, nor are we aware that it would be of any great use as a common chart of the Straits of Constantinople, till our sailors who visit the Black Sea learn Greek; yet besides being a curiosity itself, it cannot fail to be of service to those who wish to gain an accurate knowledge of the seat of the Eastern empire, and would have enlightened the labours even of Gibbon in his description of that celebrated capital. The author is a native of the island of

1818.

Zante, and is already advantageously known on the continent by a treatise on maritime law, and three charts of the Mediterranean, published at Paris in April last. The manner in which these works were received at Vienna and Paris, confers an honour both on the author and the nation to which he belongs. He is now employed on two Greek works, which he intends publishing in London; one on the construction of ships, and another on nautical geography; and we have no doubt that, if they are executed with the skill and ingenuity of the topographical sketch to which we have adverted, the author will add the patronage of England, which he most highly prizes, and to which from our connexion with his country he seems to have a natural title, to the praises and respect of literary men on the continent.

All the circumstances attending the melancholy and untimely death of the honourable Mr. Ainsley, brother of lord Valentia, are extremely affecting. He had been married only a fortnight to an accomplished young lady. After having visited the lakes of Cumberland, he came to Blackpool, a celebrated bathing place. On Thursday morning, the 27th of August, he went into the sea to bathe. The water had not reached his middle when he dropped down to rise no more. A sudden stupor is supposed to have seized his head. The tide was retreating, and his body was not found for five hours afterwards. His unhappy wife was looking from her chamber window when he dropped in the water. A person rushed immediately into the water to assist him, but failed to find

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him.

him. He had been preparing to return to India.

The grand duke Michael, in his late tour, is said to have disbursed in travelling expenses in England so great a sum as 20,000*l*. Some inn-keepers where he put up charged enormously high. At an inn, however, in Dublin, kept by Morris, the charge for four days was only 150*l*., at which the grand duke was so satisfied, that he presented the landlord with an extra 50*l*.—To sir B. Bloomfield and sir William Congreve his imperial highness presented, previous to his departure, two gold snuff boxes valued at 1,000*l*. each. Mr. Roberts, state coachman to the prince regent, also received a very elegant snuff box. Massive silver tankards, valuable watches, &c. have been presented to others of the royal household; and, it is said, the lowest helper in the mews at Stratford-house has received a present of ten guineas.

Some time since, a clergyman in this county (Essex) was applied to by a friend resident at Botany Bay respecting the cultivation of hops in New South Wales. He immediately wrote to sir Joseph Banks on the subject, who replied, that the attempt was vain, as it had been tried and had failed. This did not deter him, and he sent his friend some of the best sets he could procure, and a quantity of seed, with at the same time a tract which he composed for the purpose of giving him full instructions how to proceed. He has since received a letter of thanks, stating that the writer had succeeded in the cultivation of the hop plant beyond his expectation; that the tract was in great request, and that many of the set-

tlers had been equally successful. The produce has been considerable, but at present not in proportion to the consumption.

Professor Dittmar, of Copenhagen, has published a learned dissertation, in which he endeavours to establish as certain, that the ensuing winter of 1818-19 will be very short and very mild.

It is a singular fact, that a gentleman near Edmonton is at this time cutting a meadow of grass ten inches high, which he intends making into hay should the present weather continue a few days longer.

The Gazette of Saturday night contains a most extraordinary advertisement; it announces to the creditors of Bogle and Co. late of Love-lane, East Cheap, who were bankrupts in the year 1772, being a lapse of forty-six years, that they or their legal representatives may receive the full amount of their respective debts. The total amount advertised is about five thousand five hundred pounds. The lowest sum mentioned is a glover's bill for 3*s*. 4*d*.; the largest a banker, 920*l*. The list of creditors enumerates a curious medley of professions, viz. snuff-merchants, tailors, haberdashers, shoemakers, &c. and one debt is due to a Mr. Shakespeare, 'alderman of the city of London, merchant.

DISTILLATION BY STEAM.

An experiment to distill by steam is now making at Roscrea, Ireland, under the inspection of excise officers and several experienced distillers. If successful, it is probable that new excise arrangements will be required as to time and quantity; and it is said that, in such case, adequate regulations

gulations will be enacted next session of parliament. Great expectations are entertained by those concerned in distillation. The saving of time and of fuel promises, in case of success, to ensure ample remuneration to the projectors of the new system.

From the extraordinary mildness of the season, gooseberry and currant trees are bursting into leaf, and the pied daisy presents itself in full flower in various parts of the country.

A half sieve of Delaware pippins (a very large handsome American apple, of which it is said there are only two trees in England,) were exposed to sale on Wednesday in Covent-garden market, and sold at the rate of 1s. an apple.

Grapes for making wine are now so plentiful that they are brought by cart loads to Covent-garden market, where they are sold by the hundred weight at about $7\frac{1}{2}$ d per pound.

OFFICIAL ACCOUNT OF THE LOSS OF THE CABALVA.

Accounts have been received by the private ship Windsor Castle, which left Bombay on the 3rd of June, and the Mauritius the 17th of July, that the company's ship Cabalva having sprung a leak off the Cape on the 22d of June, it was determined to bear up for Bombay to dock the ship, and that in her passage thither she struck on the small island of Car-gados on the 7th of July at half-past four o'clock A. M. and was totally wrecked. Captain Dalrymple, Mr. Grant, the surgeon's mate, and fifteen of the crew were drowned. Mr. Ayres, the purser, the sixth officer, and eight men, arrived at the Mauritius in a small

open boat from the island, where they had left the remainder of the crew on the 14th of July. His majesty's ship *Magicienne*, with the Challenger sloop of war and a schooner, immediately put to sea to bring away the crew.

The whole of the improvements in the house of Lords seem to be finished. The house has now a very elegant appearance. The covering on the wool-sack and benches is quite new. The throne, which was not uncovered on this occasion, as well as the crowns over the canopy, are newly gilt, and look very neat, but the old velvet festooning still remains. This we were informed arises from a matter of etiquette, that the materials of either throne or canopy should not be changed in the present reign.

On Tuesday morning, the 19th instant, an extraordinary phenomenon occurred on the mountains of Slievebaughtang, county of Clare, between Scariff and Woodfort, in the bursting of a water spout. It descended in the form of a cataract; and such was its influence as to sweep away in its course every barrier or obstruction whatever. All the bridges in that neighbourhood are completely destroyed; and, in addition to the destruction of hay, corn, and potatoes, the surface of the tillage land literally moved off. The course of the neighbouring river has been altered by it, and a great quantity of land rendered completely useless, from the immense heaps of gravel and stones which were scattered about. The torrent lasted nearly three hours.

It is stated, upon the best authority, that there are in London

don 130,000 children, between the ages of six and sixteen, without the means of education; and that from two to four thousand of these are hired out to beggars, and employed in thieving.

The following extraordinary sale of stock, of the improved

short-horned breed, took place at the sale of Mr. Robert Colling, of Barmpton, near Darlington, who has been long celebrated as an agriculturist of the first class, and whose stock was brought to the hammer on the 29th and 30th ultimo:

One 2-year old cow	sold for	331 guineas
One 4-year old cow	ditto	300 ditto.
One 5-year old cow	ditto	370 ditto.
One 1-year old bull calf	ditto	270 ditto.
One 4-year old bull	ditto	621 ditto.

And it appears by the catalogue, with printed prices affixed, that

34 cows	sold for	4141 guineas
17 heifers	ditto	1287 ditto.
6 bulls	ditto	1348 ditto.
4 bull calves	ditto	713 ditto.

61 head of cattle sold for

Total 7484 guineas.

Lord Althorp has purchased several of the above stock.

A cask, belonging to the ship London was found by captain Peckett of the Royal George of Hull, on the 20th of March, who has brought the cask thither on his return from Davis's Straits. The London was left in April 1817, in lat. 61½, long. 57, and the cask was picked up in Hoy-sound, a narrow pass at the Orkney islands, in a perfect state, but entirely covered with grass. It seems difficult to ascertain whether the set of the tides, or the long prevalence of westerly winds (sometimes for nine months together), had drifted the cask the great distance of 1,400 miles in eleven months, or about four miles a-day, and in this age of discovery may be deemed worthy of further inquiry.

PROGRESS OF A POUND OF COTTON.

The following account of one pound weight of manufactured cotton will show the importance of the trade to the country in a

very conspicuous manner. There was sent off for London, lately, from Paisley, a small piece of muslin, about one pound weight, the history of which is as follows:—The wool came from the East Indies to London; from London it went into Lancashire, where it was manufactured into yarn; from Manchester it was sent to Paisley, where it was woven: it was sent to Ayrshire next, where it was tamboured; afterwards it was conveyed to Dumbarton, where it was hand-sewed, and again returned to Paisley; when it was sent to a distant part of the county of Renfrew, to be bleached, and was returned to Paisley; whence it was sent to Glasgow, and was finished; and from Glasgow was sent per coach to London. It is difficult precisely to ascertain the time taken to bring this article to market; but it may be pretty near the truth to reckon it 3 years from the time it was packed in India, till in cloth it arrived

rrived at the merchant's warehouse in London; whither it must have been conveyed 5,000 miles by sea, and 920 by land, and contributed to reward no less than 150 people, whose services were necessary in the carriage and manufacture of this small quantity of cotton, and by which the value has been advanced 2000 per cent. What is said of this one piece is descriptive of no inconsiderable part of the trade.

The list of the royal navy, corrected up to the 30th of September, contains the following officers, &c.:

contains the following officers, &c.:			
Admiral of the fleet			1
Admirals of the	{	Red	17
		White	16
		Blue	17—2 employed.
Vice-admirals of the	{	Red	23
		White	18
		Blue	19
Rear-admirals of the	{	Red	25—1 employed.
		White	24—5 employed.
		Blue	23—5 employed.
			183 13
Superannuated rear-admirals			26
Superannuated and retired captains			29
Captains			852—62 employed.
Commanders			789—56 employed.
Lieutenants retired with the rank of com- manders			97
Lieutenants			2923—404 employed.
Superannuated masters			48
Masters for service			643—142 employed.
Physicians			16
Surgeons retired			71
Surgeons for service			934—113 employed.
Assistant-surgeons			367—161 employed.
Dispensers of hospitals			19
Hospital mates			6
Pursers			815—130 employed.
Chaplains			51— 18 employed.
Ships of various descriptions in commission			148.

DESTRUCTION OF THE LIMERICK THEATRE BY FIRE.

Last night the theatre royal in Cornwallis-street was totally consumed by fire, which broke out between eleven and twelve o'clock: though the attendance of several engines was prompt, and the supply of water was considerable, yet the flames spread so rapidly, that

the progress of them could not be effectually got under until the interior of the building was destroyed. The circumstance is stated to be purely accidental. The theatre had been since Wednesday undergoing some necessary repairs, preparatory to introducing miss Stephens to a Limerick audience. She and Mr.

(G 3) Horn,

Horn, with the entire strength of Crow-street, were to make their appearance in it next Monday se'nnight. The theatre destroyed was built in 1770, and cost 900*l.*, which was contributed by 24 gentlemen, who had free tickets.

It is amusing to remark the great changes that have taken place since the time of the celebrated Evelyn, author of the *Sylva*, in the public taste and use of esculents. The bud of the sunflower, before it expands, was then dressed like an artichoke, and eaten as a great dainty; the root of the minor pimpinella, or small burnet saxifrage, dried and pulverized, was preferred by some persons to any kind of pepper; and the pounded seeds of the nasturtium were thought superior to mustard. Evelyn praises the milky or dappled thistle, either as a salad, or boiled, or baked in pies, like an artichoke. The bur also he calls delicate and wholesome, when young. The young leaves of the ash were a favourite pickle: but of all his delicacies the strangest seem to be "the small young acorns which we find in the stock doves' craws." These, he says, are "a delicious fare, as well as those incomparable salads of young herbs taken out of the maws of young partridges at a certain season of the year, which gives them a preparation far exceeding all the art of cookery."

COTTON MANUFACTURERS.

A magazine published at Paisley gives the following account of the present state of the cotton trade in that part of Scotland:

Plaids, trimmings, &c.—The demand for these articles is rather flat at present, owing to the re-

ports of the state of her majesty's health. The prices of weaving, however, are steady at the advance which had taken place.

Imitation shawls are still inquired after. Those "rags" which were made in such large quantities having now given place to well made shawls, prices have risen considerably, and are fully maintaining the advance.

Imitation gown pieces.—The demand for these goods is unprecedented and unlimited. Prices in consequence have improved considerably, and have remained steady since the beginning of August.

Zebra dresses.—The demand for these articles is likewise unprecedented. Prices have improved, and are still continuing to improve.

Full harness robes have been flat since the orders for the spring trade were completed. They are now more in demand, and the price of weaving may be said to be advancing. Should the demand for this article increase, a considerable rise may be anticipated, as a great number of the harnesses have been reduced, and it would be difficult to get them replaced.

Seeded stripes and robes are dull. Inquiries are making after seeded shawls, some of which are preparing for the market.

Gauze harness robes are flat, likewise plain gauze. One warehouse in town has an order for narrow spotted gauze, 800 reeds, for which they will pay a good price.

Plain muslin.—Particular fine grounds have, within the last month, risen a set; and, as the weavers in Lancashire have obtained

tained an advance of 20 per cent. upon their wages, it may be confidently presumed that a still greater improvement will take place.

Silk (or transparent) gauze has been rather flat these two months. Some of the houses in that line (of whom there are only seven in town) are doing very little. Messrs. Fulton and Co. are still continuing to employ a considerable number, and appear to have the only steady demand, having more weavers engaged in this manufacture than all the other warehouses in Scotland.

The situation of the operative weaver has improved, and is still continuing to improve. Goods are now making in this town and neighbourhood for every quarter of the globe. Their elegance, and above all their cheapness, are gaining them admittance into countries where European manufactures of the above description have never before penetrated.

COMMERCE.

Account of vessels which have sailed from the port of Liverpool from the 1st of January to the 30th of September 1818, not including Irish traders and coasters:

For the ports of Europe	742
United States	348
North America and Newfoundland	355
South America	129
West Indies	112
Africa	6
East Indies (14,965 tons)	35

Total 1727

The following account of the ships which have arrived at Bristol from the 1st of January to the 30th of September, in the years 1817 and 1818, will show the

comparative commerce of the two places:

	vessels.	tons.
1817....	227,	about 42,000
1818....	289,	about 58,000.

Violets were last Sunday picked in a garden at Richmond. In a garden by the road side going to Hampstead are garden daisies in full bloom.

Several woodcocks have been killed this week in the neighbourhood of Penryn. At Enys, two were shot on Wednesday last, and three more on the following day.

A most enormous mushroom, of the button sort, was exhibited in Plymouth market on Tuesday se'nnight, which sprung up, with many others of inferior size, from an asparagus bed lately belonging to Mr. Gill, ropemaker, near Stoke-mills. It attained, in four nights and three days, the circumference of four feet five inches, and the weight of sixteen pounds. The owner sold it out in pieces at one penny each.

EXTRAORDINARY ACQUISITION OF LANGUAGES.

At a recent meeting of the Shropshire Auxiliary Bible Society, archdeacon Corbett, in a speech delivered on that occasion, drew a parallel between Mr. Samuel Lee (one of the preachers) and the admirable Crichton. From the reverend gentleman's statement, it appears that Mr. Lee had merely the education of a village school (where he was born, about six miles from Shrewsbury,) viz. reading, writing, and arithmetic; that he left school at twelve years of age to learn the trade of a carpenter and builder. While thus employed he became, self-taught, a Latin, Greek, Hebrew,

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brew,

brew, Chaldee, Syriac, and Samaritan scholar. These languages he acquired in six years, at the hours during which he was relieved from manual labour. Since that period Mr. Lee has had more assistance, and is now, in addition to the tongues we have mentioned, familiar with Arabic and Persian, Hindostanee, French, German, Italian, Ethiopic, Coptic, Malay, Sanscrit, and Bengalee—in all, *seventeen languages, in fourteen years.*

NOVEMBER.

AMERICA.

A new Swiss colony has been lately spoken of, which has been founded in Brazil under the name of New Friburg. The following are the conditions prescribed to this establishment by the king of Portugal:—

“His majesty grants the payment of the expenses attending the establishment of 100 families of the Catholic religion. He pays their passage to Rio Janeiro, and procures them facilities and provisions to enable them to proceed to the canton of Oanta Gallo, 24 leagues from the capital. Each family will receive a certain quantity of land, with the means of cultivating it. He will pay to each colonist 160 reis a day for the first year, and 80 reis a day for the second year, besides provisions during the time. The colony is to contain a certain number of artisans, and shall provide, in Europe, a physician, a surgeon, and an expert farrier, with ecclesiastics for the performance of divine service. The new colony shall found a town and two villages. Each of the communes

shall receive a grant in land to provide for the expenses of the administration. All the Swiss colonists shall be naturalized Portuguese, and shall enjoy till the end of the year 1829 an exemption from all personal and territorial charges. The colonists shall be permitted to return to their country, but shall not dispose of more than one half of their immovable property; the other half shall remain to the community.”

GERMANY.

Konigsberg, Oct. 31.

Last week an unfortunate boy was brought to Insternburg, who was found in a wood near the town. He has nothing human about him but his form. He may be about fifteen years old, is dumb, and, as it seems from surgical examination, also deaf. He shows no desire for any thing but his food, which, when he was found, consisted of roots, grass, and straw. He will not bear any clothing, seems unable to walk upright, and sits and lies in a contracted position. His skin being little injured, and his hair cut before, seems to indicate that this unfortunate being has not lived always in the wood, but has probably lately escaped from his keepers on the other side of the frontier, or been expelled by them.

FRANCE.

Intelligence can be received from—

Calais at Paris, between which there are 27 telegraphs, in 3 min.
 Lisle . 22 . . 2
 Strasburg 45 . . 6½
 Lyons 50 . . } 8
 Brest 80 . . }

The

The following detail on the public gaming-tables of Paris is published in the last number of the *Bibliothèque Historique*, under the title of "Budget of Public Games :"

State of the annual expenses of the games of Paris.

Under the present administration there are

7 Tables of Trente et un,	1 Ditto of Craps,
9 Ditto of Roulette,	1 Ditto of Hasard,
1 Ditto of Passe-dix,	1 Ditto of Biribi.
20 Tables divided in nine houses ; four of which are situated in the Palais Royal.	

To serve the seven tables of Trente et un, there are

28 Dealers at 550 fr. a month, make	fr. 15,400
28 Croupers at 380 ditto	10,640
42 Assistants at 200 ditto	8,400

Service for the nine Roulettes and one Passe-dix,

80 Dealers at 275 fr. a month	22,000
60 Assistants at 150 ditto	9,000

Service of the Craps, Biribi, and Hasard,

12 Dealers at 300 fr. a month	3,600
12 Inspectors 150 ditto	1,800
10 Aids 100 ditto	1,000

6 Chefs de Partie at the principal houses, at 700 fr. a month 4,200

3 Chefs de Partie for the Roulettes, at 500fr. a month 1,500

20 Secret inspectors, at 200fr. a month 4,000

1 Inspector-general, at 1,000

130 Waiters, at 75 fr. a month 9,750

Cards, a month 1,500

Beer and refreshments, do. 3,000

Lights do. 5,500

Refreshment for the grand saloon, including two dinners every week, per month 12,000

Total expense of each month 114,290

Multiplied by 12, is 1,371,480

Rent of 10 houses, per annum 130,000

Expense of offices 50,000

Total per annum 1,551,480

If the privilege is 6,000,000

If a bonus of a million is given for six years, the sixth part for one year will be 166,666

Total expenditure 7,718,146

The profits are estimated at, a month 800,000

Which yields per annum 9,600,000

Deducting the expenditure 7,718,146

The annual profits are 1,881,854

Which produce at the expiration of the lease, francs 11,291,114

COURT OF CASSATION.

Criminal Section, Nov. 20.

Can a citizen be compelled to hang out tapestry on the front of his house, while the external ceremonies of the Catholic worship are performing?

Such was the question brought before the court, by an appeal from the sieur Roman, a protestant, against a judgement of the correctional tribunal of police of Gap, which condemned him to a fine of 6 francs for not having obeyed an edict of the mayor of the town of Lourmarin, ordering the inhabitants of that town to cover the fronts of their houses, in those streets through which the Holy Sacrament might pass, during the procession of the *Fête Dieu*.

M. Odilon-Barrot, counsel for M. Roman, entered into a detailed argument in support of the appeal. He observed that the constituent assembly, and, after it, all other constituted authorities, had proclaimed the principle of religious freedom; and had completely separated questions of religion from those connected with civil and political rights. The concordat of 1801, with the view of maintaining a perfect equality between the Roman Catholic religion and other systems of religion, went so far as to prohibit the celebration of any ceremony out of churches, in towns in which there were temples destined for public worship. The charter had made no change in these principles; on the contrary, it had confirmed them, by proclaiming anew, that every citizen is free with regard to his worship; and that all religions are equally protected.

We therefore still live under

the influence of the principle rendered sacred by the constituent assembly; a principle which places a man's religion out of the jurisdiction of the law. When the law is neutral, the civil authority must necessarily be the same, and cannot interfere with different religions, except to give them equal protection. It cannot, therefore, associate itself with the ceremonies of any one particular worship; and still less can it compel a citizen to participate in ceremonies against his will, and in disregard of the scruples of his conscience. This argument holds, whatever may be the apparent religion of the citizen who declines to take a part in ceremonies, whatever may be the grounds of his refusal, and even though he should choose not to assign any grounds. In fact, if to warrant a refusal to comply with a religious ceremony, it were necessary to prove that it was contrary to the tenets of a certain sect of Protestants or Jews, or to some particular existing sect, it would follow that only these sects would enjoy liberty of worship. Liberty of conscience, then, would not be a privilege held in consequence of being a citizen, but of being a Jew or a Protestant. The law, however, sanctions liberty not as belonging to this or that faith, but to all in general. And as there may be as many different creeds as there are citizens, every refusal to participate in a religious act was to be respected. If even a Catholic might be compelled to assist in a religious ceremony of the Catholic church, there would be an end of all real liberty of conscience in France. The putting out tapestry on the passage of the procession in question, could have

no other object except to honour it; but this was what Protestants, by their religion, were prohibited from doing.

M. Odilon-Barrot then referred to the early contests between the French Protestants and Catholics, and showed that in all stipulations between the two religions, the Protestants were careful to preserve this point.

The advocate-general, M. Grand Duplessis, followed on the part of the crown; and coincided in the arguments which had been adduced by the complainant's counsel, for the repeal of the judgement of the tribunal of Gap.

The court, after a long deliberation, pronounced a judgement said to be most "strongly worded," by which it annulled the judgement complained of, and decided that the municipal authorities have no right to make a rule for constraining citizens to cover the fronts of their houses on occasions of religious ceremonies.

M. Maron and other members of the reformed church of Paris were among the auditory present at the hearing of this important cause, thus so equitably and satisfactorily decided.

The following trial, reported in the French papers, presents a singular picture of the manners of the lower orders in Paris:—

On Friday the members of the council of war assembled to try Pierre François Carrier, fusilier in the 4th regiment of the royal guards, aged 24, born near St. Quentin. In the service since 1812, and having belonged to the royal guard since its formation, this young man had always punctually performed his duty. He had the misfortune to form an

acquaintance with a girl of the town, named Lise Merlin, and to inspire that prostitute with an attachment, of which the infamy of her course of life, and the depravity of her character, seemed to have rendered her incapable. Can love inhabit such hearts?

Lise Merlin had long been known to add the crime of theft to that of prostitution. If she sometimes ceased to appear within the purlieus of debauchery, it was to inhabit the prisons; which with a shameless levity she called her country lodgings. On leaving La Force, or the Madelonnettes, she used to say to her companions, "I am just come to town from my country-house."

Carrier was guilty of the criminal weakness of partaking of disgraceful pleasures, which Lise paid for with money, of the source of which he could not be ignorant. She not only defrayed all the expenses they incurred together in public-houses, but brought him money and provisions on the days when his duty prevented him from strolling about with her. On the 23d of September, when he had been relieved from his turn of duty, as one of the sentinels at the Tuilleries, Lise came to him, and invited him to spend the remainder of the day with her. Carrier did not consent at first, and told her that he must stop in the barrack to clean his arms. To remove this objection she gave him 30 sous, saying, "There, get one of your comrades to clean them, and come and dine with me." Carrier, however, put the money in his pocket, and said he would clean the arms himself when he returned. They proceeded to a public-house, and soon

soon expended twenty-four sous in spirits in a place where neither the best nor the dearest is sold. After stopping at several places, they arrived at the barrier of Mousseau, where they dined. Their repast was light, but they washed it down with four litres of wine. The understanding of Carrier began to be troubled; he seemed to be irritated by an old quarrel, the nature of which could be very imperfectly collected by the words which the witnesses had collected. They had heard him order her to leave him, call her a thief, and declare that he would have no concern with her robberies. —She said, “Don’t be foolish, I don’t fear you.” —“But when I promise, you know I keep my word: you deserve to be cut in pieces, and I would not care to do it, for the king is my cousin,” &c.

The most extravagant language indicated that Carrier’s mind was completely disordered, and Lise seemed to take a pleasure in increasing his disorder, and provoking him to excess, by making him drink more wine. They continued alternately disputing and drinking in different wine-shops in their progress, until they reached the gate of the barracks. Carrier entered, much against the wishes of his companion; and it would have been happy for him had he continued there. He returned to give Lise the 30 sous he had received from her in the morning. She still had 20, and she dragged him along with her, and spent the whole in brandy. Carrier was more overcome with the effects of the liquor than the female. He threw himself on the grass in the Champs Elysées; but repeatedly manifested a strong desire to get

rid of her. In a moment of fury and impatience he gave her a severe blow, which knocked her down. A lady, who was at the time entering her house, reproached him for his brutality, and wished to persuade the unfortunate woman to leave him; but Lise, like the wife of Sganarelle, immediately turned on this officious mediator, and said, “Mind your own business; he is my lover, and he shall beat me if he likes it.” She then lifted up Carrier’s cap, which was on the ground, and put it on his head; and in return for her complaisance received a blow with the flat of his sabre on the arm. He then flourished his sabre, and in a great passion ordered her to be gone. She approached him with her arms extended, and seemed to provoke at once his rage and her own destruction. Moved probably by a momentary sense of the danger to which the disordered state of his mind was exposing him, he threw away his sabre. The imprudent woman ran to pick it up, and brought it to him. Her calmness seemed to increase his phrensy: he seized the weapon, struck her, and she fell bathed in her blood. Three blows followed the first with the rapidity of lightning. In a moment, however, he threw himself upon her, and exclaimed—“Lise! Lise! rise; you know I love you.” He then embraced her, and begged her pardon. The spectators of this terrible scene called the guard, and yet wished to save the prisoner. Are these contrary movements surprising?—The spectators were females.

Carrier threw from him with horror the instrument of his crime.

He

He walked away, and at a short distance lay down upon a heap of straw, where the gendarmes soon found him fast asleep, or in a state of complete insensibility. He did not attempt to defend himself before the council of war. He only said that he recollected nothing of what had happened, and that he had never accused Lise of being a thief.

The prisoner was found guilty of voluntary murder, but not with premeditation, and was condemned to perpetual labour.

The tea,—that valuable shrub which may be said to have been the apple of discord and the cause of the war between Great Britain and North America,—tea, which produces so many millions to English commerce, promises to be naturalized among us. The plant was brought to France by a Russian in 1814, and there already exist from 200 to 300 specimens, so that it may be propagated with great facility. This tea has received the approbation of the king's physicians and of the first naturalists of France.

AN EARTHQUAKE.—A smart shock of an earthquake was felt at Inverness, and to a considerable distance round the town, at about 20 minutes past 12 on Tuesday night. We have not yet learned how far it may have extended; but we understand that it was felt with peculiar violence along the banks of Loch Ness. The noise seems to have been greater or less according to local circumstances: in some places it was very loud, in others more gentle, but everywhere a tremulous motion was for a few seconds communicated to moveables. The night was uncom-

monly serene, with clear moonlight; and while not a breath of wind was stirring on the surface of the ground, in the higher regions of the atmosphere the clouds were driving rapidly from south to north.—Lighter shocks are said to have been felt at 9 in the evening of Tuesday, and at 4 in the morning of Wednesday. We have heard of no accident or damage from this visitation.

A slight shock of an earthquake was felt on the 9th of November, 1817, along a line of country from the hills of Yorkshire, near Dent, through Kendal and the lake of Windermere to Conistan in Lancashire, where it appeared to terminate. A second concussion was experienced on the 31st of last month at Dalton, in Low Furness, which is not far from the place where the former ceased. Similar convulsions not unfrequently take place at different points of a tract of country which extends along the west coast, at least from Lancashire in England to Ayrshire in Scotland. They have hitherto been limited in extent, and have proved harmless in their effects. Most writers on these alarming phenomena consider earthquakes to be produced by volcanos, many of which remain hitherto concealed under strata that lie deeply buried in the ground; and they conclude that the concussions which occasionally agitate the surface of the earth, in particular places, indicate the escape of igneous vapours from a volcanic stratum which lies concealed at no great distance from the place so agitated. The favourers of this plausible hypothesis may reason from facts, and arrive at the following

lowing conclusion:—No serious danger is to be apprehended from the earthquakes which happen from time to time in the tract of country extending from Lancashire to Ayrshire. This is rendered highly probable by facts which seem to prove that the volcanic beds concealed under this line of the west coast are distinct, and have no mutual communication. This arrangement of the igneous strata promises fair to prevent their co-operation, and thereby to diminish the force of each. Slight earthquakes have been occasionally felt in this part of the country for a period of not less than 80 years. If credit be due to common report, and if remote tradition may be relied on, a very serious and destructive subterranean convulsion formerly shook Low Furness, and produced a small lake not far from Ulverston, called Urswick Tarn; but the time of this catastrophe, like that of most traditionary events, is uncertain.

For some days past, rumours of a most shocking occurrence having taken place in the county of Northumberland have been current in Newcastle; and we are sorry to state, that they have proved to be but too true. To our great surprise we have not heard a word upon the subject from any of our northern correspondents, but we believe the following particulars to be nearly correct:—On Tuesday last, two brothers of the name of Younghusband, respectable farmers, residing at Heckley-grange, near Alnwick, were found lying dead in one of their own fields, with their throats cut. In the course of the afternoon, one of them had been su-

perintending the men ploughing, and had given the men orders to unyoke their horses, when he was called into an adjoining field by his brother. The men accordingly went home, and some time having elapsed and their masters not coming home at their usual hour, a search was instituted, when their bodies were found, in the field into which the one brother had called the other, lying within twenty yards of each other with their throats cut; and a bloody razor lying at the side of each. A coroner's inquest was held on the bodies on Wednesday, and sat till one o'clock on Thursday morning, when it was adjourned. It again met on Thursday, and sat the whole of that day, and was again adjourned. The deceased were upwards of 60 years of age, in affluent circumstances, and inseparable companions.

An inquisition was held on Saturday, in the Fleet prison, upon the body of Mr. William Smith, who had been confined within its walls during the long period of 17 years. The causes of his death were purely natural, and would not have been submitted to the slightest investigation, had not an ordinance of the legislature enacted, that if any person die in prison, his body shall not be buried until the coroner shall have held an inquest upon it. It is not, therefore, to the circumstances of his death that we wish to call the attention of our readers, but to the long imprisonment which the deceased endured previous to it, in consequence of an evil which has long been the subject of the loudest and justest reprobation. The individual in question was committed by the high court of chancery

chancery for a contempt of some process issuing by its authority. His scanty means, made still scantier by the support of a numerous family, and by the expenses of a tedious illness arising from his imprisonment, rendered all his efforts to extricate himself from the unfortunate situation in which he was placed nugatory and unavailing. The property in litigation was, we believe, of inconsiderable value; but the costs to be paid previous to the contempt being purged were, to a man in Mr. Smith's rank of life, quite enormous, though to many they will appear little more than the value of an old song. They amounted to something more than 100%; and the want of this insignificant sum consigned him to an unwholesome prison, during a period extending to nearly one-third part of what the Psalmist has stated to be the most protracted span of human existence. Mr. Smith might have incurred, and might have been arrested for debts a thousand times greater than the sum for which he was *actually*, though not nominally, detained; and by the leniency of the law might, if so inclined, have obtained liberty at the close of *four* months. Mr. Smith might have committed homicide, and have expiated his guilt, even if that guilt had been visited with the severest penalties, by a *twelve-month's* imprisonment. Mr. Smith might have laid perjury on his soul, or might have libelled the most correct and virtuous characters in the kingdom, and at the expiration of *two* or *three* years might have looked forward to freedom from his incarceration. Mr. Smith might have embezzled

the property of his employers, or might have fraudulently obtained great and extensive credit, without any means of supporting it; and yet he might have called upon the law to shield him from the iron fangs of his creditors, and to burst the bars of his prison asunder. Nay, more, Mr. Smith, if he had destroyed the happiness of families, by corrupting the wife or seducing the daughter of his dearest friends and benefactors, might have said triumphantly, "Let a jury of my countrymen award against me as heavy damages as they can; let them visit me with as severe a visitation as they can possibly inflict; still, if I endure the horrors of confinement for ten full years, the legislature will step forward to my relief, will release me from all incumbrances, and will declare me entitled to my discharge." But Mr. Smith, to whom we are utter strangers, and who, as we are verily informed, was not incumbered with debt, was not guilty of homicide—was not convicted of perjury—was not condemned as a libeller—was not the embezzler of the property of his neighbours—was not the defrauder of the tradesmen with whom he was connected, nor yet a distinguished hero in the annals of gallantry—Mr. Smith was consigned to an imprisonment which was only to terminate with life, because he had been guilty of a contempt of the court of chancery, owing to his ignorance; and had been unable to purge that contempt, owing to his poverty! The noble lord who now presides in the court of chancery with so much honour to himself and advantage to the community, has

has himself almost declared this to be the fact. He has always remarked, that he had not authority to alleviate the calamity, of which the law, as it now stands, compels him to become the author. On this head, as on every other, he speaks with the utmost correctness; he has not the power to mitigate the evil which he is obliged to inflict; but if he does not now possess it, there are bodies in the state capable of giving him that authority, of which he seems to regret so much the deficiency. It is to those bodies that we submit this appeal; and though we are convinced that *to innovate* is not in general *to reform*, we think that any innovation on the present practice of the court of chancery in this respect will be hailed as a reform by every benevolent mind in the wide-extended circle of the British empire. We do not wish to deprive that court of the power of enforcing obedience to its edicts; but we do wish to see it deprived of a most unjust and most inquisitorial authority—an authority contrary to the mild spirit of the common law, and to the liberal genius of the British constitution—an authority to compel individuals, upon pain of perpetual imprisonment, to answer such points and such interrogatories as may tend to criminate themselves, or else to take their silence upon them as a confession of their guilt. That some punishment should be inflicted on contumacy is a truth which all must allow; but that such a punishment should amount to perpetual imprisonment, is a position which all, except those who think by tradition, and reason by authority,

must as strenuously and as firmly deny.

There is at present in the garden of George Dickson, esq. of Cousland, a tulip tree in full blossom, which is the second time it was ever known to be in that state. The history of it is somewhat remarkable: it stands in the situation of the garden of the old priory of Cousland; and is well known for having sheltered the famous Mary Scott, the *Flower of Yarrow*, from the persecutions by which she was harassed in the earlier part of her life, and which was destroyed during the reformation. The last time this tree was in blossom was in the year 1720, being 98 years ago. The tree is the finest of the kind in this country, and not inferior to that at Eglintoun castle.

As a proof of the mildness of the season, we may mention, that in a garden near Wooler, on the 21st November, ripe raspas were pulled from the young wood; that several of the annual flowers were in bloom, and roses in bud; there was also a great quantity of grass in the fields, and none of the cattle that are put upon straw were brought into the folds.

In a garden at Stirling there are no less than four of the gooseberry bushes with a second crop fully formed, as large as pease.

A pear of the following extraordinary dimensions was lately pulled from a tree in the garden of Terraughty, in the neighbourhood of Dumfries:—Circumference 12 inches, longitudinal measurement 13½ inches, and weight one pound avoirdupois.

There was lately taken up in a field on the estate of sir Robert Laurie, bart. of Maxwelton, a common

common turnip, which measured longitudinally three feet five inches, and in circumference three feet one inch, and weighed no less than thirty-four pounds. This extraordinary turnip was the produce of a seed dropped by accident in a field of ruta бага, and when pulled had probably not attained its full growth. There are also now to be seen in Maxwellton garden a pear-tree and bed of strawberries in full blossom.

Many instances of this peculiar season are constantly mentioned. The following is not the least remarkable:—At a dinner given on Wednesday the 18th instant, by John Hunter, esq. of the Hermitage, the following fruits from his garden were produced in perfection:—Ripe alpine strawberries, medlars, walnuts, apples, pears, Alexandrian grapes; and in the garden were abundance of roses, double violets, and single white, and primroses in the hedges. Some of the vines at Kenten-lodge have produced grapes twice this season.

On Saturday last there was a turnip taken up in a field belonging to Mr. John Renwick, seedsman, Jedburgh, which was of the extraordinary weight of 43 lbs. English, and measured in circumference 45 inches.

EXTRAORDINARY EFFECT OF MILD WEATHER.—There are now growing in the gardens belonging to G. A. Askew, esq. of Pallinsburn near Berwick, Fuchsias in the open ground, anemones, double and single violets, jonquils, double wall-flowers, and roses of different kinds, all in bloom and in a high state of perfection; also young currants about the size of small peas.

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—It may be proper to observe that Pallinsburn house in many respects is pleasantly situated, but it is high and rather cold.

ENORMOUS PEARS.

A charmontel pear was recently pulled in the garden of Mr. Oxford, Lowhill, near Liverpool. It weighed eighteen ounces and a half; nine inches long, and twelve inches in its greatest circumference. A winter bergamot pear was also pulled last week, in the garden of Miss France at Everton near Liverpool, measuring in circumference thirteen inches, and weighing seventeen ounces and a half.

In the garden of Belleisle, in the neighbourhood of Ayr, there was pulled, a few days ago, a basket full of ripe almonds, from a tree in the open air, and without any artificial heat; and on the 4th instant a bunch of violets high in perfume.

We are informed that so late as Tuesday a basket of ripe strawberries was served up, with the dessert, at the table of Sir John Heron Maxwell, which grew in the garden of Kirouchtrie, and in the open air, without being forced in any manner whatever.

There is now growing in the church-yard of Darley, in Derbyshire, a yew-tree, the circumference of which is nearly 36 feet. This extraordinary tree, according to tradition, was planted about 800 years ago.

Miss O'Neill's remuneration for her late fortnight's exertions in Liverpool was 1097*l.*, and the profits of her *three* visits to that place amount collectively to little short of 5000*l.*

The whole of the infantry of the British army of occupation,
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with the exception of the guards and the 52d regiment (left in possession of the fortresses until the 15th inst.), have been embarked at and sailed from Calais in the short space of 72 hours. They are all safely landed in England. The total number, including men, women, and children, amount to very nearly 15,000 persons, besides 630 horses. On Monday the embarkation of the artillery commenced, and this day (Wednesday) the cavalry were expected to begin embarking.

It is perhaps unknown even to the commercial world, that two vessels at least are completely laden annually on the coast of Hampshire near Lymington, with a fine red gravel, for the purpose of supplying the metropolis with that article, to strew on the bottoms of bird cages. This, like other articles of trade, has frequently had a considerable rise, in consequence of the supply not equalling the consumption.

The chimney-sweepers of Leeds have carried the process of adulteration to its utmost extent. They contrive to mix *their soot* (which they sell to the farmers for manure) with a large portion of dry dye-ware dust, the refuse of the woollen-manufactories in that neighbourhood.

A few days since, one of the packets trading between Brighton and Dieppe arrived at the port of Shoreham from Dieppe with a cargo of eggs, onions, chesnuts, &c. several of which goods were carefully packed in cases, and to the eye every thing appeared regular and correct; but in removing one of the cases, it by some accident fell and burst, when a par-

tition in the case split, and out popped a piece of plate glass: this led to suspicion on the part of the officers of the revenue, who immediately caused strict search to be made in every case; when, to their surprise, the greatest part of the partitions were found to be hollow, and contained a variety of prohibited articles, such as silks, gloves, plate glass, &c.

SEAMAN'S BIBLE SOCIETY.

The Merchant Seaman's Bible Society, established in January last, are in full activity. The society have for several months boarded the outward-bound merchant ships, when clearing from Gravesend. Inquiries are made by an intelligent agent of the society, into the supply which the several ships already have of the Holy Scriptures; and, when needful, he invites the crews to purchase at a very reduced rate; or, if this through their poverty cannot be accomplished, he presents from the society, Bibles and Testaments for the use of the crews during the voyage: an exact record is kept of such supplies, and many opportunities have already occurred on the return of ships to port, to enable inquiry into the result of this attention to the moral and religious interests of our long-neglected fellow-men and fellow-subjects:—the results have generally been highly encouraging. Already upwards of 1,200 vessels have been supplied; these were navigated by more than 16,000 seamen, of whom more than 13,000 were able to read. 1,300 Bibles and 2,785 Testaments were gratuitously bestowed for the ships' use; and 275 Bibles with 126 Testaments were purchased by individuals

dividuals of the crews. These are besides the supplies found on board, and which were either put there by pious owners for the use of the seamen (their servants), or were the private property of the sailors. Thus, in the short space of eight months, 1,200 vessels, bound to various parts of the world, navigated by 16,000 men, have taken with them for their instruction the amazing number of 5,900 Bibles and Testaments. These, it is hoped, will supersede the worse than idle trash, usually the mental poison of the seaman in his hours of rest from labour; and while as Christians we are confident in the truth of the Holy assertion, that the word of God shall not return to him void, but shall prosper; and while a blessing is pronounced upon those who read it, we feel assured that exertions like these will not fail of success.

It is reported that the Peishwa had surrendered himself to Sir John Malcolm.

Colonel Mudge and Captain Colby have just returned from Dunkirk, with the scientific instruments belonging to the honourable Board of Ordnance, which they have employed, in conjunction with Messrs. Biot and Arago, two very able astronomers appointed by the French government in determining the latitude of that important place. The reception which these gentlemen and their associates found, was highly honourable to the French nation and to Dunkirk; nothing could exceed the attentions paid them by all the principal authorities in the town; and the most unlimited orders were given by the French government to ensure them a similar reception in Lisle, and any other

towns they might wish to visit. It is pleasing to observe the perfect concurrence of two great nations in an operation for the benefit of science. Several years ago the two governments united in directing a trigonometrical operation, for determining the relative situations of the observatories of Greenwich and Paris: since that time the English have taken measures for determining the longest meridional arc that the British Isles will admit, and the French have determined the meridional arc between Dunkirk and Formentera, the southernmost of the Balearic Islands. The junction of these two arcs forms the most extensive arc which can probably be measured, in the present state of Europe, and therefore the best that can be found for deducing an universal standard of measure. As the French astronomers had determined their latitudes by means of the circle of repetition, and the English theirs with a zenith sector of 8 feet radius, it became desirable to try the latitude of the connecting point of the two arcs with both instruments together, in order that no doubt might remain on either side. This has now been done, and we are informed that the result is extremely satisfactory.

It appears that in the east ports of Scotland, and in the ports of the Clyde on the west, there are 220,000 tons of shipping, which may be fairly averaged at ten pounds a ton, giving upwards of two millions two hundred thousand pounds.

INTERNAL PROSPERITY OF THE HIGHLANDS.

It is calculated that the black cattle, wool, sheep, and herrings, sold and sent from the Highland

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district of Scotland, north of the Spey, to the other quarters of the kingdom, within the last six months, amount in value to at least 500,000*l.*; a greater sum than was perhaps ever before received in one year, for the whole produce of this district. These great branches of our provincial exports have been at no period in more flourishing circumstances than at present. And it gives us much pleasure also to mention, that the only extensive manufactories in this quarter, viz. those of hemp bagging, begin to participate likewise in the rapidly returning prosperity of the country.

A few days since, as some men were raising marle on the lands of Ayle, the estate of James M'Namara, esq. they discovered, at the depth of about 12 feet from the surface, the head and bones of an enormous elk or moose deer,

which they succeeded in removing from its bed in a perfect state. It has been carefully preserved by Mr. M'Namara. The horns, from the tips to the skull, measure 12 feet four inches, and the antlers are 20 inches wide:—The teeth are quite fresh and perfect, and in addition to the snags, which grow from the horns, there are others equally as large, attached to the skull, which extend over the ears, and seem intended as a protection to that organ.

INSANITY.

The following table of the causes of insanity, as they occurred in the county and city of Cork Lunatic Asylum, commencing the 1st of January 1798, and ending the 30th of June 1818, is from a work recently published by Dr. Halloran. There were insane patients, caused by—

	Males.	Females.
Terror of the rebellion - - - - -	61	47
Jealousy - - - - -	20	25
Pride - - - - -	1	9
Grief - - - - -	6	34
Fever - - - - -	3	5
Epilepsy - - - - -	33	24
Religious zeal - - - - -	11	9
Loss of property - - - - -	51	33
Excess in drinking - - - - -	103	57
Disappointment - - - - -	10	37
Consumption - - - - -	6	2
Injury on the head - - - - -	19	2
Hereditary - - - - -	41	38
Palsy - - - - -	6	7
Unknown causes - - - - -	295	328

This melancholy list contains mournful evidence of the large share which the abuse of spirituous liquors has, in sending many a wretch to the maniac's cell.

DREADFUL ACCIDENT BY FIRE- WORKS.

The messenger of an apothecary

in Kentish-town, who was employed to carry medicines about to the several patients of his master, had on the 5th of November purchased a quantity of squibs, two dozen of which he had put into his breeches-pocket. As he went along, he let one of them off, but unfor-

unfortunately some of the sparks thereof coming in contact with the touchpaper of those in his breeches-pocket, almost instantaneously set them in a blaze. The boy was terrified, did not put his hand into his pocket for fear of burning it; in vain did he call to the by-standers, for they were equally terrified with himself. Shortly, a tremendous explosion was heard, and the spectators were shocked by the horrible sight of his bowels gushing from his abdomen. The shrieks of the boy roused the beholders at length to a sense of charity, and he was shortly after carried to St. Thomas's Hospital, where he now lingers with very slender hopes of his recovery.

VAGRANTS.

There are between 30 and 40 vagrants committed (on an average) every week from the police-office, Hatton-garden, to the house of correction, in order to be passed to their respective parishes.

ROSAMOND'S POND.

It is common to speak of Rosamond's Pond in the park; but that pond has been filled up near forty years. It was situated near the south-west end of the canal in St. James's Park, making an irregular angle with it, and supplied from it. One of its shorter sides was exactly in a line with the houses, now opposite the park, in James-street, Westminster; the longer sides almost parallel with the Bird-cage-walk. It was an oblong parallelogram, deep and muddy; a favourite resort for skaters in the winter, and for despairing lovers, or other self-enemies, in the summer; and for the latter reason, we fancy, it was very properly filled up: or it might be, because, being stagnant, its effluvia were

not quite auspicious to those who were not out of love with life. There is now no Rosamond's Pond.

One Ross, a man who has just been acquitted of a charge of robbery, before the high court of Edinburgh, before his trial attempted to cut his throat: he separated his wind-pipe; and ever since that time his life has been preserved by means of a silver pipe, through which he breathes. An elastic tube is also used for feeding him, his food being conveyed by this instrument through the opening which he made in his throat. He has been most carefully attended by Drs. Gall and Sibbald, who were in waiting during the trial, and had him twice removed for the purpose of giving him food. He is still in town under their charge, and they are at present instructing him how to feed himself.

The sultan Kattagarry, well known in the religious world as the Tartar prince who a few years ago became a convert to the Christian faith, has for some time resided in Edinburgh, and is now on a visit at Dunsinnane-house. He attended and received the sacrament of the Lord's Supper in the middle church of Perth on Sunday last. He is about 28 years of age, and has an extremely interesting appearance. His countenance is mild and expressive, his manners modest and unassuming, and his conversation rational and manly. He speaks the English language with remarkable fluency.

It appears by a return presented to the house of commons (and which was ordered to be printed on the 5th of June last), that the number of criminal offenders committed for trial in England and Wales

during the last 13 years, has increased in the last year to more than triple the number of the former year; that the number sentenced to death was in nearly the like proportion; but that the number of executions was not one-half in proportion to the number so sentenced. The numbers were as follow—

In the years 1805 and 1817.
 Committed for trial 4,605 13,932
 Sentenced to death 350 1,902
 Executed 68 115
 being 1 in 5 in 1805—and 1 in 11 in 1817.

The advantage of salt to sheep is strongly exemplified by the killing of Mr. Curwen's shearing South Downs this year. The livers were perfectly sound, which was rarely the case. For wet situations, salt is most valuable. Mr. Curwen has killed 50 sheep off cole, and not a single bad liver, and scarcely the appearance of a fluke or worm upon them. The sheep on cole and turnips received salt three times a week.

DECEMBER.

DENMARK.

Copenhagen, Dec. 8.

The weather is still so mild that many flowers growing in the open air are in blossom. Wall-flowers, pinks, auriculas, and mignonette are in blossom again. Oats that were sown in August are in ear now in December.

JOHN THORLAKSON.

The Icelandic poet, John Thorlakson, who has translated Milton's *Paradise Lost* into the Icelandic language, lives at Baegisa in a poor cottage. The door of his room is scarcely four feet high, and the room itself but eight feet long and six feet broad. In this room stands his bed, and close to the door, opposite a small square

window, a table, on which he has written his poems. The situation of his dwelling may properly be called poetical, being between three mountains, near streams and water-falls, where there is on every side a prospect of mountains 4000 feet high. His whole income, from the two parishes of Baegisa and Beka, amounts to about thirty dollars (six pounds sterling). Some years ago Thorlakson undertook a translation of Klopstock's *Messiah*, of which the first fourteen books are finished; but he himself confesses, that he has not been so successful in it as with Milton, now that he is almost 70 years of age.

A chemist of Copenhagen has discovered a means of producing a lively yellow colour for dyeing cloth. He gathers the tops of the potatoe when ready to flower, presses the juice, mixes it with more or less water, and suffers the cloth to remain in it during twenty-four hours. He then dips it in spring water. The cloth may be either of wool, silk, cotton, or flax. By plunging the cloth thus tinged with yellow into a vessel of blue, a brilliant and lasting green is obtained.

SWEDEN.

The latest enumeration that has been made of the population of Sweden, counting from the year 1813 to the year 1818, offers a result that would appear almost incredible, if it were not drawn from authentic documents published on this subject. According to them, the population of Sweden has diminished in the space of five years, by 53,504 souls, viz. 38,527 males, and 19,977 females.

The privilege of playing cards in Sweden must be purchased by paying

paying a tax of 24 escalins; and that of smoking tobacco, except by soldiers and sailors, by paying a tax of from four to eight escalins a year.

CAST IRON.

The use of cast iron has become very general in Russia: it is formed into balconies, staircases, ornaments, and relief for the fronts of houses, &c. Prince Labanoff has lately built a palace at St. Petersburg, on which he has expended upwards of three millions and a half of rubles, and he has ordered forty-two colossal pillars and the architectural ornaments for the grand front to be cast at one of the principal iron founderies in Russia. In the gardens of Zarskoezelo, an immense triumphal arch of cast iron was erected some months ago: this gigantic mass was fitted up in the short space of four days. Since that time, the emperor Alexander has given orders for the construction of a pavilion, of which the walls, cupola, peristyle, &c. are all to be of cast iron.

FRANCE.

The number of births in Paris in 1817 was 23,768, of which there were 12,119 males, and 11,649 females; in this number there were 9,047 natural children. The deaths amount to 22,124, of which 740 died of the small-pox, and 272 bodies deposited at La Morgue; therefore, the number of births surpasses that of deaths by 1634. In the same year there were 6,382 marriages, of which 5,171 between young men and spinsters, 355 between young men and widows, 605 between widowers and spinsters, and 251 between widowers and widows.

A manuscript in the hand-writ-

ing of Tasso has been purchased at Paris for the grand duke of Tuscany. The price is 4000 francs. An agent of the French government offered, it is said, 2500 francs. The manuscript consists of about fifty pages, containing pieces of poetry addressed to the great lords of his time, eminent writers, cardinals, ladies, and friends of the illustrious poet. From the number of erasures, it is clear that this great epic poet was very familiar with the "art of blotting."

It is calculated in the French journals, that the population of France is as nearly as possible equal to that of Germany. By the last census of the several departments, the number of inhabitants throughout the monarchy amounts to 29,327,388 souls; of which Paris contains 713,765, or about 3-5ths of the supposed population of London.

HAARLEM.

Dec. 23.

Yesterday evening, at half-past six, we had an uncommonly thick fog, so that the inhabitants, at the invitation of the magistrates, put lights in their windows, in order, as much as possible, to prevent accidents. We learn that during the fog many persons fell into the water; but it does not yet appear that any lives were lost. The fog lasted 2 hours.

AMSTERDAM.

Dec. 23.

Yesterday evening we had a heavy fog, which began about five o'clock, and grew thicker and thicker till ten, when it began to diminish. Various salutary measures were adopted by the magistrates and private persons to prevent the danger which threatened the

the lives of many persons. Torches were lighted in the streets, and candles placed in the windows of the houses; ropes extended across dangerous places, &c. Notwithstanding every precaution, many people fell into the water in various places, several of whom were drowned. We fear that we shall hear of more accidents.

LEYDEN.

Dec. 24.

The day before yesterday there was here, as well as at Amsterdam and Haarlem, a thick fog, from 5 o'clock till half-past 8, during which several persons fell into the water; a man and a boy were drowned.

AMERICA.

A copy of an original painting of Columbus has been presented to the Pennsylvanian Academy of Arts, by R. W. Meade, esq. During his residence in Madrid, in 1815, having ascertained that the duke of Veraquas, the descendant of Columbus, and the present possessor of his estate and titles, had an original portrait of his illustrious ancestor, Mr. Meade obtained permission to have it copied.

HYDROPHOBIA AMONG THE FOXES
IN AMERICA.

Several gentlemen from the Northern Neck state that the hydrophobia exists at present to the most alarming degree among the foxes. In the county of Northumberland, upwards of forty persons have been bitten. A most remarkable circumstance attends the malady, which is, that the afflicted animal in place of avoiding the human species immediately makes towards them, and even enters houses in the middle of the day. One gentleman states that a fox en-

tered a house-yard in his presence notwithstanding there were several dogs; and that the dogs, in place of attacking the animal, immediately retired, exhibiting great signs of fear. On another occasion a fox made towards a boy who was walking along the road. The latter, to avoid him, leaped into a waggon which was passing; but the fox pursued him and bit him in several places. Much injury has been done to the cattle; and the greatest uneasiness exists among the inhabitants, on account of this singular and extraordinary malady.

FUNERAL OF THE QUEEN.

Dec. 3, 1818.

At Kew the honorary guard, stationed at the palace while the remains of her late majesty were lying in state, turned out at about half-past seven o'clock. The officers appeared with crape scarves and sashes—crape was also placed round their caps and round the hilts of their swords. They remained on duty, in the front of the palace, until the royal remains were removed. At eight o'clock, a detachment from the 16th lancers made their appearance, slowly moving along the Windsor road, and advancing towards Kew. They were stationed in two bodies on Kew green. The road in the vicinity of the palace was patrolled during the morning by small parties of the same regiment.

At half past eight o'clock the hearse destined to convey the royal corpse to Windsor arrived at the palace. It was accompanied by 50 undertaker's assistants on horseback, in deep mourning, with silk scarves, hat-bands, &c. and escorted by a body of lancers. At this time the road leading to the palace

palace was greatly crowded. The road, which runs through the centre of Kew-green, was lined on each side with carriages, while an immense assemblage of people almost filled the space behind. The pathways leading to Kew-bridge, and on to the Star-and-Garter at the foot of the bridge, were in like manner crowded. The open space in front of the Star-and-Garter was occupied by several rows of every description of carriages, loaded, inside and out, with spectators. The multitude extended as far as the eye could reach, in every direction—and not a window, a wall, or a tree, from which a glimpse of the procession was likely to be obtained, was untenanted.

At a quarter after nine o'clock, an additional number of lancers scoured the roads, and prevented the approach of carriages, except those belonging to persons who were to take a part in the solemn ceremony. Soon after, the larger body of lancers, who had been stationed on Kew-Green, moved towards the Palace. A part of them formed on each side of the road, obliging the spectators to fall back pretty close to the Thames. The remainder of this body were sub-divided into two parties—one to precede, and one to follow the hearse.

At ten o'clock the procession was formed in the following order:—

Twenty-five lancers.

Eight marshals, on horseback, in their state uniforms, with silk scarves, hat-bands, and sashes, bearing ebony staves tipped with silver.

The beadle of Kew parish, on foot, with silk scarf and hat-band.

Eight assistants on horseback, in deep mourning.

Assistants on horseback
in deep mourning.
A party of lancers.

THE HEARSE,

Covered with black velvet, profusely decorated with plumes of ostrich feathers, and ornamented by seven escutcheons, (three on each side, and one at the back,) drawn by eight beautiful black horses, bearing ostrich plumes, an escutcheon being affixed to the black velvet covering of each horse.

Assistants on horseback
in deep mourning.
A party of lancers.

Assistants on horseback, in deep mourning.

Seven private carriages of her majesty, each drawn by six chesnut horses. The coachmen and footmen in deep mourning. The usual hammer-cloth of scarlet and gold was retained. The first six carriages had the royal arms emblazoned on them, and the letters C.R. in a small cypher, inserted in a compartment above them. The last had only the crown, surmounting the letters C.R. in a very large cypher.

Assistants on horseback, in deep mourning.

A detachment, consisting of 89 lancers, in triple files, closed the procession.

The cavalcade set out at a slow rumoured, in the course of the and solemn pace. It had been morning, that the procession would move

move by way of Richmond—and the spectators stationed on Kew-Green and in its vicinity waited quietly until the fact should be ascertained. But the moment the advanced guard of lancers wheeled to the left, as they emerged from Kew-Green, a general movement took place towards the bridge. An unusual eagerness prevailed to pass the bridge and head the procession. In consequence, a scene, ill-befitting so solemn an occasion, took place at the toll-house. The toll-keeper, after some coaches had passed, endeavoured to shut the centre gate, through which the people were rushing like a torrent:—but he was immediately borne away by the stream, and had nearly fallen a victim to his folly. It would have been both decent and prudent, to have prevented such an occurrence, by giving the people, who had paid for passing the bridge once, a free and undisputed passage back.

The procession having crossed the bridge, slowly moved to the left, followed by an incalculable number of persons on foot, and an immensity of carriages, by way of Brentford and Hounslow, towards Windsor. Her majesty's private carriage was filled with the ladies, noblemen, and gentlemen who filled the principal situations in her household. The procession, after halting one hour at Longford, between Hounslow and Colnbrook, where the individuals composing it took some refreshment, set forward for Frogmore, where it was joined by the prince regent, as chief mourner, and by his royal brothers. In its progress thence to the royal cemetery, the order of the ceremonial already published was observed,

with the exception of an alteration as to the state and household officers. The lord chamberlain of her majesty immediately preceded the royal corpse. The master of the horse, the lord chamberlain, the secretary and comptroller, the private secretary and treasurer to her late majesty, and the ladies of the household, followed in the train of the chief mourner. The procession left Frogmore soon after seven o'clock, for St. George's chapel. The grandest effect in this part of the procession was the appearance of the military when the torches were lighted: the illumination extended nearly a mile, and the rich glow of their scarlet uniforms, together with their splendid helmets, and caparisoned horses, gleaming along the lines, formed a picture that would at once have excited the transport and baffled the skill of the finest artists. The procession, we believe, arrived at St. George's chapel nearly an hour sooner than had been expected; and some inconvenience resulted from this unusual excess of punctuality, several persons, whose business it was to form part of the chapel procession, having arrived too late to gain admittance. Either from this circumstance, or the limited number invited, the chapel had certainly a meagre and empty appearance. The visitors, who did not exceed 54 persons, were admitted soon after six o'clock, at which time the chapel was still so dimly lighted as scarcely to render objects visible. The scene, however, soon began to assume an appearance of illumination in a slight degree, as the soldiers who were stationed in the ante-chapel were gradually supplied with torches. The choir, though

though lighted in the usual manner, from the effect of the black cloth with which it was covered, still remained gloomy and indistinct. At seven o'clock the bell of the chapel began to toll, as an intimation that the procession had moved from Frogmore; while the marshals, and the persons belonging to the lord chamberlain's office, began to call over and to form those who were to precede the procession into the choir. This was managed with great decorum, and so as scarcely to disturb the general silence that reigned throughout the arcades of this noble building. The interval till eight o'clock was thus occupied, when the quick moving of lights, and general bustle discovered through the windows, announced the arrival of the funeral cavalcade. At this moment the notes of the organ were heard, and the choir entered, each singer bearing a lighted taper in his hand, and singing the well-known anthem from Croft's Burial Service. The strength and completeness of this choral band, at least triple the usual number allotted to the cathedral service, and the select members of the principal choirs in and near the metropolis, breaking in upon the silence which before prevailed, produced an effect truly solemn and impressive.

The procession then entered by the south door of the chapel, nearly in the same order as given in the ceremonial previously arranged for the obsequies of her majesty. The pall which covered the royal body was supported on each side by three dukes; the dukes of Northumberland, Dorset, and St. Alban's, on one side; of Newcastle, Montrose, and Beaufort,

on the other. The royal body was followed by the prince regent as chief mourner, supported by the marquisses of Buckingham and Winchester, and attended by the marquisses of Bath, Salisbury, Headfort, Cornwallis, and Camden, as train-bearers: next followed, as assistants to the chief mourner, earl Delaware, viscounts Lake and Bulkeley, lords Boston, Amherst, Arden, Graves, Longford, Beresford, Rivers, Grenville, St. Helens, Henley and Hill. As these severally entered the chapel, the van of the procession moved forward into the choir, the Windsor knights, pages, ushers, and other officers ranging themselves around and on the steps of the altar. The members of the royal family, of whom were present the dukes of York and Sussex, and those noblemen on whom the order of the garter had been conferred, stationed themselves in their respective stalls: the great dignitaries of the church, of whom were present the archbishops of York and Canterbury, with the bishops of London and Salisbury, occupied their respective places within the choir. The royal body having been carried to the steps of the altar, was placed on the platform prepared to receive it; the pall was removed, and the crown and cushion placed on the coffin. The prince regent, as chief mourner, being seated in a chair at the head of the corpse, surrounded by his supporters and train-bearers, standing, the funeral service commenced in the usual manner, as performed at cathedrals, and at the demise of great and illustrious persons. The first psalm having been chanted by the choir, in the same finished manner as the anthem

them with which the ceremony commenced; the service was read by the dean of Windsor, in that unaffected and impressive manner which is required by this sublime portion of our rubric. At the end of the first part, the celebrated anthem by Kent, 'Hear my prayer,' was introduced, and executed in a very finished manner. The body of her majesty was then let down into the vault prepared for it, and the solemnity was closed in the manner usual on these occasions, by the venerable Sir Isaac Heard, who pronounced in a distinct voice, and standing near the grave, the style and titles of her late majesty. As the mourners and attendants on this striking ceremony began slowly to separate and to quit the chapel, the notes of the organ again filled the edifice, and produced at once the richest and most soothing effect. The numerous company separated without the least disorder or inconvenience; and in a few minutes after the obsequies of her late majesty had closed, no vestige remained of the solemn pageantry which had just passed before the eyes of the spectators.

The royal chief mourner was magnificently attired in a large mourning cloak, decorated with a brilliant embossed star; above this appeared first, the splendid collar of the order of the garter, the collar of the bath, the collar of the golden fleece, and the collar of the royal Hanoverian Guelphic order. His royal highness appeared much dejected, and at one time sobbed aloud; the distinguished personages who were present at this solemn scene deeply sympathized in this afflicting trial of filial affection, and the public demeanour through-

ought the whole ceremony evinced a general esteem for the unostentatious benevolence, genuine virtues, and correct example which are now extinguished in the grave. During the funeral service the royal chief mourner alone was seated. Lord Liverpool carried the sword of state before his royal highness. The prince withdrew from the sad scene, accompanied by the dukes of York and Sussex, the dukes of Montrose, Beaufort, and Newcastle, at 25 minutes before 10.

Two Persian princes were amongst those in the organ loft. They were particularly remarked for the sorrowful interest with which they contemplated the awful scene, and also by the richness and singularity of their costume.

It is impossible to dismiss this subject without noticing the limited attendance and homage paid by the peerage on this occasion, as well as by other persons who occupy a distinguished rank in the state: neither was there, we believe, any female of rank who honoured the ceremony with her presence. The funerals of sovereigns are a part of their state, and should be attended with the same marks of exterior respect as any scene over which they may be called, when living, to preside. The choir was by no means filled by the numbers who were in attendance.

Of his majesty's ministers, the following were present: lords Liverpool, Sidmouth; the lord privy seal, the lord president, the honourable C. Bathurst, G. Canning, and W. W. Pole. On no previous public occasion do we recollect to have seen so immense a multitude assembled. Independent of the curiosity excited by the funeral

funeral of a queen, adventitious circumstances concurred to render the ceremony more interesting. Eighty years have elapsed since a similar occurrence took place.

The very correct and audible manner in which sir Isaac Heard, as garter king at arms, pronounced the styles of her late majesty, at the royal interment, excited general admiration; this venerable gentleman, we understand, attains his 88th year on the 10th of next month. It has been his melancholy duty to attend the funeral ceremonies of six members of our royal family, viz.—(according to their generations)—George II., Frederick Prince of Wales, queen Charlotte, princess Amelia, princess Charlotte of Wales, and her royal infant.

The day previous to that on which the remains of her late majesty lay in state at Kew palace, was marked by a melancholy act of real unostentatious charity. It appears, that as soon as her majesty had taken up her residence at Kew (unfortunately never to quit it with life), she directed some of her female attendants to ascertain as privately as possible, which were the most industrious and deserving families among the poor of that parish, their characters, earnings, and the number of their children. This having been done, a large quantity of female and children's clothing was prepared, under the personal direction of herself and her illustrious daughters, and made up into separate parcels, with the name of each of the families they were intended for written on the outside. These were intended by her majesty to have been distributed, with other gifts, on an occasion which she then

fondly hoped would soon arrive—the day of her removal to Windsor castle. This hope, so long and ardently cherished by the royal sufferer, it was fated should never be realized; and the princesses, in order to fulfil as far as possible the intentions of their lamented parent, ordered the distribution to take place before the removal of her remains; and accordingly they were sent to the families they were intended for.

Her late majesty's establishment.—As every arrangement respecting her late majesty has been hitherto guided by the precedent of queen Caroline, or nearly so, we have no doubt that many very worthy ladies and gentlemen will be pleased if the following, particularly, are likewise closely copied:—

Nov. 24, 1737.—"All the late queen's horses and equipages, according to ancient usage, devolve to her master of the horse, and four equerries, for whose behalf they are to be appraised and sold."

25.—"His majesty was graciously pleased to sign an order, that all such noblemen, gentlemen, and ladies, as well as domestics, that held any place of honour or profit under her late majesty, should enjoy their respective salaries, &c. as formerly, for their lives."

Dec. 18.—"His majesty gave orders for continuing all the late queen's charitable purposes, said to amount to 13,000*l.* a year."

At the recorder's report to the prince regent on Monday, of the convicts under sentence of death in Newgate, who were convicted last September sessions, the following were ordered for execution on Tuesday next, viz.—John Driscoll, William Wheeler, and G. Cashman, for uttering forged bank notes;

notes; and J. T. L. B. Williams, for a burglary.

Yesterday morning the curiosities, &c., brought from Baffin's-bay, by captain Ross, were landed at Whitehall-stairs, from the boats of the *Isabella* and *Alexander* discovery ships. There are four dogs and two bitches, the former larger than the latter; three are almost black, one black and white, and two brownish, and appear nearly of the same species as those of *Kamschatka*, with heads and tails resembling a fox; their skins exceedingly thick, with long hair; they are very docile, and represented as of great strength. Among the curiosities was an amazingly large skin of a white bear, about 7 feet in length: a sledge of bone, about 5 feet long and two high, with the whip, &c. used by the newly-discovered inhabitants; specimens of mineralogy and botany, and some very remarkable star-fish. The whole of the productions were conveyed to the British Museum, for the inspection of the public.

DOG OF GALLOWAY.

The following singular instance of animal sagacity occurred a short time ago:—While one of the *Dalbeattie* carriers was on his way to *Dumfries*, he had occasion to stop at some houses by the road side, in the way of his business, leaving his cart and horse upon the public road, under the protection of the passengers and a trusty dog. Upon his return he missed a led horse, belonging to a gentleman in the neighbourhood, which had been tied to the end of the cart, and likewise one of the female passengers. On inquiry, he was informed that during his absence the female, who had been anxious to try the mettle of the pony, had

mounted it, and that the animal had immediately set off at full speed. The carrier expressed much anxiety for the safety of the young woman, at the same time he cast an expressive look at his dog. *Oscar* observed his master's eye, and aware of its meaning, instantly set off in pursuit of the pony, which he came up with soon after he had passed the first toll-bar on the *Dalbeattie* road, when he made a sudden spring, seized the bridle, and held the animal fast!—Several people having observed the circumstance, and the perilous situation of the girl, came to relieve her: *Oscar*, however, notwithstanding their repeated endeavours, would not quit his hold, and the pony was actually led into a stable with the dog, till such time as the carrier should arrive. Upon the carrier entering the stable, *Oscar* wagged his tail in token of satisfaction, and immediately relinquished the bridle to his master.

The weather during the last two or three days has been so severe, as to make us recollect that we are far advanced in the wintry month of December. A strong proof, however, of its previous mildness was yesterday exhibited on *Westminster-bridge*, where a countryman was standing with a considerable quantity of hawthorn in full bloom, and was offering slips of it at 6*d.* a-piece to the various passengers.

The fog was again uncommonly intense in and round the metropolis yesterday morning. In the *Whitechapel-road*, several carts from *Essex*, coming to market, were overturned: one of these, bringing misletoe, &c. to town, was met near *Stratford* by a post-chaise

chaise and pair, the pole of which ran into the cart-horse's chest, and hurt it so much that the poor animal died in about half an hour afterwards. The fog continued to increase till the evening, when it became so dense as to excite alarm for all persons, either in carriages or on foot, who might happen to be out in it.

Dublin, Dec. 12.

The archduke Maximilian and suite visited the bank of Ireland on Thursday, and minutely inspected the several departments of that establishment. He was attended by the governor, deputy-governor, and directors, and a select number of distinguished persons, previously invited for the occasion. His imperial highness was conducted through the principal suite of offices, and appeared much gratified with the neatness and order which prevailed throughout. The company afterwards proceeded to the engraving and printing department. The process of engraving, printing, numbering, &c. was particularly explained to him, and he seemed much struck with the expedition and perfection of the improved steamprinting-press, the details of which he examined with great minuteness. The peculiarities of the bank-note were accurately described, with the principle of engraving, which has been so instrumental in producing the immediate detection of forgeries, some of which were presented to him, but which, he observed, he had no difficulty in immediately recognising. He was particularly anxious to learn every thing respecting the mode of engraving whereby such continued identity is produced, and was presented with a proof impression of the

note. The numbering process, and its beautiful simplicity and execution, also attracted much of his attention. Among the many objects which he examined, he was much occupied with the operation of an ingenious levigating machine by which the printing-ink is pulverised in an extraordinary manner; and most minutely examined the whole, as if anxious to understand the principles of intricate motions. On entering the room in which was the steam-engine at full work, he expressed himself as much gratified; and repeatedly observed the extraordinary neatness and cleanliness which every where prevailed.

IRON IN ROSES.

It has been mentioned as something extraordinary, that Dr. Clarke, of Cambridge, "has satisfactorily ascertained the presence of iron in the petals of red roses." But red or other, this is surely no new discovery; for M. Lemery a century ago detected iron even in honey, and there is little doubt that it enters into the composition of all plants. In an edition of Chambers's Dictionary, 1751, we have these remarks under the head *Honey*:—"What is very remarkable is, that honey, in virtue of its vegetable nature, is discovered by M. Lemery to contain iron; which discovery may serve as an answer to M. Geoffroy's chymical question, 'Whether there is any part of a plant without iron?' For, if so delicate an extract from the finest part of the flower, and this further elaborated in the little viscera of the insect, be not void of iron, we may despair of seeing any part so."

EXTRAORDINARY ROBBER.

For some time past a very fine French

French dog has been observed, at the west end of the town, going from door to door begging. His practice is, if he perceives any person in the shop, to lift up his paws, and remain in that position until something is given to him. If he does not see any one, he will enter and carry off something. On Monday night, at dusk, he was seen going into Peter Finney's shop, in Peter-street, and run off with a parcel of sarcenet which lay on the counter. It is evident he has been trained to the practice.

There is now in the garden of Samuel Daniels, esq. of Colchester, an espalier tree, which this year produced between 20 and 30 pears, the largest of which weighed two pounds, with the exception of half-an-ounce, and the eight largest about fourteen pounds and a-half; several persons who saw them for the first time when gathered, were perfectly astonished at their immense size. The tree has, in a former year, borne a pear weighing one pound and three quarters, with others very little inferior to it. The fruit of this year were gathered on the 2d ult., and in consequence of the mildness of the season, might probably have attained a greater perfection, if suffered to remain longer undisturbed.—*Dec. 8. E.D.*

A novel kind of explosion took place in the kitchen of Mr. Huntley, Bishopwearmouth Green, on the morning of Sunday week. Mr. Huntley jun. was standing near the kitchen fire, when the oven in *an entire state* was projected past him on to the floor; and at the same time a report as loud as that of a small cannon assailed his ears. Upon investigation, it

was ascertained that the oven not having been in use for several months, and the damper being down, a quantity of carburetted hydrogen gas or fire damp had lodged in the flue of the oven, and there mixing with the atmospheric air was ignited by the kitchen fire.

SPURIOUS PEPPER.

The last Glasgow Courier says, "The adulteration of ground pepper, by mixing it with a spurious article, composed mostly of the refuse of mustard husks, is too well known to admit of a doubt. The following occurrence will show, that the deception is now carried into practice, even in the sale of that article in the underground state. A few weeks since a porter called at Mr. Lloyd's shop in High-street, and in mistake left a parcel with the shopman, having no name upon it, and marked 28lb. *Black Patriots*. On examination, it was found to be a very close imitation of whole pepper, and could hardly be detected until broken. It appears to consist of a composition of ground coal, flour and earth, and manufactured in the same way as confections. The owner has not thought prudent to claim his property."

LONGEVITY.

On Thursday last died, in Wickham-street, Portsea, in the 118th year of his age, Thomas Bolwell, a native of that town. He formerly, during many years, sold water about the streets; and afterwards, when the infirmities of old age had incapacitated him for that employ, he kept a small shop for the sale of wood and coals. His memory was good up to his last moments; he would frequently

frequently recur to the total eclipse of the sun on the 22d of April 1715, of which event he ever retained a perfect recollection. He was married to one wife 80 years, who died in the 101st year of her age.

William Scott, of the West Hirst, in Rothbury Forest, has bred and kept a pet ewe, to the age of 22 years, which has brought forth 20 times twin lambs, and the last year a single lamb—41 in all, and she is at present in a thriving condition.

The issue of one and two pound notes by the bank of England averages 30,000*l.* a day.

It is one of the important results of chemical science, that the various products from the distillation of coal amount to nearly six times the price of the original article. A chaldron of Newcastle coals, which costs about 3*l.*, will produce

1½ chaldron of coke,	
at 3 <i>l.</i>	£1 18 9
12 gallons of tar, at 10 <i>d.</i>	0 10 0
18 gallons of ammoniacal liquor, at 6 <i>d.</i>	0 9 0
20,000 cubic feet of gas, at 15 <i>s.</i> per 1000 cubic feet	15 0 0

£17 17 9

William Weller was hanged in the Old Bailey, with Cashman and Driscoll, on Tuesday, the 15th instant, for circulating forged bank-notes. On the proofs of his guilt, or the expedience of his execution, I do not presume to remark; but after the execution his corpse was delivered for interment to his friends; and from the very room in which was placed the coffin with that corpse, and during its continuance in that 1818.

room, some forged bank-notes have been uttered by his confederates; and three persons have been apprehended for issuing notes, probably obtained at that place, and are committed for further examination for that offence.

On this statement it would be absurd to dilate. The conclusions are as obvious as irresistible. The facts demonstrate the total inefficacy of the punishment of death for the suppression of such crimes. In all future and approaching discussions they should not be forgot. They may much aid the efforts of the wise and good to prevail on the legislature to abolish a punishment so sanguinary and unavailing; and to compel the bank of England to resume cash payments, and to make such improvements in their notes as will render forgery more difficult and detection more certain, and as will protect the community from fraud, and preserve the unfortunate from temptation and from guilt. JOHN WILKS.

EXTRAORDINARY MILDNESS OF THE SEASON.

In the neighbourhood of this town (Plymouth) may be seen, in the gardens (Dec. 8.) in full bloom, jonquils, narcissuses, hyacinths, anemones, pinks, stocks, African and French marigolds, the passion flower, and monthly roses, in great perfection, ripe strawberries and raspberries. In the fields and hedges, the sweet-scented violets, heart's-ease, purple vetch, red robin, wild strawberry blossom, and many others. The oak and the elm retain much of their foliage, and the birds are sometimes heard as in spring.

In many parts of this county (Sussex) the oats and barley which (I) were

(130) PRINCIPAL OCCURRENCES. [Dec.

were sown did not make their appearance at the proper time, in consequence of the dryness of the season. They have, however, within this last month sprung up very luxuriantly; and if the frost this winter should not be severe, a crop, ripe enough for cutting, will be in readiness unusually early in the next year.

A remarkable fact occurred in the park of lord Grantley at Womersh, near Guildford, a short time since. A fawn drinking was

suddenly pounced upon by one of the swans, which pulled the animal into the water, and held it under until quite drowned. This was observed by the other deer in the park, and did not long go unrevenge; for shortly after, this very swan, which had hitherto never been molested by the deer, was singled out when on land, and furiously attacked by a herd, which surrounded and presently killed the offender.

STATE OF NEWGATE.

	Males.	Females.
Convicts under sentence of death . . .	50	10
Ditto whose judgment had been respited . . .	3	2
Ditto under sentence of transportation for life . . .	7	10
Ditto ditto or 14 years . . .	3	11
Ditto ditto for 7 years . . .	52	30
Ditto ditto imprisonment for felony and misdemeanours . . .	36	16
Prisoners for trial, &c.	110	30
Total 370	261	109

Of the prisoners for trial, there are

For bigamy . . . 1	Highway robbery . . . 7
For burglary . . . 2	Horse-stealing . . . 3
Stealing from the person . . . 8	Stealing in a dwelling-house . . . 13
House-breaking . . . 3	Receiving stolen goods . . . 2
Offences for the county assizes . . . 2	Larcenies . . . 78
Forgery . . . 3	Embezzlement . . . 1
Uttering forged notes . . . 12	Stealing in a shop . . . 5

The LONDON GENERAL BILL of

CHRISTENINGS and BURIALS from December 16, 1817, to December 15, 1818:—

Christened in the 97 parishes within the walls, 1,048; buried, 1,204.

Christened in the 17 parishes without the walls, 5,317; buried, 4,078.

Christened in the 23 out-parishes in Middlesex and Surrey, 13,410; buried, 10,099

Christened in the 10 parishes in the city and liberties of Westminster, 4,458; buried, 4,324.

Christened	{	Males 12,580	}	In all,	{	Buried	{	Males 9,883	}	In all,	{	Decrease in
		Females 11,703						24,233				

Died under 2 years	5381	20 and 30 -	1453	60 and 70 -	1585	100....	1.
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Between 2 and 5	1815	30 and 40 -	1884	70 and 80 -	1271	101....	1.
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5 and 10	808	40 and 50 -	2040	80 and 90 -	722	102....	1.
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10 and 20	703	50 and 60 -	1864	90 and 100	175	108....	1.
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DISEASES.		Fevers of all kinds	1170	Rupture	38	Excessive Drink-	
Abscess	103	Fistula	9	Scrofula	12	ing	5
Aged	1923	Gout	58	Small Pox	421	Executed*	11
Ague	1	Gravel, Stone, and	11	Sore Throat	11	Found Dead	14
Apoplexy and		Strangury	17	Spasms	78	Fractured	1
suddenly	512	Hemorrhage	43	St. Anthony's Fire	8	Frighted	3
Asthma	859	Inflammation	1203	Still-born	654	Killed by Falls and	
Cancer	97	Jaundice	91	Teething	445	several other Ac-	
Canker	1	Liver-complaint	72	Thrush	107	cidents	92
Chicken Pox	2	Jaw-locked	1	Venereal	19	Killed by Fighting.	1
Childbed	221	Lunacy	228	Water in the Chest	101	Murdered	2
Consumption	4242	Measles	728	— on the Brain	406	Poisoned	6
Convulsions	3205	Miscarriage	2	Worms	6	Scalded	8
Cough, and Hooping-		Mortification	368			Starved	1
Cough	839	Palpitation of the		CASUALTIES.		Strangled	1
Croup	113	Heart	7	Broken Limbs	13	Suffocated	8
Dropsy	709	Palsy	187	Burnt	3	Suicides	40
Dysentery	16	Pleurisy	15	Drowned	117		
		Rheumatism	13			Total	344

* There have been executed in the city of London and county of Surrey, 24; of which number 11 only have been reported to be buried within the Bills of Mortality.

BIRTHS in the year 1818.

January. Of sons and heirs:

The lady of sir John Salisbury,
lady Louisa Lambton, the lady of
sir L. Palk.

Of sons: the countess of Aber-
deen, the lady of sir R. Hill, the
lady of sir G. Webster, the coun-
tess of Surrey, viscountess Here-
ford, lady Huntingfield, lady Lid-
dell, lady Trimblestown.

Of daughters: the lady of sir
W. Anson, lady St. John, lady C.
Wrottesley, the hon. Mrs. Grey
Bennet, lady E. Percival.

February. Of sons and heirs:

the hon. Mrs. Drummond Bur-
nell, the lady of sir Alexander
Mackenzie, the countess of March.

Of sons: lady Ranelagh, the
wife of major-general Hope, the
wife of P. Methuen, M. P., the
wife of T. O. Powlet.

Of daughters: the lady of sir
A. Hood, lady Oswald.

March. Of sons and heirs:
the countess of Warwick, lady
E. Lowther, lady Hoste.

Of sons: hon. Mrs. Grey, coun-
tess of Clonmell, countess of Ca-
van, lady E. Norman, hon. Mrs.

(12) Boothby,

Boothby, marchioness of Anglesey.

Of daughters: lady Fellowes, countess of Waldegrave, lady Bridport.

April. Of sons and heirs: lady Strangford, Mrs. Laisley.

Of sons: lady J. Taylor, lady Kennedy, lady Joscelyn, lady Gort, lady Ebrington.

Of daughters: countess of Euston, marchioness of Tweeddale, the lady of sir J. Honeywood.

May. Of sons and heirs: hon. Mrs. Stewart Mackenzie.

Of sons: lady of sir A. O. Molesworth, Mrs. Wilbraham Egerton, lady Fitzherbert, hon. lady H. Bagot, lady Walpole.

Of daughters: lady H. Drummond, hon. Mrs. Erskine, Mrs. Long Wellesley.

June. Of sons: hon. Mrs. P. P. Bouverie, lady J. Littleton, lady K. Halkett.

Of daughters: hon. Mrs. Wellington, lady A. J. Drummond.

July. Of sons: lady C. D'Arcy, lady Torrington, lady C. Neville.

Of daughters: lady J. Somerset, lady A. Wardlaw, marchioness of Waterford, lady Butler.

August. Of sons and heirs: lady Joddrell, lady Manners, lady Ford.

Of sons: lady S. Murray, the lady of the bishop of Gloucester, lady Stourton, countess of Huntingdon, countess Compton, lady A. S. Boyce, lady Palmer.

Of daughters: lady Banbury, lady E. Smith, duchess of Newcastle, countess of Errol, lady Lindsey, lady H. W. Wynne.

September. Of sons and heirs: lady E. Balfour, countess of Normanton, lady C. St. Leger.

Of sons: marchioness of Lo-

thian, lady Gardiner, lady J. Pym.

Of daughters: lady Sinclair, lady J. Hay, countess Delawarre.

October. Of a son and heir: countess of Dysart.

Of sons: lady W. T. Pole, lady Carew, countess Verulam, lady Graves, lady G. Anson, countess of Shannon.

Of daughters: lady J. J. Fitzgerald, the lady of sir R. Giffard, countess Munster of twin daughters.

November. Of a son and heir: countess of Westmeath.

Of sons: lady Lucy Clive, lady W. M. Napier.

Of daughters: lady C. Denys, lady H. D. Ross.

December. Of sons: duchess of St. Alban's, duchess of Rutland, countess of Minto, lady Blantyre.

Of daughters: countess of Aberdeen, the lady of sir Ja. Lake.

MARRIAGES in the year 1818.

February. Lord Clive to lady L. Graham, daughter of the duke of Montrose.

March. Earl of Athlone to miss Hope, daughter of J. W. Hope, esq.

Lord viscount Newport, eldest son of the earl of Bradford, to Georgina, daughter of sir J. Moncrieff.

Sir E. Kent to lady Sophia Lygon, daughter of the late earl of Beauchamp.

May. The hon. Horace Seymour to Elizabeth, daughter of the late sir L. Palk.

Hon. G. Proby to Isabella, daughter to the hon. col. Howard.

Right hon. H. Manvers Pierrepont, to lady S. Cecil, daughter of the late marquis of Exeter.

June.

June. The duke of Leinster, to lady Charlotte Augusta Stanhope, daughter of the earl of Harrington.

Lord Cochrane to Miss C. C. Barnes.

Lord George Lenox to Louisa, daughter of the hon. J. Rodney.

July. The marquis of Bute to lady Maria North, daughter of the late earl of Guildford.

Lord James Steuart to miss Tighe.

Lord viscount Cranley to Mary, daughter of G. Fludyer, M.P.

August. Hon. Mr. Clifford to miss Weld.

Lord viscount Normanby to Maria, daughter of sir J. H. Liddell.

September. Earl Brownlow to Caroline, daughter of George Fludyer, esq.

Charles Newcomen, esq., to the hon. Cath. Newcomen, daughter of the late lord Newcomen.

October. Sir William Gomm to Sophia, daughter of Granville Penn, esq.

Right honourable colonel Odell to miss A. M. Fenucane.

November. Honourable P. Boyle de Blaquiére to Elizabeth, daughter of William Roper, esq.

December. Sir J. Burgoyne to Charlotte, daughter of the late M. Head, esq.

ROYAL MARIAGES.

April 7. At the queen's house, the princess Elizabeth to Philip Augustus Frederic, hereditary prince of Hesse Homburg.

May, 29. At Cobourg, his royal highness the duke of Kent to the princess dowager of Leiningen, sister to the prince of Cobourg.

June 1. At the queen's palace,

the duke of Cambridge to the princess of Hesse, youngest daughter of the landgrave of Hesse.

11. At the palace at Kew, his royal highness the duke of Clarence to the princess of Saxe Meinengen.

DEATHS in the year 1812.

January. In Duke-street, St. James's, count Zenobio, aged 56, a Venetian nobleman of very ancient family.

At York, the dowager lady Vavasour, aged 88.

The marquis of Abercorn, aged 64.

Sir C. C. de Crespigny, aged 83.

February. At Amptill, the earl of Upper Ossory, aged 73.

Dr. Thomas Cogan, one of the founders of the Humane Society, and author of *A Tour on the Rhine*, and other works, aged 82.

Lady M. Kerr, sister of the late duke of Roxburgh, aged 72.

At Dunulichen, N. B. George Dempster, esq., aged 86; a man whose memory will long be respected in Scotland for his genuine and useful patriotism.

Sir G. Berkeley, admiral of the White, brother of the late earl of Berkeley, aged 65.

March. The dowager lady Arbuthnot.

Lady C. Wrottesly, wife of sir J. Wrottesly.

H. Repton, esq., well known for his works on landscape gardening.

April. Lady Anne Hudson, daughter of the marquis of Townshend.

At Melbourne-house, lady Melbourne, aged 66.

The countess of Bellamont, (13) sister

sister to the late duke of Leinster, aged 66.

May. Sir G. Hope, rear-admiral of the Red, aged 52.

The prince of Condé, aged 82.

At Rome, the earl of Sandwich, aged 46.

Isaac Hawkins Browne, esq. aged 73.

June. Lord Newark, aged 76.

Lady Althorp.

Rt. hon. J. Hiley Addington.

Pat. Brydone, esq. author of *A Tour in Sicily*; at a very advanced age.

At Springfield Castle, Ireland, lord Muskerry, aged 73.

In Dublin, the countess of Bective.

Sir G. Osborn, bart. aged 77.

At Edinburgh, sir John Anstruther, bart.

July. The earl of Kerry, aged 78.

In Grosvenor-place, lord Muncaster, aged 74.

Mrs. Pope, formerly of Drury-lane theatre, aged 75.

Lord Anson.

August. John Palmer, esq. who first planned and established the mail coaches.

Sir John Barrington, bart. aged 66.

Sir Gilbert King, bart. aged 72.

Rt. hon. Warren Hastings, so celebrated in the history of India, and for his impeachment; aged 86.

Lord Audley, aged 61.

September. At Dublin, the earl of Wicklow.

At Uffington-house, the earl of Lindsey, aged 74.

Miss Banks, sister of sir Joseph Banks, aged 74.

October. Lady Northwick, widow of the late lord Northwick.

At Dublin, lady Mount Stamford, aged 56.

At Mount Edgcombe, lord Valletort, aged 24.

Lady Romilly.

November. Sir Samuel Romilly: the causes of his death, and the circumstances attending it, are given in a preceding part of this volume.

At Dungannon-park, viscount Northland, aged 90.

At Ashton-park, Richard Howard, esq. aged 86.

The dowager countess of Dunmore.

December. Lord Ellenborough, chief justice of the king's bench, aged 68.

Sir Philip Francis, aged 78.

PROMOTIONS in the year 1818.

January. General sir P. Maitland, to be lieutenant-governor of Upper Canada.

Admiral sir R. Bickerton, to be lieutenant-general of the marines.

Admiral sir G. Hope, to be major-general of the marines.

Major-general sir J. Keane, to be governor and commander in chief of St. Lucia.

Sir Thomas Plummer, to be master of the rolls.

Right honourable sir J. Leach, to be vice-chancellor of England.

Right honourable F. J. Robinson, to be president of the board of trade.

February. Lord Grantham, to be lord-lieutenant of Bedfordshire.

Right honourable F. J. Robinson, to be treasurer of his majesty's navy.

March. The duke of Richmond, to be captain-general and governor

governor in chief of the two Canadas, Nova Scotia, &c.

May. Sir R. G. Keats, to be major-general of his majesty's marine forces.

Sir C. Hamilton, to be governor and commander in chief of Newfoundland.

The earl of Errol, to be lord high commissioner to the general assembly of the church of Scotland.

October. The marquis of Hastings, to be a knight of the grand cross of the order of the bath.

November. Earl of Dalhousie, to be governor-general and commander in chief at the Cape of Good Hope.

Mr. justice Abbott, to be lord chief justice of the court of king's bench.

Mr. justice Dallas, to be chief justice of the court of common pleas.

December. The duke of Wellington, to be master-general of his majesty's ordnance.

W. Draper Best, esq., to be a judge of the court of king's bench.

R. Richardson, esq., to be a judge of the court of common pleas.

SHERIFFS *for the year 1818.*

Bedfordshire. J. Pedley, esq. of Eaton Bray.

Berkshire. R. Palmer, esq. of Holme-park.

Bucks. George Hassel, esq. of Cholesbury.

Cambridgeshire and Hants, not appointed.

Cheshire. H. Aston, esq. of Ashton.

Cumberland. M. Hartley, esq. of Rose-hill.

Derbyshire. J. C. Girardot, esq. of Allestree.

Devonshire. Sir W. T. Pole, bart. of Shute.

Dorsetshire. J. Disney, esq. of Corscombe.

Essex. T. T. Daubuz, esq. of Layton.

Gloucestershire. D. Ricardo, esq. of Gatcomb-park.

Herefordshire. J. Williams, esq. of Willcroft.

Herts. G. Palmer, esq. of Much Hadham.

Kent. W. H. Baldock, esq. of Petham.

Lancashire. F. Fedden, esq. of Wetton-house.

Leicestershire. Sir G. Robinson, bart. of Stretton.

Lincolnshire. J. C. L. Calcraft, esq. of Ancaster.

Monmouthshire. N. Wells, esq. of Piercefield.

Norfolk. E. Lomb, esq. of Great Malton.

Northamptonshire. J. Booth, esq. of Glendon.

Northumberland. R. L. Allgood, esq. of Nunwich.

Nottinghamshire. H. Walker, esq. of Blyth.

Oxon. P. L. Powis, esq. of Hardwick.

Rutlandshire. R. Peach, esq. of Lyddington.

Shropshire. T. Botfield, esq. of Hopton-court.

Somersetshire. J. Evered, esq. of Hill.

Staffordshire. E. T. Nichols, esq. of Swithamby-park.

Southampton. R. Goodland, esq. of Hill-place.

Suffolk. C. Berners, esq. of Woolston.

Surrey. H. Peters, esq. of Betchworth-castle.

Sussex. J. King, Esq. of Loxwood.

Warwickshire. R. Vyner, esq. of Gathorpe.

Wilts. Alex. Powell, esq. of Hardcott-house.

Worcestershire. H. Wall, esq. of Hallon-park.

Yorkshire. J. York, esq. of Richmond.

NORTH WALES.

Anglesey. J. Price, esq. of Cadnant.

Carnarvonshire. T. Jones, esq. of Bryntision.

Denbighshire. Ed. Lloyd, esq. of Berth.

Flintshire. J. Wynn Eaton, esq. of Leeswood.

Merionethshire. J. Edwards, esq. of Tinyloed.

Montgomeryshire. J. Edwards, esq. of Machynleth.

SOUTH WALES.

Brecknockshire. J. Wilkins, esq. of Cae.

Cardiganshire. J. Jones, esq. of Derry Ormond.

Carmarthenshire. L. Price Jones, esq. of Glannyrannell.

Pembrokeshire. R. Ackland, esq. of Boulston.

Radnorshire. H. Stephens, esq. of Cascob.

Appointed by the prince of Wales.

Cornwall. F. Hearle Rodd, esq. of Trebatha-hall.

PUBLIC PAPERS.

LIST OF PUBLIC ACTS

Passed in the Sixth Session of the Fifth Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.—58 Geo. III. A. D. 1818.

1. **A**N act to repeal an act made in the last session of Parliament, intituled 'an act to Continue an act to empower his majesty to secure and detain such persons as his majesty shall suspect are conspiring against his person and government.'

2. To suspend, until the end of the present session of parliament, the operation of an act made in the last session of parliament, to provide for the more deliberate investigation of presentments to be made by grand juries for roads and public works in Ireland, and for accounting for money raised by such presentments.

3. For continuing to his majesty certain duties on malt, sugar, tobacco and snuff, in Great Britain; and on pensions, offices, and personal estates in England; for the service of the year 1818.

4. For raising the sum of thirty millions, by exchequer bills, for the service of the year 1818.

5 To indemnify such persons in the united kingdom as have

omitted to qualify themselves for offices and employments, and for extending the time limited for those purposes respectively, until the 25th day of March 1819; and to permit such persons in Great Britain as have omitted to make and file affidavits of the execution of indentures of clerks to attorneys and solicitors, to make and file the same on or before the first day of Hilary term, 1819; and to allow persons to make and file such affidavits, although the persons whom they served shall have neglected to take out their annual certificates.

6. For indemnifying persons who since the 26th day of January 1817 have acted in apprehending, imprisoning, or detaining in custody persons suspected of high treason or treasonable practices, and in the suppression of tumultuous and unlawful assemblies.

7. To indemnify all persons who have been concerned in advising, issuing, or carrying into execution any order or orders for permitting the importation and exportation of certain goods and commodities in foreign bottoms into and out of certain of his majesty's West-India islands.

8. To authorize the governors
of

of the hospital of king Charles the 2nd for ancient and maimed officers and soldiers of the army of Ireland (usually called the royal hospital at Kilmainham) to suspend or take away the pensions of such pensioners of the said hospital as shall be guilty of any fraud in respect of prize-money or pensions, or of any other gross misconduct.

9. To further continue until the 5th day of July 1818 two acts of the 54th year of his present majesty, for repealing the duties of customs on madder imported into Great Britain, and for granting other duties in lieu thereof.

10. To rectify a mistake in an act passed in the 55th year of the reign of his present majesty for punishing mutiny and desertion, and to indemnify certain persons in relation thereto.

11. For punishing mutiny and desertion; and for the better payment of the army and their quarters.

12. For the regulating of his majesty's royal marine forces while on shore.

13. For charging duties on licenses for retailing aqua vitæ in Scotland.

14. To amend an act of the last session of parliament for preventing the further circulation of dollars and tokens issued by the governor and company of the bank of England.

15. To amend an act made in the 26th year of his present majesty for the encouragement of the fisheries carried on in the Greenland seas and Davis's straits, so far as relates to the oaths thereby required to be taken.

16. To continue until the 5th

day of April 1819, and amend an act of the 56th year of his present majesty, for reducing the duties payable on horses used for the purposes therein mentioned.

17. For charging certain duties on four-wheeled carriages constructed and drawn in the manner therein described.

18. To charge an additional duty on corks ready-made, imported into Ireland.

19. To allow for three years, and until six weeks after the commencement of the then next session of parliament, the importation into ports specially appointed by his majesty, within the provinces of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, of the articles therein enumerated, and the re-exportation thereof from such ports.

20. For more effectually discovering the longitude at sea, and encouraging attempts to find a northern passage between the Atlantic and Pacific oceans, and to approach the Northern pole.

21. To revive, and continue until the 5th day of July 1819 several laws relating to the duties on glass made in Great Britain; and to prohibit the making of smalts within a certain distance of any other glass-house, or by the maker of any other kind of glass.

22. For fixing the rates of subsistence to be paid to innkeepers and others on quartering soldiers.

23. For raising the sum of three millions by the transfer of certain 3l. per centum annuities into other annuities, at the rate of 3l. 10s. per centum; and for granting annuities to discharge certain exchequer bills.

24. For enabling his majesty to make further provision for his

royal highness the duke of Cambridge, and to settle an annuity on the princess of Hesse in case she shall survive his said royal highness.

25. For enabling his majesty to settle an annuity on her royal highness the duchess of Cumberland in case of her surviving, his royal highness the duke of Cumberland.

26. To continue until the 5th day of July 1819 two acts made in the 54th and 56th years of his present majesty's reign for regulating the trade in spirits between Great Britain and Ireland reciprocally, and to amend the same.

27. To permit the importation of certain articles into his majesty's colonies or plantations in the West-Indies, or on the continent of South America; and also certain articles into certain ports in the West-Indies.

28. To repeal an act made in the 56th year of his present majesty's reign for establishing the use of an hydrometer called Sikes's hydrometer, in ascertaining the strength of spirits, instead of Clarke's hydrometer; and for making other provisions in lieu thereof.

29. For regulating the payment of fees for pardons under the great seal.

30. For preventing frivolous and vexatious actions of assault and battery, and for slanderous words, in courts.

31. To amend an act passed in the 53d year of his majesty's reign to make further regulations for the building and repairing of court houses and sessions houses in Ireland.

32. To amend so much of an act of the 55th year of his present

majesty as relates to the salaries of clergymen officiating as chaplains in houses of correction.

33. To alter the allowance for broken plate glass, and to exempt manufacturers of certain glass wares from penalties for not being licensed.

34. To repeal the several bounties on the exportation of refined sugar from any part of the united kingdom, and to allow other bounties in lieu thereof, until the 5th day of July 1820, and for reducing the size of the packages in which refined sugar may be exported.

35. To provide for the maintaining of the royal canal from the river Liffey to the river Shannon in Ireland.

36. To carry into execution a treaty made between his majesty and the king of Spain for the preventing traffic in slaves.

37. For further continuing until the 5th day of July 1819 an act of the 54th year of his present majesty to continue the restrictions contained in several acts of his present majesty on payments of cash by the bank of England.

38. To extend and render more effectual the present regulations for the relief of sea-faring men and boys, subjects of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in foreign parts.

39. To explain and amend an act passed in the 56th year of the reign of his present majesty for amending the law of Ireland respecting the recovery of tenelements from absconding, overholding, and defaulting tenants, and for the protection of the tenant from undue distress.

40. To continue the laws now in

in force relating to yeomanry corps in Ireland.

41. To amend an act made in the 56th year of his present majesty for regulating and securing the collection of the duties on paper in Ireland, and to allow a drawback of the duty on paper used in printing certain books at the press of Trinity College, Dublin.

42. For enabling the trustee of certain premises at Great Yarmouth, in the county of Norfolk, held in trust for his majesty, to execute a conveyance of the same to a purchaser thereof.

43. For preventing the destruction of the breed of salmon, and fish of salmon kind, in the rivers of England.

44. To alter the application of part of the sum of 50,000*l.* granted by an act passed in the 56th year of the reign of his present majesty, intituled 'An act for improving the road from the city of Glasgow to the city of Carlisle.'

45. For building and promoting the building of additional churches in populous parishes.

46. For relief of persons entitled to entailed estates to be purchased with trust moneys, in that part of the united kingdom called Ireland.

47. To establish fever hospitals, and to make other regulations for the relief of the suffering poor, and for preventing the increase of infectious fevers in Ireland.

48. To amend an act passed in the last session of parliament to encourage the establishment of banks for savings in England

49. To explain three acts passed in the 46th, 47th, and 51st years of his majesty's reign respectively for the abolition of the slave-trade.

50. To amend and continue until the 10th day of November 1820 an act passed in the 56th year of his present majesty to repeal the duties payable in Scotland upon wash and spirits, and distillers' licenses; to grant other duties in lieu thereof; and to establish further regulations for the distillation of spirits from corn, for home consumption, in Scotland.

51. To amend certain acts passed in the 4th year of king Edward the 4th; 1st and 10th years of queen Anne; 1st, 12th, and 13th years of king George the 1st; 13th, 22nd and 29th years of king George the 2nd; and 13th and 57th years of king George the 3rd; prohibiting the payment of the wages of workmen in certain trades otherwise than in the lawful coin or money of this realm.

52. To continue until the 20th day of June 1820 an act of the 52nd year of his present majesty for the more effectual preservation of the peace by enforcing the duties of watching and warding.

53. For enabling his majesty to make further provision for his royal highness the duke of Kent, and to settle an annuity on the princess of Leiningen in case she shall survive his said royal highness.

54. To grant certain rates, duties, and taxes in Ireland, in respect of fire hearths, windows, male servants, horses, carriages, and dogs, in lieu of former rates, duties, and taxes thereon; and to provide for the payment thereof to the collectors of excise, and for the more effectual accounting for the same.

55. To continue until the 5th day of July 1819 two acts of the 54th

54th year of his present majesty for repealing the duties of customs on madder imported into Great Britain, and for granting other duties in lieu thereof.

56. To make perpetual an act of the 46th year of his present majesty for granting an additional bounty on the exportation of the silk manufactures of Great Britain.

57. To amend an act of the 55th year of his present majesty for granting duties of excise in Ireland upon certain licenses, and for securing the payment of such duties, and the regulating of the issuing of such licenses.

58. To defray the charge of the pay, clothing, and contingent expenses of the disembodied militia in Great Britain; and for granting allowances in certain cases to subaltern officers, adjutants, quartermasters, surgeons, surgeons' mates, and serjeant majors of militia, until the 25th day of March 1819.

59. For defraying until the 25th day of June 1819 the charge of the pay and clothing of the militia of Ireland; and for making allowances in certain cases to subaltern officers of the said militia during peace.

60. To continue until three months after the ceasing of any restriction imposed on the bank of England from issuing cash in payment, the several acts for confirming and continuing the restrictions on payments in cash by the bank of Ireland.

61. For the better accommodation of his majesty's packets within the harbour on the north side of the Hill of Howth, and for the better regulation of the shipping therein.

62. To continue until the 1st day of August 1819 two acts of his present majesty allowing the bringing of coals, culm, and cinders to London and Westminster.

63. To revive and continue, until the 25th day of March 1819 an act made in the 49th year of his present majesty to permit the importation of tobacco from any place whatever.

64. To make further regulations respecting the payment of navy prize-money, and to authorize the governors of Greenwich hospital to pay over certain shares of prize-money due to Russian seamen to his excellency the Russian ambassador.

65. For repealing the duties of excise on verjuice and vinegar, and granting other duties in lieu thereof; and for more effectually securing the duties of excise on vinegar or acetous acid.

66. To empower any three or more of the commissioners for the reduction of the national debt to exercise all the powers and authorities given to the said commissioners by any act or acts of parliament.

67. To provide for the more deliberate investigation of presentments to be made by grand juries for roads and public works in Ireland, and for accounting for money raised by such presentments.

68. To repeal so much of an act passed in Ireland in the 9th year of the reign of queen Anne, intituled 'An act for taking away the benefit of clergy in certain cases; and for taking away the book in all cases; and for repealing part of the statute for transporting felons,' as takes away the benefit of clergy from persons stealing

stealing privily from the person of another ; and more effectually to prevent the crime of larceny from the person.

69. For the regulation of parish vestries.

70. For repealing such parts of several acts as allow pecuniary and other rewards on the conviction of persons for highway robbery, and other crimes and offences ; and for facilitating the means of prosecuting persons accused of felony and other offences.

71. For granting to his majesty a sum of money to be raised by lotteries.

72. For improving and completing the harbour of Dunmore in the county of Waterford, and rendering it a fit situation for his majesty's packets.

73. For regulating the payment of regimental debts, and the distribution of the effects of officers and soldiers dying in service, and the receipt of sums due to soldiers.

74. For the further regulation of payments of pensions to soldiers upon the establishments of Chelsea and Kilmainham.

75. For the more effectual prevention of offences connected with the unlawful destruction and sale of game.

76. To subject foreigners to arrest and detention for smuggling within certain distances of any of the dominions of his majesty ; for regulating rewards to the seizing officers, according to the tonnage of vessels or boats seized and condemned ; and for the further prevention of the importation of tea without making due entry thereof with the officers of customs and excise.

77. To repeal the duty upon

rock salt delivered for feeding or mixing with the food of cattle, and imposing another duty and making other provisions in lieu thereof.

78. To make further provision for the better securing the collection of the duties on malt, and to amend the laws relating to brewers in Ireland.

79. To amend an act of the 54th year of his present majesty's reign for granting duties on auctions in Ireland.

80. To amend an act passed in the 57th year of his present majesty for permitting the transfer of capital from certain public stocks or funds in Great Britain to certain public stocks or funds in Ireland.

81. For extending to that part of the united kingdom called Ireland certain provisions of the parliament of Great Britain in relation to executors under the age of 21 years, and to matrimonial contracts.

82. To prevent frauds in the sale of grain in Ireland.

83. To amend and reduce into one act the several laws relating to the manner in which the East India company are required to hire ships.

84. To remove doubts as to the validity of certain marriages had and solemnized within the British territories in India.

85. To carry into execution a convention made between his majesty and the king of Portugal for the preventing traffic in slaves.

86. For raising the sum of eleven millions six hundred thousand pounds by exchequer bills for the service of the year 1818.

87. For raising the sum of eight hundred thousand pounds British currency, by treasury bills,
in

in Ireland, for the service of the year 1818.

88. To amend two acts made in the last session of parliament for authorizing the issue of exchequer bills, and the advance of money for carrying on public works and fisheries, and employment of the poor; and to extend the powers of the commissioners appointed for carrying the said acts into execution in Ireland.

89. To repeal so much of an act passed in the 43rd year of his present majesty as requires the attendance of magistrates on board vessels carrying passengers from the united kingdom to his majesty's plantations, or to foreign parts.

90. To alter and amend certain of the provisions of an act passed in the 51st year of his majesty's reign, intituled 'An act to provide for the administration of the royal authority, and for the care of his majesty's royal person, during the continuance of his majesty's illness; and for the resumption of the exercise of the royal authority by his majesty.'

91. For appointing commissioners to inquire concerning charities in England for the education of the poor.

92. To consolidate and amend the provisions of several acts passed in the 51st and 52nd years respectively of the reign of his present majesty for enabling wives and families of soldiers to return to their homes.

93. To afford relief to the *bond fide* holders of negotiable securities, without notice that they were given for a usurious consideration.

94. To continue until the 29th day of September 1819, and to

amend, an act passed in Ireland in the 36th year of his present majesty for the improvement and extension of the fisheries on the coasts of Ireland.

95. To regulate the election of coroners for counties.

96. To continue for the term of two years, and until the end of the session of parliament in which that term shall expire, if parliament shall be then sitting, an act of the 56th year of his present majesty for establishing regulations respecting aliens arriving in or resident in this kingdom, in certain cases.

97. To prevent aliens until the 25th day of March 1819 from becoming naturalized, or being made or becoming denizens, except in certain cases.

98. To explain and amend an act passed in the 51st year of his majesty's reign for rendering more effectual an act made in the 47th year of his majesty's reign for the abolition of the slave trade.

99. For altering and amending an act made in the 55th year of his present majesty to amend an act made in the 48th year of his present majesty to improve the land revenue of the crown so far as relates to the great forest of Brecknock in the county of Brecknock; and for vesting in his majesty certain parts of the said forest, and for inclosing the said forest.

100. For vesting in his majesty certain parts of the hayes of Birkland and Bilbagh, and of certain commonable lands and open uninclosed grounds in the township of Edwinstowe, within the forest of Sherwood, in the county of Nottingham.

101. For

101. For applying certain moneys therein mentioned for the service of the year 1819.

REPORT FROM THE SELECT COMMITTEE ON THE COPYRIGHT ACTS.

The Select Committee appointed to examine the acts 8 Anne, c. 19; 15 Geo. 3d, c. 53; 41 Geo. 3d, c. 107; and 54 Geo. 3d, c. 116, respecting copyright of books; and to report any or what alterations are requisite to be made therein, together with their observations thereupon, to the house, and to whom the petitions regarding the copyright bill, and all returns from public libraries, and from Stationers' hall, presented in the present session, were referred; and who were empowered to report their opinion thereupon to the house;—have examined the matters to them referred, and have agreed upon the following *report* and *resolutions*, together with an Appendix.

The earliest foundation for a claim from any public library, to the gratuitous delivery of new publications, is to be found in a deed of the year 1610, by which the company of stationers of London, at the request of sir Thomas Bodley, engages to deliver a copy of every book printed in the company (and not having been before printed) to the university of Oxford. This, however, seems to be confined to the publications of the company in its corporate capacity, and could in

no case extend to those which might proceed from individuals unconnected with it.

Soon after the Restoration in the year 1662, was passed the "act for preventing abuses in printing seditious, treasonable, and unlicensed books and pamphlets, and for regulating of printing and printing presses;" by which, for the first time, it was enacted, That every printer should reserve three copies of the best and largest paper of every book new printed, or reprinted by him with additions, and shall, before any public vending of the said book, bring them to the master of the company of stationers, and deliver them to him; one whereof shall be delivered to the keeper of his majesty's library, and the other two to be sent to the vice-chancellor of the two universities respectively, to the use of the public libraries of the said universities. This act was originally introduced for two years, but was continued by two acts of the same parliament till 1679, when it expired*. It was, however, revived in the 1st year of James 2d, and finally expired in 1695.

It has been stated by Mr. Gairford, one of the curators of the Bodleian library, "that there are several books entered in its register, as sent from the Stationers' company subsequent to the expiration of that act;" but it is probable that this delivery was by no means general, as there are no traces of it at Stationers' hall, and as Hearne, in the preface to the "*Reliquiæ Bodleianæ*," printed in 1703, presses for benefac-

* Upon reference to the continuing act of 17 Ch. 2d, c. 4, the clauses respecting the delivery of the three copies appear to be perpetual; yet it should seem that they were not so considered, not being adverted to in the act of Anne.

tions to that library as peculiarly desirable, "since the act of parliament for sending copies of books, printed by the London booksellers, is expired, and there are divers wanting for several years past."

During this period, the claim of authors and publishers to the perpetual copyright of their publications, rested upon what was afterwards determined to have been the common law, by a majority of nine to three of the judges, on the cases of Millar and Taylor in 1769, and Donaldson and Becket in 1774. Large estates had been vested in copyrights; these copyrights had been assigned from hand to hand, had been the subject of family settlements*, and in some instances larger prices had been given for the purchase of them (relation being had to the comparative value of money) than at any time subsequent to the act of the 8th of queen Anne. By this act, which in the last of these two cases has since been determined to have destroyed the former perpetual copyright, and to have substituted one for a more limited period, but protected by additional penalties on those who should infringe it, it is directed, that nine copies of each book that shall be printed or published, or reprinted and published with additions, shall, by the printer, be delivered to the warehouse-keeper of the company of Stationers, before such publication made, for the use of the royal library, the libraries of the universities of Ox-

ford and Cambridge, the libraries of the four universities of Scotland, the library of Sion college in London, and the library belonging to the Faculty of Advocates at Edinburgh.

From the passing of this act until the decision of the cases of Beckford and Hood in 1798, and of the university of Cambridge and Bryer in 1813, it was universally understood, that neither the protection of copyright nor the obligation to deliver the eleven copies attached to the publication of any book, unless it was registered at Stationers'-hall†, an act which was considered as purely optional and unnecessary, where it was intended to abandon the claim for copyright; and in conformity to this construction, the act of 41 Geo. 3d, expressly entitled the libraries of Trinity college, and the King's-inn, Dublin, to copies of such books only as should be entered at Stationers'-hall.

In *Beckford v. Hood*, the court of king's-bench decided, that the omission of the entry only prevented a prosecution for the penalties inflicted by the statutes, but it did not in any degree impede the recovery of a satisfaction for the violation of the copyright. The same court further determined, in the case of the university of Cambridge against Bryer in 1812, that the eleven copies were equally claimable by the public libraries, where books had not been entered at Stationers'-hall as where they had.

* Birch, in his *Life of Archbishop Tillotson*, states, that his widow, after his death in 1695, sold the copyright of his unpublished sermons for 2,500 guineas.

† The whole number of entries during the 70 years, from 1710 to 1780, does not equal that which has taken place in the last four years.

The burthen of the delivery, which by the latter decision was for the first time established to be obligatory upon publishers, produced in the following year a great variety of petitions to the House of Commons for redress, which were referred to a committee, whose Report will be found in the appendix; and in 1814 the last act on this subject was passed, which directed the indiscriminate delivery of one large paper copy of every book which should be published (at the time of its being entered at Stationers'-hall) to the British Museum, but limited the claim of the other ten libraries to such books as they should demand in writing within twelve months after publication; and directed that a copy of the list of books entered at Stationers'-hall should be transmitted to the librarians once in three months, if not required oftener.

It appears, so far as your committee have been enabled to procure information, that there is no other country in which a demand of this nature is carried to a similar extent. In America, Prussia, Saxony and Bavaria, one copy only is required to be deposited; in France and Austria two, and in the Netherlands three; but in several of these countries this is not necessary, unless copyright is intended to be claimed.

The committee having directed a statement to be prepared by one of the witnesses, an experienced bookseller, of the retail price of one copy of every book entered at Stationers'-hall between the 30th July 1814 and the 1st of April 1817, find that it amounts in the whole to 1,419*l.* 3*s.* 11*d.*

which will give an average of 592*l.* 4*s.* per annum; but the price of the books received into the Cambridge university library from July 1814 to June 1817 amounts to 1,145*l.* 10*s.* the average of which is 381*l.* 16*s.* 8*d.* per annum.

In the course of the inquiry committed to them, the committee have proceeded to examine a variety of evidence, which, as it is already laid before the House, they think it unnecessary here to recapitulate; but upon a full consideration of the subject, they have come to the following resolutions:—

1. "That it is the opinion of this committee, that it is desirable that so much of the copyright act as requires the gratuitous delivery of eleven copies should be repealed, except in so far as relates to the British Museum; and that it is desirable that a fixed allowance should be granted, in lieu thereof, to such of the other public libraries as may be thought expedient.

2. "That it is the opinion of this committee, that if it should not be thought expedient by the House to comply with the above recommendation, it is desirable that the number of libraries entitled to claim such delivery should be restricted to the British Museum, and the libraries of Oxford, Cambridge, Edinburgh, and Dublin universities.

3. "That it is the opinion of this committee, that all books of prints, wherein the letter-press shall not exceed a certain very small proportion to each plate, shall be exempted from delivery, except to the Museum, with an exception of all books of mathematics.

4. "That

4. "That it is the opinion of this committee, that all books in respect of which claim to copy-right shall be expressly and effectually abandoned, be also exempted.

5. "That it is the opinion of this committee, that the obligation imposed on printers to retain one copy of each work printed by them, shall cease, and the copy of the Museum be made evidence in lieu of it." 5th June, 1818.

REPORT ON THE EDUCATION OF THE LOWER ORDERS.

The SELECT COMMITTEE appointed to inquire into the Education of the Lower Orders, and to report their Observations thereupon, together with the Minutes of the Evidence taken before them from time to time, to the House; and who were instructed to extend their inquiries to Scotland;—have considered the matters to them referred, and agreed upon the following REPORT.

Your committee rejoice in being able to state, that since their first appointment in 1816, when they examined the state of the metropolis, there is every reason to believe, that the exertions of charitable individuals and public bodies have increased, notwithstanding the severe pressure of the times; and that a great augmentation has taken place in the means provided for the instruction of the poor in that quarter. They are happy in being able to add, that the discussion excited by the first Report, and the arguments urged in the committee to various patrons of charities who were examined as witnesses, have had the salutary effect of impro-

ving the administration of those institutions, and inculcating the importance of rather bestowing their funds in merely educating a larger number, than in giving both instruction and other assistance to a more confined number of children. As the management of those excellent establishments is necessarily placed beyond the control of the legislature, it is only by the effects of such candid discussions that improvements in them can be effected.

Since the inquiries of your committee have been extended to the whole island, they have had reason to conclude, that the means of educating the poor are steadily increasing in all considerable towns as well as in the metropolis. A circular letter has been addressed to all the clergy in England, Scotland, and Wales, requiring answers to queries. It is impossible to bestow too much commendation upon the alacrity shown by those reverend persons in complying with this requisition; and the honest zeal which they displayed to promote the great object of universal education, is truly worthy of the pastors of the people, and the teachers of that gospel which was preached to the poor.

Your committee have lost no time in directing and superintending the work of digesting the valuable information contained in the returns, according to a convenient plan, which will put the House in possession of all this information in a tabular form. They have received important assistance in this and the other objects of their inquiry, from two learned barristers, Mr. Parry, and Mr. Coe of the court of chancery,

(K 2)

who

who have devoted much of their time to the subject.

It appears clearly from the returns, as well as from other sources, that a very great deficiency exists in the means of educating the poor, wherever the population is thin and scattered over country districts. The efforts of individuals combined in societies are almost wholly confined to populous places.

Another point to which it is material to direct the attention of parliament, regards the two opposite principles, of founding schools for children of all sorts, and for those only who belong to the established church. Where the means exist of erecting two schools, one upon each principle, education is not checked, by the exclusive plan being adopted in one of them, because the other may comprehend the children of sectaries. In places where only one school can be supported, it is manifest that any regulations which exclude dissenters, deprive the poor of that body of all means of education.

Your committee, however, have the greatest satisfaction in observing, that in many schools where the national system is adopted, an increasing degree of liberality prevails, and that the Church Catechism is only taught, and attendance at the established place of public worship only required, of those whose parents belong to the establishment; due assurance being obtained that the children of sectaries shall learn the principles and attend the ordinances of religion, according to the doctrines and forms to which their families are attached.

It is with equal pleasure that

your committee have found reason to conclude, that the Roman Catholic poor are anxious to avail themselves of those Protestant schools established in their neighbourhood, in which no Catechism is taught; and they indulge a hope, that the clergy of that persuasion may offer no discouragement to their attendance, more especially as they appear, in one instance, to have contributed to the support of schools, provided that no Catechism was taught, and no religious observances exacted. It is contrary to the doctrine as well as discipline of the Romish church, to allow any Protestant to interfere with those matters, and consequently it is impossible for Romanists to send their children to any school where they form part of the plan.

Your committee are happy in being able to state, that in all the returns, and in all the other information laid before them, there is the most unquestionable evidence that the anxiety of the poor for education continues not only unabated, but daily increasing; that it extends to every part of the country, and is to be found equally prevalent in those smaller towns and country districts, where no means of gratifying it are provided by the charitable efforts of the richer classes.

In humbly suggesting what is fit to be done for promoting universal education, your committee do not hesitate to state, that two different plans are advisable, adapted to the opposite circumstances of the town and country districts. Wherever the efforts of individuals can support the requisite number of schools, it would be unnecessary and injurious to interpose

terpose any parliamentary assistance. But your committee have clearly ascertained, that in many places private subscriptions could be raised to meet the yearly expenses of a school, while the original cost of the undertaking, occasioned chiefly by the erection and purchase of the school-house, prevents it from being attempted.

Your committee conceive, that a sum of money might be well employed in supplying this first want, leaving the charity of individuals to furnish the annual provision requisite for continuing the school, and possibly for repaying the advance.

Whether the money should be vested in commissioners, empowered to make the fit terms with the private parties desirous of establishing schools, or whether a certain sum should be intrusted to the two great institutions in London for promoting education, your committee must leave to be determined by the wisdom of parliament.

In the numerous districts where no aid from private exertions can be expected, and where the poor are manifestly without adequate means of instruction, your committee are persuaded, that nothing can supply the deficiency but the adoption, under certain material modifications of the parish-school system, so usefully established in the northern part of the island, ever since the latter part of the seventeenth century, and upon which many important details will be found in the Appendix.

The modifications will be dictated principally by the necessity of attending to the distinction, already pointed out, between di-

stricts where private charity may be expected to furnish the means of education, and those where no such resource can be looked to; and the tables subjoined to this Report, will afford important lights on this subject. It appears further to your committee, that it may be fair and expedient to assist the parishes where no school-houses are erected, with the means of providing them, so as only to throw upon the inhabitants the burthen of paying the schoolmaster's salary, which ought certainly not to exceed twenty-four pounds a-year. It appears to your committee, that a sufficient supply of schoolmasters may be procured for this sum, allowing them the benefits of taking scholars who can afford to pay, and permitting them of course to occupy their leisure hours in other pursuits. The expense attending this invaluable system in Scotland, is found to be so very trifling, that it is never made the subject of complaint by any of the landholders.

Your committee forbear to inquire minutely in what manner this system ought to be connected with the church establishment. That such a connection ought to be formed, appears manifest; it is dictated by a regard to the prosperity and stability of both systems, and in Scotland the two are mutually connected together. But a difficulty arises in England which is not to be found there. The great body of the dissenters from the Scottish church differ little, if at all, in doctrine, from the establishment; they are separated only by certain opinions of a political rather than a religious nature respecting the right of patronage,

and by some shades of distinction as to church-discipline ; so that they may conscientiously send their children to parish schools connected with the establishment and teaching its catechism. In England the case is widely different ; and it appears to your committee essentially necessary that this circumstance be carefully considered in the devising arrangements of the system. To place the choice of the schoolmaster in the parish vestry, subject to the approbation of the parson, and the visitation of the diocesan ; but to provide that the children of sectarians shall not be compelled to learn any catechism or attend any church, other than those of their parents, seems to your committee the safest path by which the legislature can hope to obtain the desirable objects of security to the establishment on the one hand, and justice to the dissenters on the other.

The more extended inquiries of your committee this session have amply confirmed the opinion which a more limited investigation had led them to form two years ago, upon the neglect and abuse of charitable funds connected with education. They must refer to the Appendix and the tables, for the very important details of this branch of the subject ; but they must add, that although in many cases those large funds appear to have been misapplied through ignorance, or mismanaged through carelessness, yet that some instances of abuse have presented themselves, of such a nature, as would have led them to recommend at an earlier period of the session, the institution of proceedings for more promptly

checking misappropriations, both in the particular cases, and by the force of a salutary example. From the investigations of the commission about to be issued under the authority of an act of parliament, much advantage may be expected ; and though it would not become your committee to anticipate the measures which the wisdom of the legislature may adopt in consequence of those inquiries, with a view to provide a speedy and cheaper remedy for the evil than the ordinary tribunals of the country afford ; yet your committee cannot avoid hoping, that the mere report and publication of the existing abuses will have a material effect in leading the parties concerned, to correct them, and that even the apprehension of the inquiry about to be instituted may in the mean time produce a similar effect.

As the universities, public schools, and charities with special visitors, are exempted from the jurisdiction of the commissioners, your committee have been occupied in examining several of those institutions ; the result of their inquiries will be found in the Appendix. It unquestionably shows, that considerable unauthorized deviations have been made, in both Eton and Winchester, from the original plans of the founders ; that those deviations have been dictated more by a regard to the interests of the fellows than of the scholars, who were the main object of the foundations and of the founder's bounty : and that although in some respects they have proved beneficial upon the whole to the institutions, yet that they have been, by gradual encroachments in former times, carried too far.

far. While, therefore, your committee readily acquit the present fellows of all blame in this respect, they entertain a confident expectation that they will seize the opportunity afforded by the inquiry, of doing themselves honour by correcting the abuses that have crept in, as far as the real interests of the establishments may appear to require it. If, too, there should exist similar errors in the universities, which have not been examined, your committee willingly flatter themselves that steps will be taken to correct them, by the wisdom and integrity of the highly respectable persons, to whose hands the concerns of those great bodies are committed.

Your committee are fully persuaded, that many great neglects and abuses exist in charities which have special visitors; indeed it so happens, that the worst instance which they have met with belongs to this class; and that no visitatorial power was exercised, until a few months ago, although the malversations had existed for many years. To this subject they

therefore beg leave to request the speedy attention of parliament.

It further appears to your committee, that as the commission about to be issued will be confined to the investigation of abuses, and as the information, in the parochial returns, is not sufficiently detailed respecting the state of education generally, a commission should also be issued, either under an act of parliament, or by means of an address to the crown, for the purpose of supplying this defect.

In the course of their inquiries, your committee have incidentally observed that charitable funds, connected with education, are not alone liable to great abuses. Equal negligence and malversation appears to have prevailed in all other charities; and although your committee have no authority, by their instruction, to investigate the matter, and to report upon it, yet they should deem themselves wanting in their duty were they not to give this notice of so important a subject, accidentally forced upon their attention.

3d June, 1818.

An Account of the TOTAL AMOUNT of the NATIONAL DEBT in each Year, from contracted, the Amount of Debt redeemed, and also the

GREAT BRITAIN.			
	Total Amount of Debt — Co. 1.	Debt contracted in each Year. — Co. 2.	Debt redeemed in each Year, including 5 per Cents. 1797 paid off. — Co. 3.
	£.	£.	£.
Amount at 1st August..... 1786	238,231,248	—	—
Between 1st Aug. 1786 and 1st Feb. 1787	238,231,248	—	662,750
1788	238,231,248	—	1,456,900
1789	238,231,248	—	1,506,350
1790	238,231,248	—	1,558,850
1791	238,231,248	—	1,587,500
1792	238,231,248	—	1,507,100
1793	238,231,248	—	1,962,650
1794	244,481,248	6,250,000	2,174,405
1795	260,157,773	15,676,525	2,804,945
1796	311,863,471	51,705,698	3,083,455
1797	368,809,040	56,945,569	4,390,670
1798	394,159,040	25,350,000	6,695,585
1799	429,783,290	35,624,250	7,779,807
1800	451,658,290	21,875,000	20,211,571
1801	480,703,290	29,045,000	10,281,776
1802	536,657,603	55,954,313	9,925,739
1803	567,008,978	30,351,375	8,846,450
1804	583,008,978	16,000,000	12,409,854
1805	603,925,792	20,916,814	11,951,711
1806	640,752,103	36,826,311	12,673,475
{ In this and the following Years the Debt is shown, after de- ducting the 5 per Cents, 1797, paid off in each Year. }	1807	670,632,103	29,880,000
	1808	689,005,303	18,573,200
	1809	702,698,556	18,693,233
	1810	723,975,678	21,278,122
	1811	743,787,785	19,811,107
{ Includes Loan 1811, raised for Ireland, chargeable on Great Britain. }	1812	773,032,496	(a) 29,244,711
	1813	813,775,527	40,743,031
	1814	907,495,950	93,720,423
	1815	932,281,880	24,705,930
	1816	1,003,090,282	70,888,402
	1817	1,006,090,282	3,000,000
{ Great Britain and Ire- land consolidated by } 5th Jan. 1818	1,109,123,032	—	18,512,227
56 Geo. 3, c. 98.			

(a) The above Debt of Ireland is exclusive of £.1,900,900 Irish 5 per Cents, payable in England.

* By 57th Geo. 3, c. 48, the Sinking Fund Accounts terminate on the 5th January in each Year, instead of the 1st February as heretofore.

Note.—The above Sums in Columns 1, 2, and 3, after the Year 1806 differ from the Return made from this Office on the 13th February last, in consequence of the 5 per Cents. 1797, paid off, being included in this Account.

National Debt Office, }
17th April 1818.

the 1st February 1786 to the 5th January 1818; stating the Amount of Debt Total Amount of unredeemed Debt in each of those Years.

IRELAND. funded in GREAT BRITAIN.				
Total unredeemed Debt — Co. 4.	Total Amount of Debt. — Co. 5.	Debt contracted in each Year. — Co. 6.	Debt redeemed in each Year. — Co. 7.	Total unredeemed Debt. — Co. 8.
£.	£.	£.	£.	£.
238,231,248	—	—	—	—
237,568,498	—	—	—	—
236,111,598	—	—	—	—
234,605,248	—	—	—	—
233,046,398	—	—	—	—
231,458,898	—	—	—	—
229,951,798	—	—	—	—
227,989,148	—	—	—	—
222,064,743	—	—	—	—
244,936,323	—	—	—	—
293,558,566	—	—	—	—
346,113,465	—	—	—	—
364,767,880	2,925,000	2,925,000	15,404	2,909,596
392,612,323	6,925,000	4,000,000	96,530	6,813,066
394,275,752	12,175,000	5,250,000	130,185	11,932,881
413,038,977	15,315,000	3,140,000	233,360	14,839,521
459,067,551	19,708,750	4,393,750	310,928	18,922,343
480,572,476	22,348,000	2,639,250	337,008	21,224,585
484,162,622	25,548,000	3,200,000	472,256	23,952,329
493,127,726	33,738,000	8,190,000	579,428	31,568,901
517,280,561	38,398,000	4,660,000	738,849	35,484,052
533,075,543	41,718,000	3,320,000	807,393	37,996,659
536,776,026	47,139,625	5,421,625	907,585	42,510,699
535,741,052	50,094,000	2,954,375	951,463	44,513,611
541,957,854	53,694,000	3,600,000	1,013,577	47,100,034
545,662,698	61,274,250	7,580,250	1,135,716	53,544,568
556,284,319	61,274,250	Included in Great Britain.	1,356,276	52,188,292
575,211,392	68,930,250	7,656,000	1,567,541	58,276,751
644,168,169	79,130,250	10,200,000	1,798,434	66,678,317
649,074,235	86,472,750	7,342,500	1,812,122	72,208,695
699,315,516	103,032,750	16,560,000	2,316,690	86,452,005
682,769,314	103,032,750	—	2,507,101	83,944,904
748,201,991	—	—	—	—

The Sums in Columns 3 and 7 have been redeemed
and transferred as follows:

	£.
By the Sinking Fund	328,274,369
Land Tax	25,389,233
Life Annuities purchased	4,323,385
Stock, the Dividends due upon which have } remained unclaimed 10 years and upwards }	222,037
Purchased with unclaimed Dividends	348,600
	358,557,624
5 per Cents. 1797, paid off	2,363,417
	360,921,041

The Sums in Columns 3 and
7 amount to 360,921,040.
The Difference arises from
the fractional Parts of
Pound being omitted.

S. HIGHAM.

An Account of the Average Amount of Bank Notes in Circulation, including Bank Post Bills; in each Half-year, from the 1st of January 1797 to the 1st of January 1818 inclusive.

1797:	£.	1808:	£.
January to June	10,821,574	January to June	16,953,787
July to December	11,218,084	July to December	17,303,512
1798:		1809:	
January to June	12,954,685	January to June	18,214,026
July to December	12,204,547	July to December	19,641,640
1799:		1810:	
January to June	13,374,874	January to June	20,894,441
July to December	13,525,714	July to December	24,188,635
1800:		1811:	
January to June	15,009,457	January to June	23,471,297
July to December	15,311,824	July to December	23,094,046
1801:		1812:	
January to June	16,134,249	January to June	23,123,140
July to December	15,487,555	July to December	23,351,496
1802:		1813:	
January to June	16,284,052	January to June	23,939,693
July to December	16,571,726	July to December	24,107,445
1803:		1814:	
January to June	15,967,094	January to June	25,511,012
July to December	17,043,450	July to December	28,291,832
1804:		1815:	
January to June	17,623,680	January to June	27,155,324
July to December	17,192,440	July to December	26,618,210
1805:		1816:	
January to June	17,271,429	January to June	26,468,283
July to December	16,480,713	July to December	26,681,398
1806:		1817:	
January to June	16,941,887	January to June	27,339,768
July to December	16,641,761	July to December	29,210,035
1807:			
January to June	16,724,368		
July to December	16,687,438		

Bank of England }
18th April 1818. }

WILLIAM DAWES,
Accountant General.

An Account of the Total Weekly Amount of Bank Notes and Bank Post Bills in Circulation, from the 3rd of February to the 3rd of March 1818: distinguishing the Bank Post Bills; the Amount of Notes under the Value of Five Pounds; and stating the aggregate Amount of the whole.

	Bank Notes of £. 5 and upwards.	Bank Post Bills.	Bank Notes under £. 5.	Total.
1818.	£.	£.	£.	£.
February 10	19,630,590	1,848,980	7,446,610	28,945,580
— 17	19,574,780	1,847,280	7,424,720	28,846,780
— 24	18,996,980	1,855,000	7,364,620	28,216,600
March 3	19,047,570	1,828,470	7,372,080	28,248,120

Bank of England, }
9th March 1818. }

WILLIAM DAWES,
Accountant General.

ACCOUNTS RELATING TO PROSECUTIONS FOR FORGING BANK OF
ENGLAND NOTES:—*viz.*

- 1.—An Account of the Number of Persons prosecuted for forging Notes of the Bank of England, and for uttering or possessing such Notes knowing them to be forged; from the 1st of January 1816 to the 25th of February 1818; distinguishing the Years, and the Number convicted and acquitted of such Offences respectively.

Year.	Capital Convictions.	Convictions for having forged Bank Notes in Possession.	Acquittals.	Total Number prosecuted.
1816 ...	20	84	16	120
1817	32	95	15	142
1818.. } to Feb. 25. {	4	21	1	26

- 2.—An Account of the Number of Persons prosecuted for Forging Notes of the Governor and Company of the Bank of England, and for uttering such Notes knowing them to be forged; during the 14 Years preceding the Suspension of Cash Payments by the Bank in February 1797, distinguishing the Years.

Year.	Capital Convictions.	Acquittals.	Total.
1783.....	nil.		
1784.....	- 2 -	- - -	- 2
1785.....	nil.		
1786.....			
1787.....			
1788.....	- 1 -	- - -	- 1
1789.....		- 1 -	- 1
1790.....	nil.		
1791.....			
1792.....			
1793.....			
1794.....			
1795.....			
1796.....			

- 3.—An Account of the Number of Persons prosecuted for forging Notes of the Governor and Company of the Bank of England, and for knowingly uttering or possessing such forged Notes knowing them to be forged, since the Suspension of Cash Payments by the Bank in February 1797, to the 25th of February 1818; distinguishing the Years, and the Numbers convicted and acquitted.

Year.	Capital Convictions.	Convictions for having forged Bank Notes in Possession.	Acquittals.	Total Number prosecuted.
1797....	1	—	1	2
1798....	11	—	1	12
1799....	12	—	3	15
1800....	29	—	15	44
1801....	32	1	21	54
1802....	32	12	19	63
1803....	7	1	1	9
1804....	13	8	4	25
1805....	10	14	4	28

Year.	Capital Convictions.	Convictions for having forged Bank Notes in Possession.	Acquittals.	Total Number prosecuted.
1806....	—	9	1	10
1807....	16	24	5	45
1808....	9	23	2	34
1809....	23	29	16	68
1810....	10	16	3	29
1811....	5	19	9	33
1812....	26	26	12	64
1813....	9	49	7	65
1814....	5	39	3	47
1815....	7	51	5	63
1816....	20	84	16	120
1817....	32	95	15	142
1818... } to 25 Feb. }	4	21	1	26

21st April 1818.

JOSEPH KAYE,
Sol^r to the Bank of England.

An Account of the total Number of Forged Bank Notes, discovered by the Bank to have been Forged, by Presentation for Payment, or otherwise, from 1st January 1812 to 10th April 1818; distinguishing each Year, and also distinguishing the Number of Notes of £1, of £2, of £5, of £10, of £20, and above £20, in Value.

Years.	Number of Notes of £1.	Number of Notes of £2.	Number of Notes of £5.	Number of Notes of £10.	Number of Notes of £15.	Number of Notes of £20.	Number of Notes above £20.	Total Number.	Years.
In 1812....	12,255	4,261	1,125	205	- - -	34	5	17,885	In 1812
1813....	11,347	3,097	827	38	- - -	4	2	15,313	1813
1814....	10,342	3,320	1,011	38	- - -	10	1	14,722	1814
1815....	14,085	2,829	806	41	2	1	1	17,765	1815
1816....	21,860	2,141	795	24	- - -	5	24	24,849	1816
1817....	28,412	1,839	875	52	- - -	- - -	2	31,180	1817
1818... } to 10 April }	8,937	330	307	21	- - -	- - -	- - -	9,645	1818 to 10 April.
	107,238	17,787	5,826	419	2	54	35	131,361	

Bank of England, }
13th May 1818. }H. HARRIS,
Chief Cashier.

V.—PUBLIC INCOME OF THE UNITED KINGDOM,

FOR THE YEAR ENDING FIFTH JANUARY, 1818.

An Account of the ORDINARY REVENUES and EXTRAORDINARY RESOURCES constituting the PUBLIC INCOME of the UNITED KINGDOM of GREAT BRITAIN and IRELAND.

HEADS OF REVENUE.	Gross Receipts: Total Sum to be accounted for.			Drawbacks, Discounts, Charges of Management, &c. paid out of the Gross Revenue.			NETT PRODUCE applicable to National Objects, and to Payments into the Exchequer.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Ordinary Revenues.									
CUSTOMS	16,382,863	2	8½	3,669,275	12	1½	12,713,587	10	7
EXCISE	33,975,867	4	0	3,118,990	11	8½	30,492,684	0	11
LAND AND ASSESSED TAXES				364,192	11	9½			
STAMPS	7,520,505	16	6½	418,799	4	10	7,101,766	11	8½
POST OFFICE	2,316,732	17	4	671,807	9	10½	1,644,925	7	5½
PENSIONS AND } 1s. in the £.	19,930	4	3½	379	10	10	19,550	19	5½
SALARIES } 6d. in the £.	12,333	16	2½	633	5	4	11,700	10	10½
HACKNEY COACHES	29,314	4	4½	3,832	11	1½	25,481	13	3
HAWKERS AND PEDLARS	25,471	14	6½	3,675	1	0½	21,796	13	5½
POUNDRAGE FEES (Ireland)	4,367	12	9½	-	-	-	4,367	12	9½
PELLS FEES Do.	873	10	7½	-	-	-	873	10	7½
CASUALTIES Do.	2,877	3	5½	-	-	-	2,877	3	5½
SMALL BRANCHES OF THE KING'S HEREDITARY REVENUE	159,630	10	5½	4,027	7	3½	155,603	3	2½
TOTAL of Ordinary Revenues				8,255,553	5	6½	52,195,214	11	9
Extraordinary Resources.									
PROPERTY TAX AND INCOME DUTY. (Arrears)	2,568,654	0	3½	49,244	0	5½	2,519,409	19	10½
Lottery, Nett Profit	215,729	5	0	19,040	0	0	196,689	5	0
Unclaimed Dividends, &c. paid into the Exchequer by the Chief Cashier of the Bank of England	236,288	3	3	-	-	-	236,288	3	3
Surplus Fees of Regulated Public Offices ..	27,422	12	8	-	-	-	27,422	12	8
Voluntary Contributions	5,000	0	0	-	-	-	5,000	0	0
On Account of the Commissioners, appointed by 55 Geo. 3. c. 127, and 37 Geo. 3. c. 27, for issuing Exchequer Bills for Gre- nada, &c.	3,484	10	11	-	-	-	3,484	10	11
From several County Treasurers in Ireland, on account of Advances made by the Treasury for improving Post Roads, on account of Advances for building Gaols, and under the Police Act of 54 Geo. 3. (Ireland)	69,243	13	7½	-	-	-	69,243	13	7½
Moneys paid on account of Balance due by Ireland, on joint Expenditure of the United Kingdom	117,228	0	10	-	-	-	117,228	0	10
From the Paymaster General of Great Bri- tain, on account of Advances made by Ireland for Half Pay to Reduced Officers Pensions to Officers' Widows, &c. on the British Establishment	9,130	7	0	-	-	-	9,130	7	0
From the Receiver General of Navy Pay- ments in Ireland, in repayment of Money advanced by the Government of Ireland, for Naval Services	47,458	4	2½	-	-	-	47,458	4	2½
Imprest Moneys repaid by Sundry Public Accountants, and other Moneys paid to the Public	356,690	9	5½	-	-	-	356,690	9	5½
TOTAL Public Income of the United Kingdom	64,107,097	4	6½	8,323,837	6	0	55,783,259	18	6½
Add, Appropriated Duties for Local Ob- jects in Ireland	55,899	5	8½	2,270	8	11	53,628	16	9½
GRAND TOTAL	64,162,996	10	3½	8,326,107	14	11	55,836,888	15	4½

PUBLIC EXPENDITURE.—JAN. 1818.

[illegible]

TRADE AND NAVIGATION OF THE UNITED KINGDOM.

I.—TRADE OF GREAT BRITAIN.

An Account of the Value of all IMPORTS into, and all EXPORTS from, GREAT BRITAIN, during each of the Four Years ending the 5th January 1818 (calculated at the Official Rates of Valuation, and stated inclusive and exclusive of the Trade with IRELAND); distinguishing the Amount of the Produce and Manufactures of the United Kingdom Exported, from the Value of Foreign and Colonial Merchandise Exported:—also, stating the Amount of the Produce and Manufactures of the United Kingdom Exported from GREAT BRITAIN, according to the Real and Declared Value thereof.

YEARS.	OFFICIAL VALUE OF EXPORTS.	OFFICIAL VALUE OF IMPORTS.			Declared Value of Produce and Manufactures of the United Kingdom Exported.
		Produce and Manufactures of the United Kingdom.	Foreign and Colonial Merchandise.	Total Exports.	
	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.
1815	36,559,788	36,120,733	200,53,496	56,624,229	47,859,388
1816	35,989,650	44,048,701	16,929,608	60,978,309	53,209,809
1817	30,105,565	36,697,610	14,545,964	51,243,574	42,955,256
1818	33,971,025	41,590,516	11,534,616	53,125,132	43,614,136
1815	32,620,770	33,210,580	19,157,818	52,358,398	43,447,372
1816	31,822,053	41,712,002	15,708,434	57,420,436	49,653,245
1817	26,374,920	34,774,520	13,441,665	48,216,185	40,328,940
1818	29,916,320	39,235,397	10,269,271	49,504,668	40,337,118

2.—TRADE OF IRELAND.

An Account of the Value of all IMPORTS into, and all EXPORTS from, IRELAND, during each of the Four Years ending the 5th January 1818 (calculated at the Official Rates of Valuation, and stated inclusive and exclusive of the Trade with GREAT BRITAIN); distinguishing the Amount of the Produce and Manufactures of the United Kingdom Exported, from the Value of Foreign and Colonial Merchandise Exported:—also, stating the Amount of the Produce and Manufactures of the United Kingdom Exported from IRELAND, according to the Value thereof, as computed at the Average Prices Current.

YEARS.	OFFICIAL VALUE OF IMPORTS.			OFFICIAL VALUE OF EXPORTS.									Declared Value of Produce and Manufactures of the United Kingdom Exported.		
				Produce and Manufactures of the United Kingdom.			Foreign and Colonial Merchandise.			Total Exports.					
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
1815..	6,687,732	2	9½	6,114,878	14	0½	475,370	9	11½	6,590,249	4	0	12,620,695	13	2½
1816..	5,637,117	16	1½	6,360,184	8	6	170,676	16	2	6,530,861	4	8	11,391,559	6	9½
1817..	4,693,745	4	6	6,042,253	15	9½	165,869	4	8	6,208,123	0	5½	8,510,977	1	5
1818..	5,644,175	16	5½	6,412,892	10	2	150,562	7	10½	6,563,454	18	0½	10,526,325	8	0½
1815..	1,134,493	1	10½	1,006,672	19	10	208,162	19	7½	1,214,835	19	5½	2,046,846	0	2
1816..	1,165,342	17	10	1,163,994	3	10½	40,117	17	2½	1,204,112	1	0½	1,949,782	18	4½
1817..	1,050,618	19	5	932,488	0	10½	42,374	6	4	974,862	7	2½	1,328,933	6	4
1818..	889,335	14	2½	851,548	5	9	23,413	4	10½	874,961	10	7½	1,411,897	9	11

NAVIGATION OF THE UNITED KINGDOM.

An Account of the Number of VESSELS, with the Amount of their TONNAGE, that were Built and Registered in the several Ports of the British Empire in the Years ending the 5th January 1815, 1816, 1817, and 1818 respectively.

	In the Years ending the 5th January,							
	1815.		1816.		1817.		1818.	
	Vessels.	Tonnage.	Vessels.	Tonnage.	Vessels.	Tonnage.	Vessels.	Tonnage.
United Kingdom.....	706	86,075	913	102,943	851	84,676	758	81,263
Iles, Guernsey, Jersey } and Man..... }	27	805	36	1,536	15	443	8	845
British Plantations.....	131	11,069	234	24,061	408	32,232	182	13,712
TOTAL....	864	97,949	1,183	128,540	1,274	117,401	948	95,860

An Account of the Number of VESSELS, with the Amount of their TONNAGE, and the Number of MEN and BOYS usually employed in navigating the same, that belonged to the several Ports of the BRITISH Empire on the 30th September in the Years 1815, 1816, and 1817, respectively.

	On 30th Sept. 1815 :			On 30th Sept. 1816 :			On 30th Sept. 1817 :		
	Vessels.	Tons.	Men.	Vessels.	Tons.	Men.	Vessels.	Tons.	Men.
United Kingdom...	21,372	2,454,350	159,186	21,515	2,479,733	158,516	21,290	2,397,665	152,332
Iles, Guernsey, Jersey, } and Man.... }	497	23,481	3,417	511	24,564	3,445	485	23,689	3,190
British Plantations.	2,991	203,445	14,706	3,775	279,643	16,859	3,571	243,633	15,471
TOTAL....	24,860	2,681,276	177,309	25,801	2,783,940	178,820	25,346	2,664,986	171,013

An Account of the Number of VESSELS, with the Amount of their TONNAGE, and the Number of MEN and BOYS employed in navigating the same (including their repeated Voyages), that entered INWARDS, and cleared OUTWARDS, at the several Ports of the United Kingdom, from and to all Parts of the World (exclusive of the Intercourse between GREAT BRITAIN and IRELAND respectively), during each of the Four Years, ending 5th January 1818.

Years ending 5th January	INWARDS.								
	BRITISH AND IRISH.			FOREIGN.			TOTAL.		
	Vessels.	Tons.	Men.	Vessels.	Tons.	Men.	Vessels.	Tons.	Men.
1815	8,975	1,290,248	83,795	5,286	599,287	37,375	14,261	1,889,535	121,168
1816 ...	8,880	1,372,108	86,390	5,411	764,562	44,000	14,291	2,136,670	130,390
1817	9,744	1,415,723	90,119	3,116	379,465	25,345	12,860	1,795,188	115,464
1818	11,255	1,625,121	97,273	3,396	445,011	27,047	14,651	2,070,132	124,320
Years ending 5th January	OUTWARDS.								
	Vessels.	Tons.	Men.	Vessels.	Tons.	Men.	Vessels.	Tons.	Men.
1815	8,620	1,271,952	84,100	4,622	602,941	34,828	13,242	1,874,893	118,928
1816	8,795	1,381,041	88,566	4,701	751,377	40,956	13,496	2,132,418	129,543
1817	9,044	1,340,277	86,651	2,579	399,160	23,481	11,623	1,739,437	110,133
1818	10,713	1,558,336	97,362	2,905	440,622	25,270	13,618	1,998,958	122,653

TREATY OF THE EVACUATION OF
FRANCE.

In the name of the Holy and Indivisible Trinity!

Their majesties the emperor of Austria, the king of Prussia, and the emperor of all the Russias, having repaired to Aix-la-Chapelle, and their majesties the king of France and Navarre, and the king of the kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, having sent thither their plenipotentiaries, the ministry of the five courts having assembled in conference, and the French plenipotentiary having made known, that in consequence of the state of France and the faithful execution of the treaty of November 20, 1815, his most Christian majesty was desirous that the military occupation stipulated by the fifth article of the said treaty should cease as soon as possible, the ministry of the courts of Austria, Great Britain, Prussia, and Russia, (the names of the powers you will see are placed in the alphabetical order,) after having, in concert with the said plenipotentiary of France, maturely examined every thing that could have an influence on such an important decision, declared, that their sovereigns would admit the principle of the evacuation of the French territory at the end of the third year of the occupation, and wishing to consolidate their resolution in a formal convention, and to secure at the same time the definitive execution of the said treaty of November 20, 1815, their majesties named (here follow the names of the ministry), who have agreed upon the following articles:—

Art. 1. The troops composing the army of occupation shall be withdrawn from the French territory by the 30th of November next, or sooner if possible.

Art. 2. The strong places and fortresses which the said troops now occupy, shall be surrendered to commissioners named for that purpose by his most Christian majesty, in the state in which they were at the time of the occupation, conformably to the ninth article of the convention concluded in execution of the fifth article of the treaty of November 20, 1815.

Art. 3. The sum destined to provide for the pay, the equipment, and the clothing of the troops of the army of occupation, shall be paid, in all cases, till the 30th of November next, on the same footing on which it has existed since the 1st of December 1817.

Art. 4. All the pecuniary arrangements between France and the Allied Powers having been regulated and settled, the sum remaining to be paid by France to complete the execution of the 4th article of the treaty of November 1815, is definitively fixed at 265 millions of francs.

Art. 5. Of this sum, the amount of 100 millions of effective value shall be paid by an inscription of *rentes* on the great book of the public debt of France, bearing interest from the 22d of September 1818. The said inscriptions shall be received at the rate of the funds on the 5th October 1818.

Art. 6. The remaining 165 millions shall be paid by nine monthly instalments, commencing with the 6th of January next,
by

by draughts on the houses of Hope and Co. and Baring, Brothers, and Co. In the same manner the inscriptions of the *rentes*, mentioned in the above article, shall be delivered to commissioners of the courts of Austria, Great Britain, Prussia, and Russia, by the royal treasury of France, at the epoch of the complete and definitive evacuation of the French territory.

Art. 7. At the same epoch, the commissioners of the said courts shall deliver to the royal treasury of France, the six obligations (*engagements*) not yet discharged (*acquittés*) which shall remain in their hands of the 15 obligations (*engagements*) delivered conformably to the second article of the convention concluded for the execution of the fourth article of the 20th of November 1815. The said commissioners shall at the same time deliver the inscriptions of 7 millions of *rentes*, created in virtue of the 8th article of the said convention.

Art. 8. The present convention shall be ratified, and the ratifications exchanged at Aix-la-Chapelle, in the course of 15 days, or sooner if possible, in the faith of which the respective plenipotentiaries have herewith signed their names, and affixed to it their seal and arms.

Done at Aix-la-Chapelle the 9th of October in the year of Grace 1818.

[Here follow the signatures of the ministers.]

We have found the above treaty conformable to our will, in consequence of which we have confirmed and ratified the same, as we do now confirm and ratify it for our heirs and successors.

[Here follow the signatures of the sovereigns, with the specification of the different years of their several reigns.]

Aix-la-Chapelle, Oct. 17, 1818.

OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS.

Copy of the Note addressed to the Duke of Richelieu by the Plenipotentiaries of the Courts of Austria, Great Britain, Prussia, and Russia, on the 4th of November 1818.

"The undersigned ministers of the cabinets of Austria, Great Britain, Prussia, and Russia, have received orders from their august masters to address to his excellency the duke of Richelieu the following communication:—

"Called upon, by article 5 of the treaty of the 20th of November 1815, to examine, in concert with his majesty the king of France, whether the military occupation of a part of the French territory, stipulated by the said treaty, might cease at the end of the third year, or ought to be prolonged to the end of the fifth, their majesties the emperor of Austria, the king of Prussia, and the emperor of all the Russias, have repaired to Aix-la-Chapelle, and have charged their ministers to assemble there, in conference with the plenipotentiaries of their majesties the king of France and the king of Great Britain, in order to proceed to the examination of this important question.

"In this examination the attention of the ministers and plenipotentiaries had for its particular object the internal situation of France; and had to be also directed to the execution of the engagements contracted by the French government, with the co-

subscribing powers to the treaty of the 20th of November 1815.

“The internal state of France having long been the subject of serious deliberations in the cabinets, and the plenipotentiaries assembled at Aix-la Chapelle having mutually communicated the opinions which they had formed in that respect, the august sovereigns after having weighed these opinions, in their wisdom have recognised with satisfaction, that the order of things happily established in France, by the restoration of the legitimate and constitutional monarchy, and the success which has hitherto crowned the paternal care of his most Christian majesty, fully justify the hope of a progressive consolidation of that order of things so essential to the repose and prosperity of France, and so intimately connected with the great interests of Europe.

“With regard to the execution of the engagements, the communications which, since the opening of the conferences, the plenipotentiary of his most Christian majesty has addressed to the ministers of the other powers, have left no doubt on this question, as they prove that the French government has fulfilled, with the most scrupulous and honourable punctuality, all the clauses of the treaties and conventions of the 20th of November; and propose, with respect to those clauses the fulfilment of which was reserved for more remote periods, arrangements which are satisfactory to all the contracting parties.

“Such being the results of the examination of these grave questions, their imperial and royal majesties congratulated themselves at having only to listen to those sen-

timents and those personal wishes which induced them to put an end to a measure which disastrous circumstances, and the necessity of providing for their own security and that of Europe, could alone have dictated.

“From that moment the august sovereigns resolved to cause the military occupation of the French territory to be discontinued; and the convention of the 9th of October sanctioned this resolution. They regard this solemn act as the completement of the general peace.

“Considering now, as the first of their duties, to preserve to their people the benefits which that peace assures to them, and to maintain in all their integrity the transactions which have established and consolidated it, their imperial and royal majesties flatter themselves that his most Christian majesty, animated by the same sentiments, will receive with the interest which he attaches to every thing tending to the welfare of mankind, and to the glory and prosperity of his country, the proposition which their imperial and royal majesties address to him, to unite henceforth his councils and his efforts to those which they will not cease to devote to so salutary a work.

“The undersigned, charged to request the duke of Richelieu to convey the wish of their august sovereigns to the knowledge of the king his master, at the same time invite his excellency to take part in their present and future deliberations, consecrated to the maintenance of the peace, the treaties on which it is founded, the rights and mutual relations established or confirmed by these treaties,

treaties, and recognised by all the European powers.

"In transmitting to the duke of Richelieu this solemn proof of the confidence which their august sovereigns have placed in the wisdom of the king of France, and in the fidelity of the French nation, the undersigned are ordered to add the expression of the unalterable attachment which their imperial and royal majesties profess towards the person of his most Christian majesty and his family, and of the sincere interest which they never cease to take in the tranquillity and happiness of his kingdom.

"They have the honour, at the same time, to offer to the duke of Richelieu the assurance of their very particular consideration.

"Aix-la-Chapelle, Nov. 4, 1818.

(Signed) "METTERNICH.
CASTLEREAGH.
WELLINGTON.
HARDENBERG.
BERNSTORFF.
NESSELRODE.
CAPO D'ISTRIA."

Copy of the note of M. the duke of Richelieu, in answer to that of the plenipotentiaries of the courts of Austria, of Great Britain, of Prussia, and of Russia.

"The undersigned, minister and secretary of state to his most Christian majesty, has received the communication which their excellencies the ministers of the cabinets of Austria, of Great Britain, of Prussia, and of Russia, did him the honour of addressing to him on the 4th of this month, by order of their august sovereigns. He hastened to make it known to the king his master. His majesty has received with real satisfaction, this new proof of the confidence

and friendship of the sovereigns who have taken part in the deliberations at Aix-la-Chapelle. The justice which they render to his constant cares for the happiness of France, and above all to the loyalty of his people, has deeply touched his heart. Looking back to the past, and observing that at no other period, no other nation has been able to fulfil with a more scrupulous fidelity engagements such as France had contracted, the king has felt, that it was indebted, for this new kind of glory, to the influence of the institutions which govern it; and he sees with joy, that the consolidation of these institutions is considered by his august allies to be no less advantageous to the repose of Europe, than essential to the prosperity of France. Considering that the first of his duties is to endeavour to perpetuate and augment, by all the means in his power, the benefits which the complete re-establishment of general peace promises to all nations; persuaded that the intimate union of governments is the surest pledge of its duration; and that France, which could not remain a stranger to a system the whole force of which must spring from a perfect unanimity of principle and action, will join the association with her characteristic frankness; and that her concurrence must add strength to the well-founded hope of the happy results which such an alliance must produce for the benefit of mankind, his most Christian majesty most readily assents to the proposal made to him of uniting his councils and his efforts with those of their majesties the emperor of Austria, the king of Great Britain, the king of Prussia, and

and the emperor of all the Russias, for the purpose of accomplishing the salutary work which they have in view. He has, therefore, authorized the undersigned to take part in all the deliberations of their ministers and plenipotentiaries, for the object of consolidating the peace, of securing the maintenance of the treaties on which it rests, and of guarantying the mutual rights and relations established by these same treaties, and recognised by all the states of Europe.

"The undersigned, while he begs their excellencies to have the goodness to transmit to their august sovereigns the expression of the intentions and sentiments of the king his master, has the honour of offering them the assurance of his highest consideration.

"Aix-la-Chapelle, Nov. 12, 1818.

(Signed) "RICHELIEU."

PROTOCOL

Signed at Aix-la-Chapelle, on the 15th November 1818, by the plenipotentiaries of the courts of Austria, France, Great Britain, Prussia, and Russia.

"The ministers of Austria, France, Great Britain, Prussia, and Russia, as a consequence of the exchange of the ratifications of the convention signed on the 9th of October, relative to the evacuation of the French territory by the foreign troops, and after having addressed to each other the notes of which copies are subjoined, have assembled in conference, to take into consideration the relations which ought to be established, in the existing state of things, between France and the co-subscribing powers of the treaty of

peace of the 20th of November 1815—relations which, by securing to France the place that belongs to her in the system of Europe, will bind her more closely to the pacific and benevolent views in which all the sovereigns participate, and will thus consolidate the general tranquillity.

"After having maturely investigated the conservative principles of the great interests which constitute the order of things established, under the auspices of Divine Providence, in Europe, by the treaty of Paris of the 30th of May 1814, the *recess* of Vienna, and the treaty of peace of the year 1815, the courts subscribing the present act do, in consequence, unanimously acknowledge and declare—

"1. That they are firmly resolved never to depart, either in their mutual relations or in those which connect them with other states, from the principles of intimate union which have hitherto prevailed over all their common relations and interests—a union rendered more strong and indissoluble by the bonds of Christian fraternity which the sovereigns have formed among themselves.

"2. That this union, which is the more real and durable inasmuch as it depends on no separate interest or temporary combination, can only have for its object the maintenance of general peace, founded on a religious respect for the engagements contained in the treaties, and for the whole of the rights resulting therefrom.

"3. That France, associated with other powers by the restoration of the legitimate monarchical and constitutional power, engages henceforth to concur in the maintenance and consolidation of a system

stem which has given peace to Europe, and assured its duration.

"4. That if, for the better attaining the above declared object, the powers which have concurred in the present act should judge it necessary to establish particular meetings, either of the sovereigns themselves or of their respective ministers and plenipotentiaries, to treat in common of their proper interests, in so far as they have reference to the object of their present deliberations, the time and place of these meetings shall on each occasion be previously fixed by means of diplomatic communications; and that in the case of these meetings having for their object affairs specially connected with the interests of the other states of Europe, they shall only take place in consequence of a formal invitation on the part of such of those states as the said affairs may concern, and under the express reservation of their right of direct participation therein, either directly or by their plenipotentiaries.

"5. That the resolutions contained in the present act shall be made known to all the courts of Europe, by the subjoined declaration, which shall be considered as sanctioned by the Protocol, and forming part thereof.

"Done in quintuple, and reciprocally exchanged in the original, by the subscribing cabinets.

"Aix-la-Chapelle, Nov. 15, 1818.

(Signed) "METTERNICH.
RICHELIEU.
CASTLEREAGH.
WELLINGTON.
HARDENBERG.
BERNSTORFF.
NESSELRODE.
CAPO D'ISTRIA."

DECLARATION.

"Now that the pacification of Europe is accomplished, by the resolution of withdrawing the foreign troops from the French territory; and now that there is an end of those measures of precaution which deplorable events had rendered necessary, the ministers and plenipotentiaries of their majesties the * emperor of Austria, the king of France, the king of Great Britain, the king of Prussia, and the emperor of all the Russias, have received orders from their sovereigns, to make known to all the courts of Europe the results of their meeting at Aix-la-Chapelle, and with that view to publish the following declaration:—

"The convention of the 9th of October, which definitively regulated the execution of the engagements agreed to in the treaty of peace of November 20, 1815, is considered by the sovereigns who concurred therein, as the accomplishment of the work of peace, and as the completion of the political system destined to ensure its solidity.

"The intimate union established among the monarchs, who are joint parties to this system, by their own principles, no less than by the interests of their people, offers to Europe the most sacred pledge of its future tranquillity.

"The object of this union is as simple as it is great and salutary. It does not tend to any new political combination—to any change in the relations sanctioned by existing treaties. Calm and consistent in its proceedings, it has no other object than the maintenance of peace, and the security of those

* The names of the powers are put alphabetically.

transactions on which the peace was founded and consolidated.

"The sovereigns, in forming this august union, have regarded as its fundamental basis, their invariable resolution never to depart, either among themselves or in their relations with other states, from the strictest observation of the principles of the right of nations ; principles which, in their application to a state of permanent peace, can alone effectually guaranty the independence of each government and the stability of the general association.

"Faithful to these principles, the sovereigns will maintain them equally in those meetings at which they may be personally present, or in those which shall take place among their ministers ; whether it shall be their object to discuss in common their own interests, or whether they take cognisance of questions in which other governments shall formally claim their interference. The same spirit which will direct their councils, and reign in their diplomatic communications, shall preside also at these meetings ; and the repose of the world shall be constantly their motive and their end.

"It is with such sentiments that the sovereigns have consummated the work to which they were called. They will not cease to labour for its confirmation and perfection. They solemnly acknowledge, that their duties towards God and the people whom they govern, make it peremptory on them to give to the world, as far as in their power, an example of justice, of concord, of moderation ; happy in the power of consecrating, from henceforth, all their efforts to the protection of the acts of peace, to the increase of the internal prosperity of their states, and to the awakening of those sentiments of religion and morality, whose empire has been but too much enfeebled by the misfortune of the times.

"Aix-la-Chapelle, Nov. 15, 1818.
(Signed)

"METTERNICH.
RICHELIEU.
CASTLEREAGH.
WELLINGTON.
HARDENBERG.
BERNSTORFF.
NESSELRODE.
CAPO D'ISTRIA."

This document bears the signature of M. GENTZ, the secretary to the congress.

LITERARY RETROSPECT

AND

SELECTIONS.



LITERARY RETROSPECT

AND

Selections.

PART I.

BIOGRAPHICAL ANECDOTES AND CHARACTERS.

OF the various species of biography, each seems to possess its peculiar interest and advantage: where biography is confined to what may be called the professional life of the person, that is, where it dwells principally upon the events and actions that distinguished him as an author, or general, a statesman, or divine, it is more connected with the history of literature, war, or politics, than with simple biography; and it ought to be studied chiefly with a view to the illustration of literature, war, or politics. It is sufficiently obvious that this species of biography, as it enters least into private life or character, must be possessed of the least portion of that interest and instruction which are derived from personal anecdotes, or from studying the causes which form, or the circumstances which indicate individual talent, information, or character.

The next species of biography is that which in a great measure neglects the object on which it treats, as a public personage, and

dwells fully and minutely on every part and incident of his life which illustrates his private character. It seems to us that the perfection of biography would be obtained if these two species of it were more frequently and closely united than they are. Perhaps our meaning will be more clearly understood by selecting an example. There can be no doubt that the metaphysical philosophy of Scotland has been essentially and permanently influenced by the writings of Dr. Reid. Of this philosopher we have a life by Mr. Dugald Stewart; and this life, so far as it illustrates the metaphysics of Reid, and gives a luminous and masterly review of his writings, is admirable: but who that ever read it did not lament that the rich, eloquent, and winning style of Mr. Stewart had not been employed to narrate those circumstances in the life of Reid, which either displayed or formed his character: in short, who does not lament that, while we are introduced, by the knowledge, ta-

lent, and eloquence of Mr. Stewart, so fully and pleasantly to the acquaintance of Dr. Reid, as an author, we know so little of him as a man?

To take an example of the opposite kind, where the man is displayed with the utmost minuteness; where we are enabled to trace him from his earliest years to his death—where nearly all he said and did of the smallest importance or interest, is brought before us, almost with as much effect as if we had lived with him, and yet where we feel the want of a proper and masterly estimate of him as a public character. We allude to the *Life of Dr. Johnson*, by Mr. Boswell. How rich is this writer in anecdotes; how poor in philosophy; how intimately are we made acquainted with Dr. Johnson; how little able are we, from this work, to know his value and rank as an author. We are indeed enabled, from the various and numerous instances it presents to us of his conversational powers, to judge of the reach and depth of his mind, of the readiness with which he brought into play all his faculties, and his profound and extensive knowledge of the world and of human nature, and of his manners, opinions, and habits: but these all relate to the man; they do not not reach him as the author of the *Rambler*, *Lives of the Poets*, *Dictionary*, &c. After having seen in what manner, and by what steps and circumstances the mind and peculiar opinions of the author of these works were formed, we are anxious to learn the real character and value of them, and more particularly the influence they exercised over the manners,

the opinions, and the literature of the age.

We think we have said enough to illustrate our position, and to point out the propriety and reasonableness of the wish we expressed, that biography might, more frequently, and to a greater degree than it has done, unite the pleasing interest of private anecdote with the more lofty purposes of philosophy.

Even, however, if this union were effected, there is another element which ought to be infused into biography, before it can be rendered perfect; and we are afraid, where this element exists, one or other of those we have previously mentioned, or both of them, will be found deficient. It is evident that no person but the individual himself can record the workings of his own mind—the motives that influenced his conduct, or led him to the particular line of life, for which he becomes a proper subject of biography; that he alone can tell the history of himself, so far as that consists in tracing the rise and progress of his character, or of his peculiar opinions, discoveries, or knowledge in any particular branch of science and literature. How interesting and instructive in these respects is the brief memoir of his own life which Hume has given us; and it is evident that except from Hume himself, it is not possible we could have derived the information respecting his thoughts, feelings, and character, we now possess,—at least clothed with the authenticity and interest with which they are now invested.

Biography then would be perfect in every respect, in interest, information and philosophy, if it could

could present us with what may be appropriately and justly called a moving picture of the individual's mind and feelings; with all those incidents in his life which displayed his character; and with a philosophical estimate of his actions or works, especially as they operated on the age in which he lived, and on subsequent ages.

The literature of no country is rich in the higher species of biography: indeed it is evident, as has been before remarked, that a very singular and rare combination of circumstances must occur before it can be produced. No author unfolds all he felt or thought more minutely, or with so much simplicity and fairness, as Rousseau: we see from the picture he draws of himself, exactly what sort of a man he was; but from his account of himself, we cannot derive a knowledge of many of the incidents of his life, sufficiently impartial and correct to enable us to trace what was original in his character and conduct, partly to constitutional temperament, and partly to the circumstances in which he was placed. When a person writes his own life with a considerable degree of minuteness, it is impossible for him not to display, to a certain extent, and in certain parts, his own character: he may represent his conduct in a different light from the true one,—he may even ascribe motives for his actions which did not influence him; but he must, however cautious and guarded, unfold at times his individual feelings, and the predominant passion or principle under whose control or guidance he thought or acted.

Perhaps there are no richer ma-

terials for biography than those which are supplied by letters and diaries: from these, incidents may be gathered, and peculiar feelings, thoughts, and even powers of mind, may be ascertained to have existed and operated, which, without such sources of information, would not have been known to exist. But letters and diaries also are interesting and useful in another point of view; what has been justly remarked of journals and books of travels may be applied to them: "They are among those works which acquire by time more value than they lose: they are the subsidiaries of history, and preserve the memory of many things which history disdains to notice as trifling while they are trivial, but which become objects of curiosity when they are obsolete and ancient.

In the Literary Retrospect of our last volume, we remarked that a relish and demand for memoirs and diaries of old times had been excited among us; and though this species of publication may seem to some calculated to pamper that fondness for light and desultory reading, which is certainly the literary failing of the age, yet it ought not to be harshly condemned on this account: for from it may assuredly be drawn much that is good and beneficial, as well as much that is hurtful. A fondness for our ancient literature, as well as for our ancient character, if not indiscriminate, and pushed too far, must do good; there were in both a vigour and manliness, an infusion of feeling and nature, which the rapid and great advances of luxury and calculating prudence had too much checked and kept down; and if

we

we can so manage as to bring ourselves back to all that was good in our ancient literature and character, and at the same time to retain what is good in our modern literature and character, we shall most undoubtedly improve both to a very high degree.

But journals and diaries, as the quotation we have just given remarks, are valuable as the subsidiaries of history, and as preserving the memory of many things which history disdains to notice. And this is the case even when the journals and diaries are written by persons, who during their life had no peculiar opportunities of learning the passing events, or the motives or circumstances that gave rise to them.

The literature of Britain during the year 1818 has not been rich in any of the species of biography; though, as we shall soon have occasion to show, of contemporary anecdotes and diaries it presents us with some that possess very great interest, not merely as illustrating the character of the authors of them, but as serving as the subsidiaries of history.

The great rivalry among authors and booksellers seems to us the principal cause of the paucity of good works on biography. As soon as any person of eminence is dead, a meagre, crude, and ill written account of him is published, *got up*, to use the common phrase, with as little delay, and consequently as little preparation, as possible, in order to take possession of the market, and gratify the public curiosity and interest first. This naturally damps the ardour of those who had been disposed to give a well digested and well written life; for though

sensible and well informed readers would of course prefer such a life, yet how few are these in comparison to those who read for mere amusement; and even with respect to the former description of readers, the edge of their curiosity and interest must be blunted by the incidents contained, even in a meagre and ill written life, and consequently they are comparatively indifferent about a more full and better written one.

Unless therefore an author can produce a biography as overflowing with incident as Boswell's Life of Johnson, or unless he can atone for want of incident by the eloquence of his style, or the philosophy of his views and reflections, he can hardly expect that the life of any person, regarding which he has been anticipated, will repay him for his labour or gain him much celebrity.

And yet there are still wanting biographies which in every respect are so interesting, that it is surprising they are not undertaken: we have already alluded to Hume's short life of himself: it is uncommonly interesting: it exhibits a most striking, and, as it were, a living picture of the man; but much more is requisite. The anecdotes of his life, scattered in many volumes, possess great attractions, and should be collected. Above all, however, there is ample room for a life of him, which should enter into a masterly analysis of his writings, into an impartial examination of his opinions, and more especially into a research how far and in what respects the opinions of Hume have operated, and are operating upon the philosophy of taste and of mind, upon the political economy, and

and upon the manner of writing history, in this country. Another instance may be given, where biography might find ample and most rich materials: we allude to the life of Bacon; certainly if England has reason to be proud of any man more than another, it is

of Bacon; and yet, a life of him which should include not merely all that illustrated his private character, and pointed out his superiority to the age in which he lived, but also the influence of his writings on human knowledge, is still unexecuted.

ARTICLE I.—*Memoirs, illustrative of the Life and Writings of JOHN EVELYN, Esq. F.R.S. Author of the Sylva, &c. &c. Comprising his Diary from the Year 1641 to 1705-6, and a Selection of his familiar Letters. To which is subjoined the private Correspondence between King Charles I. and his Secretary of State, Sir Edward Nicholas, whilst his Majesty was in Scotland, 1641, and at other times in the Civil War. Also between Sir Edward Hyde, afterwards Earl of Clarendon, and Sir Richard Browne, Ambassador to the Court of France in the time of Charles I. and the Usurpation. The whole now first published from the original MSS. in 2 volumes. Edited by WILLIAM BRAY, Esq. Fellow and Treasurer of the Society of Antiquaries of London.*

MR. EVELYN is well known to all lovers of the country as the author of the *Sylva*, a work in which the information and advice respecting forest trees are necessarily, in many respects, imperfect or erroneous; but which has been justly characterized as a beautiful and enduring memorial of his amusements, his occupations, and his studies, his private happiness, and his public virtues. It exhibits one of the earliest instances on record of the true dignity and usefulness, as well as of the genuine and pure happiness of the country life of an English gentleman; and it is not ascribing to it a greater portion of merit than it deserves, to suppose that it has contributed, as much as any work in the English language, to cherish and invigorate that fondness for a country life, by which our

gentry are so honourably distinguished, our agriculture has been so much improved, our rural scenery so much adorned, and the morals of our peasantry, as well as their respectability and comfort, so much increased.

It is impossible, after reading the *Sylva*, not to be impressed with most favourable ideas of its author, and these will be strengthened by the perusal of the work before us. "All persons may find in his character something for imitation; but for an English gentleman he is a perfect model. Neither to solicit public offices nor to shun them; but when they are conferred, to execute their duties diligently, conscientiously, and fearlessly; to have no amusements but such as being laudable, as well as innocent, are healthful alike for the mind and the body; and

and in which, while the passing hour is beguiled, a store of delightful recollection is laid up: to be the liberal encourager of literature and the arts; to seek for true and permanent enjoyment by the practice of the household virtues,—the only course by which it can be found; to enlarge the sphere of existence backwards by means of learning through all time, and forward by means of faith through all eternity;—form the fair ideal of human happiness. And this was realized in the life of Evelyn."

His *Diary and Letters* are instructive and interesting in several points of view: in the first place, they give us an intimate view of the character and public and domestic life of the author; and what impressions we must derive from this, have already been told. In the second place, they throw considerable light upon the history of Britain, during a very momentous period, including the civil wars, the restoration, and the revolution. Mr. Evelyn was a close observer of what was going on; he was personally engaged or interested:—his rank, connexions, and employments, gave him many opportunities of gaining information; though a royalist, and attached to the Stewarts, even at the time of James's abdication, he was very candid and impartial, and blind neither to the faults and vices of Charles II. nor to the merits of the republicans. From all these circumstances, it will be inferred, that his *Diary and Letters* must be excellent subsidiaries to the history of the period to which they extend. In the third place, this work is curious and instructive, as it paints the

manners, state of society, opinions, and extent of knowledge of the age. And, lastly, there is scattered through it some very curious information regarding the introduction of different plants, now very common, and on other points connected with the state of natural history at that time.

The *Diary* contains a particular account of what Evelyn observed during his journey to the Continent, which he undertook on the approach of the civil wars. One of the latest notices of lepers in Europe is given by him, where he mentions, that on his way to the Hague he observed "divers leprous poor creatures dwelling in solitary huts on the brink of the water, and permitted to ask the charity of passengers, which is conveyed to them in a floating box that they cast out." At Marseilles, he and his companions bought "umbrellas against the heat." At Genoa, he expresses his admiration of the floors of red plaster, which became so hard, and received so high a polish, that it might have been mistaken for porphyry; and expresses his surprise, that it was not used in England for cabinets and rooms of state. At Venice he notices, among other fashions of the women, that they wore very long crisped hair of several colours, which they made so by a wash, and they were seen at the windows drying their hair; thus wet, in the sun. Yellow seems, from other authors of that period, to have been the favourite colour for this purpose. They scattered their hair on the brims of a broad hat that had no crown, but in its place a hole through which they put their heads. From two of the professors

professors at Padua, Mr. Evelyn purchased rare tables of veins, nerves, lungs, liver, &c. which he sent to England; "the first of that kind (he adds) which had been sent there, and, for aught I know, in the world."

Mr. Evelyn's taste in ornamental gardening was not advanced beyond that of the age in which he lived. Of this absurd taste, there are still a very few instances to be met with in England; and they are curious and instructive, as pointing out the nature and extent of the advances and improvements we have made in this delightful art. He was, however, better skilled in fruit and kitchen gardening, both of which received many useful and valuable additions in his time, or shortly before it. Cabbages were introduced into Dorsetshire, from Holland, less than 100 years before he lived. The cucumber, within his memory, had been accounted little better than poison; the melon had just been brought from Spain. The infant bud of the sun-flower was dressed like an artichoke, and eaten as a dainty. He says, that the dappled thistle eats well as a salad, or boiled, or baked in pies; the bur also he calls delicate and wholesome when young. The small young acorns, found in the craw of the stock dove, he esteems a delicious fare, as well as the salads taken out of the maws of partridges at certain seasons of the year.

A few further miscellaneous notices may be given. On the 21st of December, 1662, he remarks, that at the royal chapel, instead of the ancient, grave, and solemn wind music accompanying

the organ, was introduced a concert of 24 violins between every pause, after the French fantastical light way. This was the first time of change, and now we no more heard the cornet which gave life to the organ. He seems to have been acquainted with the use and value of potatoes, which he calls Irish, tasting like an old bean or roasted chesnut. In the MSS. at Wotton (the family seat of the Evelyn's) there is a sketch of a turfing plough, invented by Prince Rupert. In 1636-7, he mentions having seen a Greek drinking coffee, which custom came not into England till thirty years after. In 1660 he mentions the diving bell, and the pine apple as extremely rare in England—the first of the latter, he says, were sent to England four years before, in Cromwell's time. From Mr. Hartlib, to whom Milton dedicated his work on education, he learnt, "that castles are set for ornament on their stoves in Germany, which are furnished with small ordnance of silver in the battlements, out of which they discharge excellent perfumes about the rooms, charging them with a little powder to set them on fire, and disperse the smoke." He adds, "and, in truth, no more than need, for their stoves are sufficiently nasty." Under the year 1678, he observes, "Now were brought into service a new sort of soldiers, called grenadiers, who were dexterous in flinging hand grenades, every one having a pouch full." In 1654, he says, "I now observed how the women began to paint their faces, formerly a most ignominious thing, and used only by prostitutes." We believe it is generally supposed

posed that this custom was introduced at the Restoration; but we find from this, that it originated in the time of Cromwell. The Peruvian bark was brought into vogue at the time when Charles II. had a dangerous ague, by an apothecary, who thus cured the king. Sedans were first brought into England from Naples, about the year 1646; and in 1662, Mr. Evelyn first saw skaits used on

the canal in St. James's Park, after the manner of the Hollanders. In 1661, Mr. Evelyn sailed with his Majesty in one of his yachts, "vessels not known among us till the Dutch East India Company presented that curious piece to the king." We shall now conclude with some interesting extracts from these valuable volumes.

SKETCH OF THE LIFE OF EVELYN, FROM THE INTRODUCTION,
BY THE EDITOR.

"Mr. Evelyn lived in the busy and important times of King Charles I. Oliver Cromwell, King Charles II. King James II. and King William, and he early accustomed himself to note such things as occurred which he thought worthy of remembrance. He was known to, and had much personal intercourse with, the Kings Charles II. and James II.; and was in habits of great intimacy with many of the ministers of those two monarchs, and with many of the eminent men of those days, as well amongst the clergy as the laity. Foreigners distinguished for learning or arts, who came to England, did not leave it without visiting him. In the first edition of the *Biographia Britannica*, in folio, Dr. Campbell has a long article relating to this gentleman. Dr. Hunter, in his edition of the *Sylva* in 1776, has copied great part of what Dr. Campbell had written. Dr. Kippis added several particulars in the second edition of the *Biographia* in 1793. Mr. Chalmers has added some

information in his *Biographical Dictionary*, in 8vo. (1816); but the following pages will produce farther particulars of this eminent man. They will show that he did not travel merely to count steeples, as he expresses himself in one of his letters: they will develop his private character as being of the most amiable kind. With a strong predilection for monarchy, with a personal attachment to Kings Charles II. and James II., formed when they resided at Paris, he was yet utterly averse to the arbitrary measures of those monarchs.

"Strongly and steadily attached to the doctrine and practice of the Church of England, he felt the most liberal sentiments for those who differed from him in opinion. He lived in intimacy with men of all persuasions, nor did he think it necessary to break connexions with any one who had even been induced to desert the Church of England, and embrace the doctrines of that of Rome. In writing to the brother of a gentleman thus

thus circumstanced, in 1659, he expresses himself in this admirable manner: 'For the rest, we must comitt to Providence the successe of times and mitigation of proselytical fervours; having for my owne p^ticular a very great charity for all who sincerely adore the blessed Jesus, our common & deare Saviour, as being full of hope that God (however the p^sent zeale of some, & the scandals taken by others at the instant [present] affliction of the Church of England may transport them) will at last compassionate our infirmities, clarifie our judgments, & make abatement for our ignorances, superstructures, passions, & errors of corrupt tymes & interests, of which the Romish persuasion can no way acquit herself, whatever the present prosperity & secular polity may pretend. But God will make all things manifest in his own tyme, onely let us possess ourselves in patience & charity. This will cover a multitude of imperfections.'

"He speaks with great moderation of the Roman Catholics in general, admitting that some of the laws enacted against them might be mitigated; but of the Jesuits he had the very worst opinion, considering them as a most dangerous society, and the principal authors of the misfortunes which befell King James II., and the horrible persecutions of the Protestants in France and Savoy.

"He must have conducted himself with uncommon prudence and discretion, for he had personal friends in the court of Cromwell, at the same time that he was corresponding with his father-in-law, Sir Richard Browne, the ambas-

sador of King Charles II. at Paris; and at the same period that he paid his court to the king, he maintained his intimacy with a disgraced minister.

"In his travels he made acquaintance not only with men eminent for learning, but with men ingenious in every art and profession.

"His manners we may presume to have been of the most agreeable kind, for his company was sought by the greatest men, not merely by inviting him to their own tables, but by their repeated visits to him at his own house; and this was equally the case with regard to the ladies, of many of whom he speaks in the highest style of admiration, affection, and respect. He was master of the French, Italian, and Spanish languages. That he had read a great deal is manifest, but at what time he found opportunities for study, it does not seem easy to say; he acknowledges himself to have been idle while at Oxford; and when on his travels he had little time for reading, except when he stayed about nineteen weeks in France, and at Padua, where he was likewise stationary for some time. At Rome he remained a considerable time; but whilst there he was so continually engaged in viewing the great abundance of interesting objects to be seen in that city, that he could have found little leisure for reading. When resident in England, he was so much occupied in the business of his numerous offices, in paying visits, in receiving company at home, and in examining whatever was deemed worthy of curiosity or of scientific observation, that it is astonishing to think

think how he found the opportunity to compose the numerous books which he published; and the much greater number of papers, on almost every subject, which still remain in manuscript; to say nothing of the very extensive and voluminous correspondence which he appears to have carried on during the period of his long life, with men of the greatest eminence in church and state, and the most distinguished for learning, both Englishmen and foreigners. In this correspondence he does not seem to have made use of an amanuensis, and he has left transcripts in his own hand of great numbers of letters both received and sent. He observes, indeed, in one of these, that he seldom went to bed before twelve, or closed his eyes before one o'clock.

"He was happy in a wife of congenial dispositions with his own, of an enlightened mind, who had read much, was skilled in etching and painting, yet attentive to the domestic concerns of her household, and a most affectionate mother. Of her personal beauty an idea may be formed from the print accompanying this work, engraved from a most exquisite drawing in pencil by that celebrated French artist Nanteuil, in 1650. In the Appendix is given a character of her by the Rev. Dr. Bohun, who had the best opportunity of being acquainted with it, from having resided in Mr. Evelyn's house for a considerable time as tutor to their son. A few of her letters are also given, to prove the truth of what the Doctor says of them.

"So many particulars of Mr. Evelyn have been given in the

Biographia Britannica, and in Mr. Chalmers' valuable memoir in the *Biographical Dictionary*, that it is unnecessary to repeat them here; but some circumstances have been there omitted, and others, which are there mentioned, admit of elucidation or addition, and such it is proposed to notice here, in addition to the foregoing personal sketch.

"His grandfather, George, was not the first of the family who settled in Surrey; John, father of this George, was of Kingston in 1520, and married a daughter of David Vincent, Esq. Lord of the Manor of Long Ditton, near Kingston, which afterwards came into the hands of George, who there carried on the manufacture of gunpowder. He purchased very considerable estates in Surrey, and three of his sons became heads of three families, viz. Thomas, his eldest son, at Long Ditton; John, at Godstone; and Richard, at Wotton. Each of these three families had the title of baronet conferred on them at different times, viz. at Godstone in 1660, Long Ditton in 1683, and Wotton in 1713.

"The manufacture of gunpowder was carried on at Godstone as well as at Long Ditton, but it does not appear that there ever was any mill at Wotton, or that the purchase of that place was made with such a view. Nor does it appear from the words quoted in the "*Biographia*" that Mr. Evelyn's grandfather planted the timber, with which Wotton was, and always has been, so well stored. The soil produces it naturally, and it has at all times been carefully preserved, besides what has been planted, furnishing abundance

abundance for cutting at proper seasons.

"It may be not altogether in-curious to observe, that though Mr. Evelyn's father was a man of very considerable fortune, the first rudiments of this son's learning were acquired from the village schoolmaster over the porch of Wotton Church. Of his progress at another school, and at college, he himself speaks with great humility; nor did he add much to his stock of knowledge whilst he resided in the Middle Temple, to which his father sent him, with intention that he should apply to what he calls "an impolished study," which he says he never liked. More will be said of this in a subsequent page.

"The "*Biographia*" does not notice his tour in France, Flanders, and Holland, in 1641, when he made a short campaign as a volunteer in an English regiment then in service in Flanders.

"Nor does it notice his going with intent to have joined King Charles I. at Brentford; but after the battle there he desisted, considering that his brothers', as well as his own estates, were so near London as to be fully in the power of the Parliament. In this dangerous conjuncture he asked and obtained the king's leave to travel. Of these Travels, and the observations he made therein, an account is given in the Diary.

"The public troubles coming on before he had engaged in any settled plan for his future life, it appears that he had thoughts of living in the most private manner, and that, with his brother's permission, he had even begun to prepare a place for retirement at

Wotton. Nor did he afterwards wholly abandon this intention, if the plan of a college which he sent to Mr. Boyle in 1659, was really formed on a serious idea. The scheme of this is given at length in the "*Biographia*," and in Dr. Hunter's edition of the "*Sylva*" in 1776; but it may be observed, that he proposes it should not be more than 25 miles from London.

"His answer to Sir George Mackenzie's panegyric on Solitude, in which Mr. Evelyn takes the opposite part, and urges the preference to which public employment and an active life is entitled, might be supposed a playful essay of one who, for the sake of argument, would controvert another's position, though in reality agreeing with his own opinion, if we think him serious in two letters to Mr. Abr. Cowley, dated 12 March and 24 Aug. 1666, in the former of which he writes:

"You had reason to be astonished at the presumption, not to name it affront, that I, who have so highly celebrated recesses, and envied it in others, should become an advocate for the enemy, which of all others it abhors and flies from. I conjure you to believe that I am still of the same mind, and that there is no person alive who does more honor and breathe after the life and repose you so happily cultivate and advance by your example; but, as those who pray'd dirt, a flea, and the gowte, so have I public employment in that trifling essay, and that in so weak a style compared with my antagonist's, as by that alone it will appear I neither was nor could be serious, and I hope
you

you believe I speake my very
soule to you,

"Sunt enim Musis sua ludicra, mista
Camæniæ
Otia sunt —"

"In the other he says, 'I pronounce it to you from my heart as oft as I consider it, that I look on your fruitions with unexpressible emulation, and should think myself more happy than crowned heads, were I, as you, the arbiter of mine own life, and could break from those gilded toys to taste your well-described joys with such a wife and such a friend, whose conversation exceed all that the mistaken world calls happiness.' But, in truth, his mind was too active to admit of solitude, however desirable it might at some times appear to him in theory.

"After he had settled at Deptford, which was in the time of Cromwell, he kept up a constant correspondence with Sir Richard Browne (his father-in-law) the king's ambassador at Paris; and though his connexion must have been known, it does not appear that he met with any interruption from the government here. Indeed, though he remained a decided royalist, he managed so well as to have intimate friends amongst those nearly connected with Cromwell; and to this we may attribute his being able to avoid taking the Covenant, which he says he never did take. In 1659 he published 'An Apology for the Royal Party,' and soon after he printed a paper which was of great service to the King, entitled 'The late News or Message from Brussels unmasked,' which was a pamphlet designed

to represent the king in the worst light.

"On the Restoration we find him very frequently at court, and he became engaged in many public employments, still attending to his studies and literary pursuits. Amongst these is particularly to be mentioned the Royal Society, in the establishment and conduct of which he took a very active part. He procured Mr. Howard's library to be given to them; and in 1667 the Arundelian marbles to the University of Oxford.

"His first appointment to a public office was in 1662, as a commissioner for reforming the buildings, ways, streets, and incumbrances, and regulating hackney coaches in London. In the same year he sat as a commissioner on an inquiry into the conduct of the lord mayor, &c. concerning Sir Thomas Gresham's charities. In 1664 he was in a commission for regulating the Mint; and in the same year he was appointed one of the commissioners for the care of the sick and wounded in the Dutch war; and was continued in the same employment in the second war with that country.

"He was one of the commissioners for the repair of St. Paul's Cathedral shortly before it was burnt in 1666.

"In that year he was in a commission for regulating the farming and making saltpetre.

"In 1671 he was made a commissioner of plantations on the establishment of the board, to which the council of trade was added in 1672.

"In 1685 he was one of the commissioners

commissioners of the privy seal during the absence of the Earl of Clarendon (who held that office), on his going lord lieutenant to Ireland.

"On the foundation of Greenwich Hospital in 1695, he was one of the commissioners; and on 30 June, 1696, he laid the first stone of that building. He was appointed treasurer, with a salary of 200*l.* a year, but he says it was a long time before he received any part of it.

"When the Czar of Muscovy came to England in 1698, he was desirous of having the use of Sayes Court, as being near the king's dock-yard at Deptford, where that monarch proposed instructing himself in the art of ship-building. During his stay he did so much damage, that Mr. Evelyn had an allowance of 150*l.* for it. He particularly regrets the mischief done to his famous holly hedge, which might have been thought beyond the reach of damage.

"Oct. 1699, his elder brother, George Evelyn, dying without male issue, aged eighty-three, he succeeded to the paternal estate; and in May following he quitted Sayes Court and went to Wotton, where he passed the remainder of his life, except going occasionally to London, where he had a house.

"In the great storm in 1703 he mentions, in his last edition of the *Sylva*, that above 1000 trees were blown down in sight of his house.

"He died at his house in London, 27 Feb. 1705-6, in the 86th year of his age, and was buried at Wotton. His lady survived him nearly three years, dying 9 Feb. 1708-9, in her seventy-fourth

year, and was buried near him at Wotton. The inscriptions on their tombs, and on those of his father and mother, are subjoined. His personal character was truly amiable. In the relative duties of father, husband, and friend, few could exceed him.

"Of Mr. Evelyn's children, one son, who died at the age of five, and one daughter, who died at the age of nineteen, were almost prodigies. The particulars of their extraordinary endowments, and the deep manner in which he was affected by their deaths, may be seen in pp. 309, 588, and cannot be read without exciting the most tender emotions. Their epitaphs are also subjoined.

"One daughter was well and happily settled; another less happily, but she did not survive her marriage more than a few months.

"The only son who lived to the age of manhood inherited his father's love of learning, and distinguished himself by several publications.

"Mr. Evelyn's employment as a commissioner of the sick and wounded was a very laborious one, and from the nature of it must have been extremely unpleasant. Almost the whole labour was in his department, which included all the ports between the River Thames and Portsmouth; he had to travel in all seasons and weathers, by land and by water, in the execution of his office, to which he gave the strictest attention. It was rendered still more unpleasant by the great difficulty which he found in procuring money for support of the prisoners. In the library at Wotton are copies of numerous letters to the lord treasurer and officers

officers of state, representing, in the strongest terms, the great distress of the poor men, and of those who had furnished lodging and necessaries for them. At one time there were such arrears of payment to the victuallers, that on landing additional sick and wounded, they lay some time in the streets, the publicans refusing to receive them, and shutting up their houses. After all this trouble and fatigue he found as great difficulty in getting his accounts settled. In Jan. 1665-6 he formed a plan for an Infirmary at Chatham, which he sent to Mr. Pepys, to be laid before the Admiralty, with his reasons for recommending it; but it does not appear that it was carried into execution.

"His business relating to the repair of St. Paul's (which, however, was very short,) that of a commissioner of trade and plantations, and for building Greenwich Hospital, were much better adapted to his inclination and pursuits.

"As a commissioner of the privy seal in the reign of King James II. he had a difficult task to perform. He was most steadily attached to the Church of England, and the king required the seal to be put to many things incompatible with the welfare of that church. This on some occasions he refused to do, particularly to a license to Dr. Obadiah Walker to print Popish books; and on others absented himself, leaving it to his brother commissioners to act as they thought fit. Such, however, was the king's opinion of him, that he showed no displeasure on this account.

"With respect to Mr. Evelyn's attempt to bring Col. Morley (who

was Cromwell's lieutenant of the Tower, and who held it at the time immediately preceding the Restoration) over to the king's interest, an imperfect account of it is given in the *Biographia*, partly taken from the additions to *Baker's Chronicle*, published with a continuation in 1696.

"The fact is, that there was great friendship between these gentlemen, and Mr. Evelyn did endeavour to engage the colonel in the king's interest; he saw him several times, and put his life into his hands by writing to him on 12 Jan. 1669-60: he did not succeed, and Col. Morley was too much his friend to betray him: but so far from the colonel having settled matters privately with Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, or General Monk, as there stated, when the Restoration took place, Colonel Morley actually applied to Mr. Evelyn to obtain his pardon, and Mr. Evelyn obtained it accordingly, though, as the latter states, the colonel was obliged to pay a sum of money. This could not have happened if he had previously joined with General Monk.

"There are some mistakes in the *Biographia* as to Mr. Evelyn's works. Dr. Campbell, who wrote the article in the original edition, took some pains to vindicate Mr. Evelyn's book entitled "Navigation and Commerce, their Original and Progress," from the charge of being an imperfect work, unequal to the expectation excited by the title. But the doctor, who had not the information which this Journal so amply affords on this subject, was not aware that what was so printed was nothing more than an Introduction to the History of the Dutch War; a work undertaken

undertaken by Mr. Evelyn at the express command of King Charles II., and the materials for which were furnished by the officers of state. The completion of this work, after a considerable progress had been made in it, was put a stop to by the king himself; for what reason does not appear; but perhaps it was found that Mr. Evelyn was inclined to tell too much of the truth concerning a transaction which it will be seen by his Journal he utterly reprobated. His copy of the History, as far as he had proceeded, he put into the hands of his friend, Mr. Pepys, of the Admiralty, who did not return it; and giving his books and manuscripts to Magdalen College, Cambridge, it was hoped it was there preserved. The editor went to Cambridge for the purpose of seeing it; was favoured with access to the library, and with the most obliging personal attendance of the Hon. Mr. Fortescue, one of the fellows of the college; but, after a diligent search for several hours, it could not be found.

“ Dr. Campbell understood ‘The Mystery of Jesuitism’ to be a single volume, but there were three published in different years. The translation of the second was undertaken by Mr. Evelyn, at the express desire of Lord Clarendon and his son, as appears by a letter of Mr. E. to Lord Cornbury, dated 9 February, 1664. The third was translated by Dr. Tonge for Mr. Evelyn.

“ In giving a list of Mr. Evelyn’s publications, the authors of the *Biographia* say, ‘As several of these treatises were printed before the author’s return to England, and others without his name, we

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must depend on the general opinion of the world, and the authority of Mr. Wood, for their being his; yet there is no great reason to suspect a mistake.’ They say, ‘We know nothing of the ‘Mundus Muliebris; or, the Ladies’ Dressing Room unlocked,’ except that it has had a place in the catalogue of our author’s works, from which therefore we have no right to remove it.’

“ There is no doubt of his being the author: under 1685 Mr. Evelyn, in his account of his daughter Mary, says she ‘put in many pretty symbols in the ‘Mundus Muliebris,’ wherein is an enumeration of the immense variety of the modes and ornaments belonging to the sex:’

“ In a letter to Lord Cornbury, dated 9 February, 1664, he speaks of having written a play.

“ The Authors of the *Biographia* say, ‘The account which Mr. Boyle received from Mr. Evelyn of the method used by the Italians for preserving snow in pits, is an admirable specimen of that care with which he registered his discoveries, as well as the curiosity which prompted him to inquire into every thing worthy of notice, either natural or artificial, in the countries through which he passed. It is much to be regretted that a work so entertaining and instructive as the History of his Travels would have been, appeared, even to so indefatigable a person as he was, a task too laborious for him to undertake; for we should then have seen clearly, and in a true light, many things in reference to Italy which are now very indistinctly and partially represented; and we should also have met with much new matter never

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touched

touched before, and of which we shall now probably never hear at all.

"What is thus said of Mr. Evelyn's travels is partly supplied in the following volume, but not so fully as could be wished. That he made many observations which will not be found here, appears by the above quotation from Mr. Boyle, and by an account of the manner of making bread in France, which he communicated to Mr. Houghton, a fellow of the Royal Society, who published it in some papers which he printed weekly in 1681 and following years. It must be presumed that Mr. Evelyn had made many other observations not found in this Journal, and the notes of which have not been discovered amongst his papers.

"From the numerous authors who have spoken in high terms of this gentleman, we will insert the two following characters of him:

"In the *Biographia* Dr. Campbell says, 'It is certain that very few authors who have written in our language deserve the character of able and agreeable writers so well as Mr. Evelyn, who, though he was acquainted with most sciences, and wrote upon many different subjects, yet was very far, indeed the farthest of most men of his time, from being a superficial writer. He had genius, he had taste, he had learning; and he knew how to give all these a proper place in his works, so as never to pass for a pedant, even with such as were least in love with literature, and to be justly esteemed a polite author by those who knew it best.'

"Mr. Horace Walpole (after-

wards Earl of Orford), in his Catalogue of Engravers, also gives the following admirably drawn character of him, pp. 85, 86: 'If Mr. Evelyn had not been an artist himself, as I think I can prove he was, I should yet have found it difficult to deny myself the pleasure of allotting him a place among the arts he loved, promoted, patronized; and it would be but justice to inscribe his name with due panegyric in these records, as I have once or twice taken the liberty to criticise him; but they are trifling blemishes compared with his amiable virtues and beneficence; and it may be remarked, that the worst I have said of him is, that he knew more than he always communicated. It is no unwelcome satire to say, that a man's intelligence and philosophy is inexhaustible. I mean not to write his life, which may be found detailed in the new edition of his '*Sculptura*,' in Collins's '*Baronetage*,' in the '*General Dictionary*,' and in the new '*Biographical Dictionary*;' but I must observe, that his life, which was extended to 86 years, was a course of inquiry, study, curiosity, instruction, and benevolence. The works of the Creator, and the minute labours of the creature, were all objects of his pursuit. He unfolded the perfection of the one, and assisted the imperfection of the other. He adored from examination: was a courtier that flattered only by informing his prince, and by pointing out what was worthy for him to countenance; and really was the neighbour of the gospel, for there was no man that might not have been the better for him. Whoever peruses a list

a list of his works will subscribe to my assertion. He was one of the first promoters of the Royal Society; a patron of the ingenious and the indigent; and peculiarly serviceable to the lettered world; for besides his writings and discoveries, he obtained the Arundelian marbles for the University of Oxford, and the Arundelian library for the Royal Society.—Nor is it the least part of his praise, that he, who proposed to Mr. Boyle the erection of a Philosophical College for retired and speculative persons, had the honesty to write in defence of active life against Sir George Mackenzie's *Essay on Solitude*. He knew that retirement, in his own hands, was industry, and benefit to mankind; but in those of others, laziness and inutility.

"His son, Mr. John Evelyn, was of Trinity College, Oxford, and when about 15 years old he wrote that elegant Greek poem which is prefixed to the second edition of the '*Sylva*.' He translated Rapiin on Gardens, in four books, written in Latin verse. His father annexed the second book of this to the second edition of his '*Sylva*.' He also translated from the Greek of Plutarch the life of Alexander the Great, printed in the fourth volume of '*Plutarch's Lives*, by several Hands;' and from the French, the History of the Grand Viziers Mahomet and Achmet Coprogli. There are several poems of his, of which some are printed in Dryden's *Miscellanies*, and more in Nichols's *Collection of Poems*.

"In December, 1688, he was presented to the Prince of Orange at

Abington by Col. Sidney and Col. Berkley, and was one of the volunteers in Lord Lovelace's troop, when his lordship secured Oxford for the prince. In 1690 he purchased the place of chief clerk of the treasury; but in the next year he was by some means removed from it by Mr. Guy, who succeeded in that office. In August, 1692, he was made one of the commissioners of the revenue in Ireland, from whence he returned to England in 1696, in very ill health, and died 24th March, 1698, in his father's lifetime.

"He married Martha, daughter and coheir of Richard Spenser, Esq. a Turkey merchant, by whom he had two sons and three daughters. The eldest son, and the eldest daughter, Martha-Mary, and youngest daughter, Jane, died infants. The surviving daughter, Elizabeth, married Simon Harcourt, Esq. son of the Lord Chancellor Harcourt. September 18, 1705, the son John, who had succeeded his grandfather at Wotton, married Anne, daughter of Edward Boscawen, Esq. of the county of Cornwall; and by letters patent, dated 30 July, 1713, was created a baronet. He inherited the virtue and the taste for learning, as well as the patrimony, of his ancestors, and lived at Wotton universally loved and respected. He built a library there, 45 feet long, 14 wide, and as many high; for the reception of the large and curious collection of books made by his grandfather, father, and himself, and where they now remain. He was a fellow of the Royal Society, was long the first commissioner of the customs;

and died July 15, 1763, in the eighty-second year of his age.

"By his lady, who died before him, he had several children, and was succeeded by John the eldest, who married Mary, daughter of Hugh Boscawen, Viscount Falmouth, and died 11 June, 1767, in the sixty-first year of his age. He was clerk of the green cloth to Frederick Prince of Wales, father of the present king, to this king when Prince of Wales, and after he came to the crown. He represented the borough of Helston in several parliaments, and to the time of his death. He had only one son, Frederick, who succeeded to the title and estate, and three daughters. Of the daughters, two died unmarried; the third, Augusta, married the Rev. Dr. Henry Jenkin, rector of Wotton and Abinger, but she died without issue. Sir Frederick was in the army in the early part of his life, and was in *Elliot's light horse*

when that regiment so highly distinguished themselves in the famous battle of Minden, in Germany, in 1759. He married Mary, daughter of William Turton, Esq. of Staffordshire, and, dying without issue in 1812, he left his estates to his lady. She lived at Wotton, where she fully maintained the honour and great respect which had so long attended the family there. Her taste for botany was displayed in her garden and green-house, where she had a curious collection of exotic, as well as native, shrubs and flowers. The library shared her attention; besides making additions to it, she had a complete catalogue, arranged by Mr. Upecott of the London Institution.

"This lady by her will returned the estate to the family, devising it to John Evelyn, Esq. who descended from George Evelyn, the purchaser of this estate in 1579.

FIRE OF LONDON.

"A.D. 1666. 2 Sept. This fatal night, about ten, began that deplorable fire neere Fish Streete in London.

"3. I had public prayers at home. The fire continuing, after dinner I took coach with my wife and sonn and went to the Bank side in Southwark, where we beheld that dismal spectacle, the whole city in dreadfull flames neare the water side; all the houses from the bridge, all Thames Street, and upwards towards Cheapeside, downe to the Three Cranes, were now consumed: and so returned

exceedinge astonished what would become of the rest.

"The fire having continu'd all this night (if I may call that night which was light as day for 10 miles round about, after a dreadfull manner) when conspiring with a fierce eastern wind in a, very drie season; I went on foote to the same place, and saw y^e whole south part of y^e citty burning from Cheapeside to y^e Thames, and all along Cornehill (for it likewise kindl'd hack against y^e wind as well as forward), Tower Streete, Fen-church Streete, Gracious

cious Streete, and so along to Bannard's Castle, and was now taking hold of St. Paule's Church, to which the scaffolds contributed exceedingly. The conflagration was so universal, and the people so astonish'd, that from the beginning, I know not by what despondency, or fate, they hardly stirr'd to quench it, so that there was nothing heard or seene but crying out and lamentation, running about like distracted creatures, without at all attempting to save even their goods; such a strange consternation there was upon them, so as it burned both in breadth and length, the churches, publiq halls; exchange, hospitals, monuments, and ornaments, leaping after a prodigious manner from house to house and streete to streete, at greate distances one from y^e other; for y^e heate with a long set of faire and warm weather had even ignited the aire and prepar'd the materials to conceive the fire, which devour'd after an incredible manner houses, furniture, and every thing. Here we saw the Thames cover'd with goods floating, all the barges and boates laden with what some had time and courage to save, as, on y^e other, y^e carts, &c. carrying out to the fields, which for many miles were strew'd with moveables of all sorts, and tents erecting to shelter both people and what goods they could get away. Oh the miserable and calamitous spectacle! such as happily the world had not seene the like since the foundation of it, nor be out-don till the universal conflagration of it. All the skie was of a fiery aspect, like the top of a burning oven, and the light seene above 40 miles round about for many

nights. God grant mine eyes may never behold the like, who now saw above 10,000 houses all in one flame; the noise and crackling and thunder of the impetuous flames, y^e shrieking of women and children, the hurry of people, the fall of towers, houses and churches, was like an hideous storme, and the aire all about so hot and inflam'd that at the last one was not able to approach it, so that they were forc'd to stand still and let y^e flames burn op, which they did for neere two miles in length and one in bredth. The cloud's also of smoke were dismall and reach'd upon computation neer 50 miles in length. Thus I left it this afternoone burning, a resemblance of Sodom, or the last day. It forcibly call'd to my mind that passage—*non enim hic habemus stabilem civitatem*: the ruines resembling the picture of Troy. London was, but is no more! Thus I returned.

"Sept. 4. The burning still rages, and it was now gotten as far as the Inner Temple; all Fleet Streete, the Old Bailey, Ludgate Hill, Warwick Lane, Newgate, Paules Chaine, Watling Streete, now flaming, and most of it reduc'd to ashes; the stones of Paules flew like granados, y^e mealting lead running downe the streetes in a streame, and the very pavements glowing with fiery rednesse, so as no horse nor man was able to tread on them, and the demolition had stopp'd all the passages, so that no help could be applied. The eastern wind still more impetuously driving the flames forward. Nothing but y^e almighty power of God was able to stop them, for vaine was y^e help of man.

"5. It

" 5. It crossed towards Whitehall; but oh, the confusion there was then at that court! It pleas'd his Ma^y to command me among y^e rest to looke after the quenching of Fetter Lane end, to preserve, if possible, that part of Holborn whilst the rest of the y^e gentlemen tooke their several posts, some at one part, some at another (for now they began to bestir themselves, and not till now, who hitherto had stood as men intoxicated, with their hands across) and began to consider that nothing was likely to put a stop but the blowing up of so many houses as might make a wider gap than any had yet ben made by the ordinary method of pulling them downe with engines; this some stout seamen propos'd early enough to have sav'd neare y^e whole city, but this some tenacious and avaritious men, aldermen, &c. would not permitt, because their houses must have ben of the first. It was therefore now commanded to be practic'd, and my concerne being particularly for the Hospital of St. Bartholomew neere Smithfield, where I had many wounded and sick men, made me the more diligent to promote it; nor was my care for the Savoy lesse: It now pleas'd God by abating the wind, and by the industrie of y^e people, when almost all was lost, infusing a new spirit into them, that the furie of it began sensibly to abate about noone, so as it came no farther than y^e Temple westward, nor than y^e entrance of Smithfield north: but continu'd all this day and night so impetuous toward Cripple-gate and the Tower as made us all despaire; it also brake out againe in the Temple,

but the courage of the multitude persisting, and many houses being blown up, such gaps and desolations were soone made, as with the former three days consumption, the back fire did not so vehemently urge upon the rest as formerly. There was yet no standing neere the burning and glowing ruines by neere a furlongs space.

" The coale and wood wharves and magazines of oyle, rosin, &c. did infinite mischeife, so as the invective which a little before I had dedicated to his M^y and publish'd, giving warning what might probably be the issue of suffering those shops to be in the city, was look'd on as a prophecy.

" The poore inhabitants were dispers'd about St. George's Fields, and Moorefields, as far as Highgate, and severall miles in circle, some under tents, some under miserable hutts and hovells, many without a rag or any necessary utensills, bed or board, who from delicatenesse, riches, and easy accommodations in stately and well furnish'd houses, were now reduc'd to extreamest misery and poverty.

" In this calamitous condition I returned with a sad heart to my house, blessing and adoring the distinguishing mercy of God to me and mine, who in the midst of all this ruine was like Lot, in my little Zoar, safe and sound.

" Sept. 6, Thursday. I represented to his Ma^y the case of the French prisoners at war in my custodie, and besought him that there might be still the same care of watching at all places contiguous to unseised houses. It is not indeede imaginable how extraordinary the vigilance and activity

activity of the king and the duke was, even labouring in person, and being present to command, order, reward, or encourage workmen, by which he showed his affection to his people and gained theirs. Having then dispos'd of some under cure at the Savoy, I return'd to White-hall, where I din'd at Mr. Offley's, the groomer porter, who was my relation.

"7. I went this morning on foote from White-hall as far as London Bridge, thro' the late Fleete Street, Ludgate Hill, by St. Pauls, Cheapeside, Exchange, Bishopsgate, Aldersgate, and out to Moorefields, thence thro' Cornhill, with extraordinary difficulty, clambering over heaps of yet smoking rubbish, and frequently mistaking where I was. The ground under my feet so hot, that it even burnt the soles of my shoes. In the mean time his majesty got to the Tower by water, to demolish y^e houses about the graff, which being built intirely about it, had they taken fire and attack'd the White Tower where the magazine of powder lay, would undoubtedly not only have beaten downe and destroy'd all y^e bridge, but sunke and torne the vessels in y^e river, and rendered y^e demolition beyond all expression for several miles about the countrey.

"At my returne I was infinitely concern'd to find that goodly Church St. Pauls now a sad ruine, and that beautiful portico (for structure comparable to any in Europe, as not long before repair'd by the late king) now rent in pieces, flakes of vast stone split asunder, and nothing remaining intire but the inscription in the architrave, showing by

whom it was built, which had not one letter of it defac'd. It was astonishing to see what immense stones the heate had in a manner calcin'd, so that all y^e ornaments, columns, freezes, capitals, and projectures of massie Portland stone flew off, even to y^e very roofoe, where a sheet of lead covering a great space (no lesse than 6 akers by measure) was totally mealtd; the ruines of the vaulted roofoe falling broke into St. Faith's, which being fill'd with the magazines of bookes belonging to y^e stationers, and carried thither for safety, they were all consum'd, burning for a weeke following. It is also observable that the lead over y^e altar at y^e east end was untouch'd, and among the divers monuments, the body of one bishop remain'd intire. Thus lay in ashes that most venerable church, one of the most antient pieces of early piety in y^e Christian world, besides neere 100 more. The lead, yron worke, bells, plate, &c. mealtd; the exquisitely wrought Mercers chapell, the sumptuous Exchange, y^e august fabriq of Christ Church, all y^e rest of the companies halls, splendid buildings, arches, enteries, all in dust; the fountaines dried up and ruin'd, whilst the very waters remain'd boiling; the yoragos of subterranean cellars, wells, and dungeons, formerly warehouses, still burning in stench and dark cloudes of smoke, so that in five or six miles traversing about, I did not see one loade of timber unconsum'd, nor many stones but what were calcin'd white as snow. The people who now walk'd about y^e ruines appear'd like men in some dismal desart, or rather in some greate citty

citty laid waste by a cruel enemy; to which was added the stench that came from some poore creatures bodies, beds, and other combustible goods. Sir Tho. Gresham's statue, tho' fallen from its nich in the Royal Exchange, remain'd intire, when all those of y^e kings since y^e conquest were broken to pieces; also the standard in Cornehill, and Q. Elizabeth's effigies, with some arms on Ludgate, continued with but little detriment, whilst the vast yron chaines of the citty streetes, hinges, barrs and gates of prisons were many of them mealtd and reduced to cinders by y^e vehement heate. Nor was I yet able to passe through any of the narrower streetes, but kept the widest; the ground and air, smoake and fiery vapour, continu'd so intense that my haire was almost sing'd, and my feet unsufferably surbated. The bie lanes and narrower streetes were quite fill'd up with rubbish, nor could one have possibly knowne where he was, but by y^e ruines of some church or hall, that had some remarkable tower or pinnacle remaining. I then went towards Islington and Highgate, where one might have seene 200,000 people of all ranks amd degrees dispers'd and lying along by their heapes of what they could save from the fire, deploring their losse, and tho' ready to perish for hunger and destitution, yet not asking one penny for reliefe, which to me appear'd a stranger sight than any I had yet beheld. His majesty and council indeede tooke all imaginable care for their reliefe by proclamation for the country to come in and refresh them with provisions. In y^e midst of all this calamity and

confusion, there was, I know not how, an alarme begun that the French and Dutch, with whom we were now in hostility, were not onely landed, but even entering the citty. There was in truth some days before greate suspicion of those two nations joyning; and now, that they had ben the occasion of firing the towne. This report did so terrifie, that on a suddaine there was such an uproare and tumult that they ran from their goods, and taking what weapons they could come at, they could not be stopp'd from falling on some of those nations whom they casualy met, without sense or reason. The clamor and peril grew so excessive that it made the whole court amaz'd, and they did with infinite paines and greate difficulty reduce and appease the people, sending troops of soldiers and guards to cause them to retire into y^e fields againe, where they were watch'd all this night. I left them pretty quiet, and came home sufficiently weary and broken. Their spirits thus a little calmed, and the affright abated, they now began to repaire into y^e suburbs about the citty, where such as had friends or opportunity got shelter for the present, to which his M^{ty} proclamation also invited them.

"Still y^e plague continuing in our parish, I could not without danger adventure to our church.

"10. I went againe to y^e ruines, for it was now no longer a citty.

"13 Sept. I presented his Ma^{ty} with a survey of the ruines, and a plot for a new citty, with a discourse on it: whereupon after dinner his Ma^{ty} sent for me into the queene's bed-chamber, her Ma^{ty} and y^e duke onely being present;

present; they examin'd each particular, and discours'd on them for neere an houre, seeming to be extremely pleas'd with what I had so early thought on. The queene was now in her cavalier riding habite, hat and feather, and horse-man's coate, going to take the aire.

" 16. I went to Greenwich Church, where Mr. Plume preached very well from this text: ' Seeing therefore all these things must be dissolved,' &c. taking occasion from the late unparalell'd conflagration to mind us how we ought to walke more holyly in all manner of conversation.

" 27. Dined at Sir W^m D'Oylie's, with that worthy gent. S^r John Holland of Suffolke.

" 10 Oct. This day was order'd

a generall fast thro' the nation; to humble us on y^e late dreadfull conflagration, added to the plague and warr, the most dismall judgments that could be inflicted, but which indeede we highly deserv'd for our prodigious ingratitude, burning lusts, dissolute court, profane and abominable lives, under such dispensations of God's continu'd favour in restoring church, prince, and people from our late intestine calamities, of which we were altogether unmindfull, even to astonishment. This made me resolve to go to our parish assemblie, where our doctor preached on y^e 19 Luke 41, piously applying it to the occasion. After w^{ch} was a collection for y^e distressed losers in the late fire."

DEATH OF CHARLES II.

" A. D. 1685, 4 Feb. I went to London, hearing his Ma^y had ben the Mor'day before (2 Feb.) surpriz'd in his bed-chamber with an apoplectic fit, so that if, by God's providence, Dr. King (that excellent chirurgeon as well as physitian) had not been accidentally present to let him blood (having his lancet in his pocket) his Ma^y had certainly died that moment, which might have ben of direful consequence, there being nobody else present with the king save this doctor and one more, as I am assur'd. It was a mark of the extraordinary dexterity, resolution, and presence of mind in the Dr, to let him blood in the very paroxysm, without staying the coming of other physitians,

which regularly should have ben don, and for want of which he must have a regular pardon, as they tell me. This rescu'd his Ma^y for the instant, but it was only a short reprieve. He still complain'd, and was relapsing, often fainting, with sometimes epileptic symptoms, till Wednesday, for which he was cupp'd, let blood in both jugulars, had both vomit and purges, w^{ch} so reliev'd him that on Thursday hopes of recovery were signified in the publiq Gazette, but that day, about noone, the physitians thought him feaverish. This they seem'd glad of, as being more easily allay'd and methodically dealt with than his former fits; so as they prescrib'd the famous Jesuits powder; but

but it made him worse, and some very able doctors who were present did not think it a fever, but the effect of his frequent bleeding and other sharp operations us'd by them about his head, so that probably the powder might stop the circulation, and renew his former fits, which now made him very weak. Thus he pass'd Thursday night with greate difficulty, when complaining of a paine in his side, they drew 12 ounces more of blood from him; this was by 6 in the morning on Friday, and it gave him reliefe, but it did not continue, for being now in much paine, and struggling for breath, he lay dozing, and after some conflicts, the physitians despairing of him, he gave up the ghost at halfe an houre after eleven in the morning, being the 6 of February, 1685, in the 36th yeare of his reigne, and 54th of his age.

"Prayers were solemnly made in all the churches, especially in both y^e court chapells, where the chaplaines reliev'd one another every halfe quarter of an houre from the time he began to be in danger till he expir'd, according to the forme prescrib'd in the church offices. Those who assisted his majesty's devotions were, the Abp. of Canterbury, the Bishops of London, Durham, and Ely, but more especially Dr. Ken, the Bp. of Bath and Wells. It is sayd they exceedingly urg'd the receiving the holy sacrament, but his Ma^y told them he would consider of it, which he did so long 'till it was too late. Others whisper'd that the bishops and lords, except the Earles of Bath and Feversham, being order'd to withdraw the night before, Hurl-

ston, the priest, had presumed to administer the popish offices. He gave his breeches and keys to y^e duke, who was almost continually kneeling by his bed-side, and in teares. He also recommended to him the care of his natural children, all except the Duke of Monmouth, now in Holland, and in his displeasure. He intreated the queene to pardon him (not without cause;) who a little before had sent a bishop to excuse her not more frequently visiting him, in regard of her excessive griefe, and withall, that his Ma^y would forgive it if at any time she had offended him. He spake to y^e duke to be kind to the Dutchesse of Cleaveland, and especialy Portsmouth, and that Nelly might not starve.

"Thus died King Charles II. of a vigorous and robust constitution, and in all appearance promising a long life. He was a prince of many virtues, and many greate imperfections; debonaire, easy of access, not bloody nor cruel; his countenance fierce, his voice greate, proper of person, every motion became him; a lover of the sea, and skilfull in shipping; not affecting other studies, yet he had a laboratory, and knew of many empyrical medicines, and the easier mechanical mathematics; he lov'd planting and building, and brought in a politer way of living, which pass'd to luxury and intolerable expence. He had a particular talent in telling a story, and facetious passages, of which he had innumerable; this made some buffoons and vitious wretches too presumptuous and familiar, not worthy the favour they abus'd. He tooke delight in having a number of little spaniels follow

follow him and lie in his bed-chamber, where he often suffer'd the bitches to puppy and give suck, which render'd it very offensive, and indeede made the whole court nasty and stinking. He would doubtlesse have ben an excellent prince, had he ben less addicted to women, who made him uneasy, and allways in want to supply their unmeasurable profusion, to y^e detriment of many indigent persons who had signaly serv'd both him and his father. He frequently and easily chang'd favorites, to his greate prejudice. As to other publiq transactions and unhappy miscarriages, 'tis not here I intend to number them; but certainly never had king more glorious opportunities to have made himselfe, his people, and all Europe happy, and prevented innumerable mischeifs, had not his too easy nature resign'd him to be manag'd by crafty men, and some abandon'd and profane wretches who corrupted his otherwise sufficient parts, disciplin'd as he had ben by many afflictions during his banishment, which gave him much experience and knowledge of men and things; but those wicked creatures took him off from all application becoming so greate a king. The history of his reigne will certainly be the most wonderfull for the variety of matter and accidents, above any extant in former ages: the sad tragical death of his father, his banishment and hardships, his miraculous restauration, conspiracies against him, parliaments, wars, plagues, fires, comets, revolutions abroad happening in his time, with a thousand other particulars. He was ever kind to me, and very gracious upon all

occasions, and therefore I cannot, without ingratitude, but deplore his losse, which for many respects as well as duty I do with all my soul.

"His majesty being dead, the duke, now K. James II. went immediately to council, and before entering into any businesse, passionately declaring his sorrow, told their lordships that since the succession had fallen to him, he would endeavour to follow the example of his predecessor in his clemency and tendernesse to his people; that, however he had ben misrepresented as affecting arbitrary power, they should find the contrary, for that the laws of England had made y^e king as greate a monarch as he could desire; that he would endeavor to maintain the government both in church and state, as by law establish'd, its principles being so firme for monarchy, and the members of it showing themselves so good and loyal subjects; and that as he would never depart from the just rights and prerogatives of y^e crown, so would he never invade any man's property; but as he had often adventur'd his life in defence of the nation, so he would still proceede, and preserve it in all its lawful rights and liberties.

"This being the substance of what he said, the lords desir'd it might be publish'd, as containing matter of greate satisfaction to a jealous people upon this change, which his Ma^y consented to. Then were the counsel sworn, and a proclamation order'd to be publish'd, that all officers should continue in their stations, that there might be no failure of public justice, till his further pleasure should

should be known. Then the king rose, the lords accompanying him to his bed-chamber, where, whilst he repos'd himself, tired indeede as he was with griefe and watching, they return'd againe into the council-chamber to take order for the *proclaiming* his Ma^y, which (after some debate) they consented should be in the very forme his grandfather King James I. was, after y^e death of Queene Elizabeth; as likewise that the lords, &c. should proceede in their coaches thro' the city for the more solemnity of it. Upon this was I, and severall other gentlemen waiting in the privy-gallerie, admitted into y^e council-chamber to be witnesse of what was resolv'd on. Thence with the lords, the lord marshall and heraulds, and other crowne officers being ready, we first went to White-hall-gate, where the lords stood on foote bare-headed, whilst the herauld proclaim'd his majesty's title to the imperial crowne and succession according to y^e forme, the trumpets and kettle-drums having first sounded 3 times, which ended with the people's acclamations. Then a herauld call'd the lords' coaches according to rank, myselfe accompanying the solemnity in my Lord Cornwallis's coach, first to Temple Barr, where the lord maior and his brethren met us on horseback, in all theire formalities, and proclaim'd the king; hence to the Exchange in Cornhill, and so we return'd in the order we set forth. Being come to White-hall, we all went and kiss'd the king and queenes hands. He had ben on y^e bed, but was now risen and in his undresse. The queene was in bed in her apartment, but put

forth her hand, seeming to be much afflicted, as I believe she was, having deported herselfe so decently upon all occasions since she came into England, which made her universally belov'd.

"Thus concluded this sad and not joyfull day.

"I can never forget the inexpressible luxury and prophaness, gaming and all dissoluteness, and as it were total forgetfulness of God (it being Sunday evening) which this day se'night I was witnesse of, the king sitting and toying with his concubines, Portsmouth, Cleaveland, and Mazarine, &c. a French boy singing love songs, in that glorious gallery, whilst about 20 of the greates courtiers and other dissolute persons were at basset round a large table, a bank of at least 2000 in gold before them, upon which two gentlemen who were with me made reflexions with astonishment. Six days after was all in the dust!

"It was enjoyn'd that those who put on mourning should wear it as for a father, in y^e most solemn manner.

"2 Oct. Having a letter sent me by Mr. Pepys with this expression at the foote of it, 'I have something to show you that I may not have another time,' and that I would not faile to dine with him, I accordingly went. After dinner he had me and Mr. Houblon (a rich and considerable merchant, whose father had fled out of Flanders on the persecution of the Duke of Alva) into a private roome, and told us that being lately alone with his Ma^y, and upon some occasion of speaking concerning my late Lord Arlington dying a Roman Catholic, who had all along seem'd to profess himselfe

himselfe a Protestaunt, taken all the tests, &c. till the day (I think) of his death, his Ma^v said that as to his inclinations he had known him long wavering, but from feare of looseing his places he did not think it convenient to declare himself. There are, says the king, those who believe the church of Rome gives dispensations for going to church, and many like things, but that is not so; for if that might have ben had, he himselfe had most reason to make use of it. *Indeede*, he said, as to *some matrimonial cases, there are now and then dispensations*, but hardly in any cases else. This familiar discourse encourag'd Mr. Pepys to beg of his Ma^v, if he might ask it without offence, and for that his Ma^v could not but observe how it was whisper'd among many, whether his late Ma^v had ben reconcil'd to y^e church of Rome; he againe humbly besought his Ma^v to pardon his presumption if he had touch'd upon a thing which did not befit him to looke into: the king ingeniously told him that he both was and died a Roman Catholic, and that he had not long since declar'd it was upon some politic and state reasons, best known to himselfe, (meaning the king his brother) but that he was of that persuasion: he bid him follow him into his closet, where opening a cabinet, he show'd him two papers, containing about a quarter of a sheete, on both sides written, in the late king's owne hand, severall arguments opposite to the doctrine of the church of England, charging her with heresy, novelty and y^e fanaticism of other Protestants, the chief whereof was, as I remember, our refusing

to acknowledge the primacy and infallibility of the church of Rome; how impossible it was that so many ages should never dispute it, till of late; how unlikely our Saviour would leave his church without a visible head and guide to resort to, during his absence; with the like usual topics; so well penn'd as to the discourse as did by no means seeme to me to have ben put together by the late king, yet written all with his owne hand, blotted and interlin'd, so as, if indeede it was not given him by some priest, they might be such arguments and reasons as had been inculcated from time to time, and here recollected; and in the conclusion showing his looking on the Protestant religion (and by name the church of England) to be without foundation, and consequently false and unsafe. When his Ma^v had shown him these originals, he was pleas'd to lend him the copies of those two papers, attested at the bottome in 4 or 5 lines, under his owne hand.

"These were the papers I saw and read. This nice and curious passage I thought fit to set downe. Tho' all the arguments and objections were altogether weake, and have a thousand times ben answer'd by our divines; they are such as their priests insinuate among their proselites; as if nothing were catholique but the church of Rome; no salvation out of that; no reformation sufferable; bottoming all their errors on St. Peter's successors' unerrable dictatorship, but proving nothing with any reason, or taking notice of any objection which could be made against it. Here all was taken for granted, and upon it a resolution and preference implied.

I was

I was heartily sorry to see all this, tho' it was no other than was to be suspected, by his late Ma^y too greate indifference, neglect, and course of life, that he had been perverted, and for secular respects onely profess'd to be of another believe, and thereby giving greate advantage to our adversaries, both the court and generally the youth and greate persons of the nation becoming dissolute and highly profane. God was incens'd to make his reign very troublesome and unprosperous, by warrs, plagues, fires, losse of reputation by an universal neglect of the publique for the love of a voluptuous and sensual life, w^{ch} a vicious court had brought into credit. I think of it with sorrow and pity when I consider of how good and debonaire a nature that unhappy prince was, what opportunities he had to have made himselfe the most renown'd king that ever sway'd the British scepter, had he ben firm to that church for w^{ch} his martyr'd and blessed father suffer'd; and had he ben gratefull to Almighty God, who so miraculously restor'd him, with so excellent a religion; had he endeavour'd to owne and propagate it as he should have don, not onely for the good of his kingdom, but of all the reformed churches in Christendom, now weaken'd and neere ruin'd thro' our remissnesse, and suffering them to be suplanted, persecuted and destroy'd, as in France, which we tooke no notice of. The consequence of this time will show, and I wish it may proceed no further. The emissaries and instru-

ments of the church of Rome will never rest till they have crush'd the church of England, as knowing that alone to be able to cope with them, and that they can never answer her fairly, but lie abundantly open to the irresistable force of her arguments, antiquity and purity of her doctrine, so that albeit it may move God, for the punishment of a nation so unworthy, to eclipse againe the profession of her here, and darknesse and superstition prevaile, I am most confident the doctrine of the church of England will never be extinguish'd, but remaine visible, if not eminent, to y^e consummation of the world. I have innumerable reasons that confirm me in this opinion, which I forbear to mention here.

"In the mean time as to the discourse of his Ma^y with Mr. Pepys, and those papers, as I do exceedingly prefer his majesty's free and ingenuous profession of what his own religion is, beyond concealment upon any politic accounts, so I thinke him of a most sincere and honest nature, one on whose word one may relie, and that he makes a conscience of what he promises, to performe it. In this confidence I hope that the church of England may yet subsist, and when it shall please God to open his eyes and turne his heart (for that is peculiarly in the Lord's hands) to flourish also. In all events whatever do become of the church of England, it is certainly, of all the Christian professions on the earth, the most primitive, apostolical and excellent."

CHARACTER OF SIR WILLIAM PETTY.

"A. D. 1675. Mar. 22. Supp'd at S^r William Petty's with the Bp. of Salisbury and divers honorable persons. We had a noble entertainment in a house gloriously furnished; the master and mistress of it were extraordinary persons. S^r W^m was the sonn of a meane man some where in Sussex, and sent from schole to Oxon, where he studied philosophy, but was most eminent in mathematics and mechanics: proceeded D^r of physick, and was grown famous, as for his learning so for his recovering a poor wench that had been hanged for felony; and her body having been begged (as the costome is) for the anatomie lecture, he bled her, put her to bed to a warm woman, and with spirits and other meanes restor'd her to life. The young scholars joynd and made her a little portion, and married her to a man who had severall children by her, she living 15 yeares after, as I have been assur'd. S^r W^m came from Oxon, to be tutor to a neighbour of mine; thence, when the rebells were dividing their conquests in Ireland, he was employ'd by them to measure and set out the land, which he did on an easy contract, so much per acre. This he effected so exactly, that it not only furnish'd him with a greate sum of money, but enabled him to purchase an estate worth 4000*l*. a yeare. He afterwards married the daughter of Sir Hardresse Waller; she was an extraordinary witt as well as beauty, and a prudent woman.

"S^r William, amongst other inventions, was author of the double-bottom'd ship, w^{ch} tho' it perish'd, and he was censur'd for rashnesse, being lost in the bay of Biscay in a storme when, I think, 15 other vessels miscarried. The vessell was flat-bottom'd, of exceeding use to put into shallow ports, and ride over small depths of water. It consisted of 2 distinct keeles cramp't together with huge timbers, &c. so as that a violent streame ran betweene; it bare a monstrous broad saile, and he still persists that it is practicable and of exceeding use; and he has often told me he would adventure himselfe in such another, could he procure sailors, and his Ma^{ty} permission to make a second experiment, which name the king gave it at the launching.

"The map of Ireland made by Sir William Petty is believ'd to be the most exact that ever yet was made of any country. He did promise to publish it; and I am told it has cost him neare 1000*l*. to have it engrav'd at Amsterdam. There is not a better Latine poet living when he gives himselfe that diversion; nor is his excellence less in council and prudent matters of state; but he is so exceeding nice in sifting and examining all possible contingencies, that he adventures at nothing which is not demonstration. There were not in y^e whole world his equal for a superintendant of manufacture and improvement of trade, or to govern a plantation. If I were a prince, I should make
him

him my second counsellor at least. There is nothing difficult to him. He is besides courageous, on which account I cannot but note a true storie of him, that when S^r Aleyn Brodrick sent him a challenge upon a difference 'twixt them in Ireland, S^r William, tho' exceedingly purblind, accepted the challenge, and it being his part to propound the weapon, desir'd his antagonist to meete him with a hatchet or axe in a dark cellar, which the other of course refused. Sir William was, with all this, facetious and of easy conversation, friendly and courteous, and had such a faculty of imitating others, that he would take a text and preach, now like a grave orthodox divine, then falling into the presbyterian way, then to the phanatical, the quaker, the monk and frier, the popish priest, with such admirable action, and alteration of voice and tone, as it was not possible to abstain from wonder, and one would sweare to heare severall persons, or forbear to think he was not in good earnest an enthusiast and almost beside himselfe; then he would fall out of it into a serious discourse; but it was very rarely he would be prevail'd on to oblige the company with this faculty, and that only amongst most intimate friends. My Lord Duke of Ormond once obtain'd it of him, and was almost ravish'd with admiration; but by and by he fell upon a serious reprimand of the faults and miscarriages of some princes and governors, which tho' he nam'd none, did so sensibly touch the duke, who was then lieutenant of Ireland, that he be-

gan to be very uneasy, and wish'd the spirit lay'd which he had rais'd, for he was neither able to endure such truthes, nor could he but be delighted. At last he mealt his discourse to a ridiculous subject, and came down from the joynt stoole on which he had stood; but my lord would not have him preach any more. He never could get favour at court, because he outwitted all the projectors that came neere him. Having never known such another genius; I cannot but mention these particulars amongst a multitude of others which I could produce. When I who knew him in mean circumstances have ben in his splendid palace, he would himselfe be in admiration how he arriv'd at it; nor was it his value or inclination for splendid furniture and the curiosities of the age; but his elegant lady could endure nothing meane, or that was not magnificent. He was very negligent himselfe, and rather so of his person, and of a philosophic temper. 'What a to-do is here!' would he say, 'I can lie in straw with as much satisfaction.'

"He is author of the ingenious deductions from the bills of mortality, which go under the name of Mr. Graunt; also of that useful discourse of the manufacture of wool, and several others in the register of the Royal Society. He was also author of that paraphrase on the 104th Psalm in Latin verse, which goes about in MS. and is inimitable. In a word, there is nothing impenetrable to him."

ACCOUNT OF MR. ROBERT BOYLE.

“ To MR. WOTTON.

“ Sr,

“ I most heartily beg y^r pardon for detaining your books so unreasonably long after I had read them, which I did with greate satisfaction, especially the Life of Descartes. The truth is, I had some hopes of seeing you here againe, for methought (or at least I flatter'd myselfe with it), you said at parting you would do us that favour before my going to London, whither I am, God willing, setting out to-morrow or next day for some time; not without regret, unlesse I receive y^r commands, if I may be any ways serviceable to you, in order to that noble undertaking you lately mention'd to me, I meane your generous offer & inclination to write the Life of our late illustrious philosopher Mr. Boyle, and to honor the memory of a gentleman of that singular worth & vertue. I am sure if you persist in that designe, England shall never envy France, or neede a Gassendus or a Baillet to perpetuate & transmit the memory of one not onely equalling but in many things transcending either of those excellent & indeede extraordinary persons, whom their pens have render'd imortal. I wish myselfe was furnished to afford you any considerable supplys (as you desir'd) after my so long acquaintance with Mr. Boyle, who had honor'd me with his particular esteeme, now very neere fourty yeares; as I might have don, by more dully cultivating frequent opportunities he was pleased to allow me. But so it is, that his life & virtues

have ben so conspicuous, as you'll neede no other light to direct you, or subject matter to work on, than what is so universally knowne, and by what he has don & publish'd in his books. You may perhaps neede some particulars as to his birth, family, education, & other lesse necessarie circumstances for introduction; and such other passages of his life as are not so distinctly knowne but by his owne relations. In this if I can serve you, I shall do it with greate readinesse, & I hope successe; having some pretence by my wife, in whose grandfather's house (which is now mine at Deptford) the father of this gentleman was so conversant, that contracting an affinity there, he left his (then) eldest son with him whilst himself went into Ireland, whoin his absence dying, lies buried in our parish church, under a remarkable monument. I mention this because my wife's relation to that family giving me accesse to divers of his neerest kindred; the Countesse Dowager of Clancartie (living now in an house of my son's in Dover streete) and y^e Countess of Thanet, both his nieces, will I question not be able to informe me what they cannot but know of those & other circumstances of their uncle, which may not be unworthy of your notice; especially my Lady Thanet, who is a greate *virtuosa*, and uses to speake much of her uncle. You know she lives in one of my L^d of Nottingham's houses at St. James's, and therefore will neede no introductor there. I will waite upon my Lord Burlington if there be occasion,

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provided

provided in the meane time (and after all this officiousness of mine) it be not the proffer of a very uselesse service; since my Lord Bish^p of Salisbury, who made us expect what he is now devolving on you, cannot but be fully instructed in all particulars.

"It is now, as I said, almost fourty years since first I had the honor of being acquainted with Mr. Boyle; both of us newly return'd from abroad, tho' I know not how, never meeting there. Whether he travell'd more in France than Italy, I cannot say, but he had so universal an esteeme in forrain parts, that not any stranger of note or quality, learn'd or curious, coming into England, but us'd to visite him with the greatest respect and satisfaction imaginable.

"Now as he had an early inclination to learning (so especially to that part of philosophy he so hapily succeeded in), he often honor'd Oxford, and those gentlemen there, with his company, who more peculiarly applied themselves to the examination of the so long domineering methods & jargon of the scholes. You have the names of this learned *junto*, most of them since deservedly dignified in that elegant history of the Royal Society, which must ever owne its rise from that assembly, as dos the preservation of that famous University from the phanatic rage & avarice of those melancholy times. These, with some others (whereof Mr. Boyle, the Ld. Viscount Brouncker, S^r Robert Morray, were the most active) spirited with the same zeale, and under a more propitious influence, were y^e persons to whom the world stands oblig'd for the promoting of that generous and

real knowledge, which gave the ferment that has ever since obtain'd, and surmounted all those many discouragements which it at first incounter'd. But by no man more have the territories of the most usefull philosophy been enlarg'd, than by our *hero*, to whom there are many trophys due. And accordingly his fame was quickly spread, not onely among us here in England, but thro' all the learned world besides. It must be confess'd that he had a merveilous sagacity in finding out many usefull and noble experiments. Never did stubborn matter come under his inquisition but he extorted a confession of all that lay in her most intimate recesses; and what he discover'd he as faithfully register'd, and frankly com'unicated; in this, exceeding my L^d Verulam, who (tho' never to be mention'd without honor and admiration) was us'd to tell all that came to hand without much examination. His was probability; Mr. Boyle suspicion of successe. S^r, you will here find ample field, and infinitely gratifie the curious with a glorious and fresh survey of the progresse he has made in these discoveries. Freed from those incumbrances which now & then render the way a little tedious, 'tis abundantly recompensing the pursuite; especially those noble atchievements of his, made in the spring and weight of the two most necessary elements of life, *air* & *water*, and their effects. The origin of formes, qualities, and principles of matter: histories of cold, light, colours, gems, effluvia, & other his works so firmly established on experiments, polychrests, & of universal use to real philosophy; besides
other

other beneficial inventions peculiarly his; such as the dulcifying sea-water with that ease & plenty, together with many medicinal remedies, cautions, directions, curiosities & arcana, which owe their birth or illustration to his indefatigable recherches. He brought the phosphorus & antelUCA to the clearest light that ever any did, after innumerable attempts. It were needlesse to insist on particulars to one who knows them better than my selfe. You will not, however, omitt those many other treatises relating to religion, which indeede runs thro' all his writings upon occasion, and shew how unjustly that aspersiOn has ben cast on philosophy, that it disposes men to Atheisme. Neither did his severer studys yet soure his conversation in the least. He was the furthest from it in the world, and I question whether ever any man has produc'd more experiments to establish his opinions without dogmatizing. He was a *Corpuscularian* without Epicurus; a greate and happy analyzer, addicted to no particular sect, but as became a generous & free philosopher, preferring truth above all; in a word, a person of that singular candor and worth, that to draw a just character of him, one must run thro' all the vertues, as well as thro' all the sciences. And tho' he tooke the greatest care imaginable to conceale the most illustrious of 'em, his charities & the many good works he continually did could not be hid. It is well known how large his bounty was upon all occasions:—witness the Irish, Indian, Lithuanian Bibles, to the translations, printing & publishing of which he

layd out considerable summs; the Catechisme, & Principles of the Christian faith, which I think he caus'd to be put into Turkish, & dispers'd among those infidels. And here you will take notice of the Lecture he has endow'd and so seasonably provided for.

“As to his relations (so far as I have heard) his father Rich^d Boyle was *faber fortunæ*; a person of wonderfull sagacity in affaires, & no lesse probity, by which he compass'd a vast estate & greate honors to his posterity, which was very numerous, & so prosperous, as has given to the publiq both divines & philosophers, souldiers, politicians, & statesmen, and spread its branches among the most illustrious and opulent of our nobility. Mr. Robert Boyle, born I think in Ireland, was the youngest, to whom yet he left a faire estate; to which was added an honorary pay of a troop of horse, if I mistake not. And now, tho' amongst all his experiments he never made that of the married life, yet I have ben told he courted a beautifull & ingenious daughter of Carew, Earle of Monmouth; to which is owing the birth of his ‘Seraphic Love,’ and the first of his productions. Descartes was not so innocent. In the meane time he was the most facetious & agreeable conversation in the world among the ladys, whenever he happen'd to be engag'd; and yet so very serious, compos'd & contemplative at all other times; tho' far from moroseness, for indeede he was affable & civil rather to excesse, yet without formality.

“As to his opinion in religious matters and discipline, I could not

but discover in him the same free thoughts which he had of philosophy; not in notion onely, but strictly as to practise an excellent Christian and the greates duties of that profession, without noise, dispute, or determining; owning no master but the Divine Author of it; no religion but primitive, no rule but scripture, no law but right reason. For the rest, allways conformable to the present settlement, without any sort of singularity. The mornings, after his private devotions, he usually spent in philosophic studys & in his laboratory, sometimes extending them to night; but he told me had quite given over reading by candle-light, as injurious to his eyes. This was supply'd by his *amanuensis*, who sometimes read to him, and wrote out such passages as he noted, and that so often in loose papers, pack'd up without method, as made him sometimes to seeke upon occasion, as himselfe confesses in divers of his works. Glasses, potts, chymical and mathematical instruments, books, & bundles of papers, did so fill & crowd his bed-chamber, that there was but just roome for a few chaires; so as his whole equipage was very philosophical without formality. There were yet other roomes, and a small library (and so you know had Descartes), as learning more from men, real experiments, & in his laboratory (which was ample & well furnish'd), than from books.

"I have said nothing of his style, which those who are better judges think he was not altogether so happy in as in his experiments. I do not call it affected, but doubtlesse not answerable to the rest

of his greates & shining parts; and yet, to do him right, it was much improv'd in his "Theodora" & later writings.

"In his diet (as in habit) he was extreamely temperate & plaine: nor could I ever discern in him the least passion, transport or censoriousnesse, whatever discourse or the times suggested. All was tranquill, easy, serious, discrete and profitable; so as besides Mr. Hobbes, whose hand was against every body, & admir'd nothing but his owne, Francis Linus excepted, (who yet with much civility wrote against him) I do not remember he had the least antagonist.

"In the afternoones he was seldom without company, which was sometimes so incomodious that he now and then repair'd to a private lodging in another quarter of the towne, and at other times (as the season invited) diverted him selfe in the country among his noble relations.

"He was rather tall & slender of stature, for most part valetudinary, pale & much emaciated: nor unlike his picture in Gressham Colledge, which, with an almost impudent importunity, was, at the request of the Society, hardly extorted or rather stolen from this modest gentleman by S^r Edmund King, after he had refus'd it to his nearest relations.

"In his first addresses, being to speake or answer, he did sometimes a little hesitate, rather than stammer, or repeat the same word; imputable to an infirmity, which, since my remembrance, he had exceedingly overcome. This, as it made him somewhat slow and deliberate, so after the first effort he

he proceeded without the least interruption in his discourse. And I impute this impediment much to the frequent atackes of palsys, contracted I feare not a little by his often attendance on chymical operations. It has plainly astonish'd me to have seene him so often recover when he has not been able to move, or bring his hand to his mouth: & indeede the contexture of his body, during the best of his health, appear'd to me so delicate, that I have frequently compar'd him to a *chrystal* or *Venice glasse*; which tho' wrought never so thin and fine, being carefully set up, would outlast the hardier metals of daily use; and he was withall as clear & candid; not a blemish or spot to tarnish his reputation; & he lasted accordingly, tho' not to a greate, yet to a competent age; threescore years I think; & to many more he might, I am persuaded, have arriv'd, had not his beloved sister, the Lady V. C^{ess} Ranalagh, with whom he liv'd, a person of extraordinary talents & suitable to his religious & philosophical temper, dyed before him. But it was then that he began evidently to droope apace; nor did he, I thinke, survive her above a fortnight. But of this last scene I can say little, being unfortunately

absent, & not knowing of the danger 'till it was past recovery.

"His funeral (at w^{ch} I was present) was decent, and tho' without the least pomp, yet accompanied with a greate appearance of persons of y^e best & noble quality, besides his owne relations.

"He lies interr'd (necere his sister) in the chancell of St. Martin's Church; the L^d B^p of Salisbury preaching the funeral sermon, with that eloquence natural to him on such & all other occasions. The sermon, you know, is printed, with the panegyric so justly due to his memory. Whether there have ben since any other monument erected on him, I do not know, nor is it material. His name (like that of Joseph Scaliger) were alone a glorious epitaph.

"And now, S^r, I am againe to implore y^r pardon, for giving you this interruption with things so confus'dly huddl'd up this very afternoone, as they crowded into my thoughts. The subject you see is fruitfull, and almost inexhaustible. Argument fit for no man's pen but Mr. Wotton's. Oblige then all the world, and with it

"S^r, y^r &c."

"Wotton, 30 Mar. 1696."

DEATH OF MR. EVELYN'S DAUGHTER MARY.

"A.D. 1685, 7 March. My daughter Mary was taken with the small pox, and there soon was found no hope of her recovery. A very greate affliction to me: but God's holy will be done.

"10. She receiv'd the blessed

sacrament; after which, disposing herselfe to suffer what God should determine to inflict, she bore the remainder of her sicknesse with extraordinary patience and piety, and more than ordinary resignation and blessed frame of mind.

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She died the 14th, to our unspeakable sorrow and affliction, and not to ours onely, but that of all who knew her, who were many of the best quality, greatest and most virtuous persons. The justnesse of her stature, person, comelinesse of countenance, gracefullnesse of motion, unaffected tho' more than ordinary beautifull, were the least of her ornaments compared with those of her mind. Of early piety, singularly religious, spending a part of every day in private devotion, reading and other vertuous exercises; she had collected and written out many of the most usefull and judicious periods of the books she read in a kind of common-place, as out of Dr. Hammond on the New Testament, and most of the best practical treatises. She had read and digested a considerable deale of history and of places. The French tongue was as familiar to her as English; she understood Italian, and was able to render a laudable account of what she read and observed, to which assisted a most faithful memory and discernment; and she did make very prudent and discrete reflexions upon what she had observed of the conversations among which she had at any time been, which being continually of persons of the best quality, she thereby improved. She had an excellent voice, to which she play'd a thorough-bass on the harpsichord, in both which she arriv'd to that perfection, that of the schollars of those two famous masters Signors Pietro and Bartholomeo she was esteem'd the best; for the sweetness of her voice and management of it added such an agreeableness to her countenance, without any con-

straint or concerne, that when she sung, it was as charming to the eye as to the eare; this I rather note, because it was a universal remarke, and for which so many noble and judicious persons in musiq desired to heare her, the last being at Lord Arundel's of Wardour (see p. 543). What shall I say, or rather not say, of the cheerefullness and agreeableness of her humour? condescending to the meanest servant in the family, or others, she still kept up respect, without the least pride. She would often read to them, examine, instruct, and pray with them if they were sick, so as she was exceedingly beloved of every body. Piety was so prevalent an ingredient in her constitution (as I may say) that even amongst equals and superiors she no sooner became intimately acquainted, but she would endeavour to improve them, by insinuating something of religious, and that tended to bring them to a love of devotion; she had one or two confidants with whom she used to passe whole dayes in fasting, reading and prayers, especially before the monthely communion and other solemn occasions. She abhorr'd flattery, and tho' she had abundance of witt, the raillery was so innocent and ingenuous that it was most agreeable; she sometimes would see a play, but since the stage grew licentious, express'd herself weary of them, and the time spent at the theater was an unaccountable vanity. She never play'd at cards without extream importunity and for the company, but this was so very seldome that I cannot number it among any thing she could name a fault. No one could read prose

or verse better or with more judgment; and as she read, so she writ, not only most correct orthography, with that maturitie of judgment and exactnesse of the periods, choice of expressions, and familiarity of stile, that some letters of hers have astonish'd me and others to whom she has occasionally written. She had a talent of rehersing any comical part or poeme, as to them she might be decently free with was more pleasing than heard on y^e theater: she daunc'd with the greatest grace I had ever seene, and so would her master say, who was Mons^r Isaac; but she seildome shew'd that perfection, save in the gracefullnesse of her carriage, which was with an aire of spritely modestie not easily to be described. Nothing affected, but natural and easy as well in her deportment as in her discourae, which was always materiall, not trifling, and to which the extraordinary sweetnesse of her tone, even in familiar speaking, was very charming. Nothing was so pretty as her descending to play with little children, whom she would caresse and humour with greate delight. But she most affected to be with grave and sober men, of whom she might learne something, and improve herselfe. I have ben assisted by her in reading and praying by me; comprehensive of uncommon notions, curious of knowing every thing to some excesse, had I not sometimes repressed it. Nothing was so delightfull to her as to go into my study, where she would willingly have spent whole dayes, for as I sayd she had read abundance of history, and all the best poets, even Terence, Plautus, Homer, Virgil, Horace, Ovid; all

the best romances and modern poemes; she could compose happily, and put in pretty symbols, as in the *Mundus Muliebris*, wherein is an enumeration of the immense variety of the modes and ornaments belonging to the sex; but all these are vaine trifles to the virtues which adorn'd her soule; she was sincerely religious, most dutifull to her parents, whom she lov'd with an affection temper'd with greate esteeme, so as we were easy and free, and never were so well pleas'd as when she was with us, nor needed we other conversation; she was kind to her sisters, and was still improving them by her constant course of piety. Oh deare, sweete, and desireable child, how shall I part with all this goodness and virtue without the bitternesse of sorrow and reluctancy of a tender parent! Thy affection, duty, and love to me was that of a friend as well as a child. Nor lesse deare to thy mother, whose example and tender care of thee was unparellel'd, nor was thy returne to her lesse conspicuous; Oh! how she mourns thy loss! how desolate hast thou left us! To the grâve shall we both carry thy memory!

“God alone (in whose bosom thou art at rest and happy!) give us to resigne thee and all our contentments (for thou indeede wert all in this world) to his blessed pleasure! Let him be glorified by our submission, and give us grace to blesse him for the graces he implanted in thee, thy virtuous life, pious and holy death, which is indeede the onely comfort of our soules, hastening thro' the infinite love and mercy of the Lord Jesus to be shortly with thee, deare child, and with thee and those

those blessed saints like thee, glorifye the Redeemer of the world to all eternity! Amen!

"It was in the 19th year of her age that this sicknesse happen'd to her. An accident contributed to this disease; she had an apprehension of it in particular, and which struck her but two days before she came home, by an imprudent gentlewoman whom she went with Lady Falkland to visite, who after they had ben a good while in the house, told them she had a servant sick of the small pox (who indeede died the next day); this my poore child acknowledg'd made an impression on her spirits. There were foure gentlemen of quality offering to treate with me about marriage, and I freely gave her her owne choice, knowing her discretion. She showed great indifference to marrying at all, for truly, says she to her mother (the other day), were I assur'd of your life and my deare father's, never would I part from you; I love you and this home, where we serve God, above all things, nor ever shall I be so happy; I know and consider the vicissitudes of the world, I have some experience of its vanities, and but for decency more than inclination, and that you judge it expedient for me, I would not change my condition, but rather add the fortune you designe me to my sisters, and keepe up the reputation of our family. This was so discreetly and sincerely utter'd that it could not but proceede from an extraordinary child, and one who lov'd her parents beyond example.

"At London she tooke this fatal disease, and the occasion of her being there was this: my Lord

Viscount Falkland's lady having ben our neighbour (as he was treasurer of the navy), she tooke so greate an affection to my daughter, that when they went back in the autumn to the citty, nothing would satisfie their incessant importunity but letting her accompany my lady, and staying sometime with her; it was with y^e greatest reluctance I complied. Whilst she was there, my lord being musical, when I saw my lady would not part with her till Christmas, I was not unwilling she should improve the opportunity of learning of Sign^r Pietro; who had an admirable way both of composure and teaching. It was the end of February before I could prevail with my lady to part with her; but my lord going into Oxfordshire to stand for knight of the shire there, she express'd her wish to come home, being tir'd of y^e vain and empty conversation of the towne, y^e theatres, the court, and trifling visites w^{ch} consum'd so much precious time, and made her sometimes misse of that regular course of piety that gave her y^e greatest satisfaction. She was weary of this life, and I think went not thrice to court all this time, except when her mother or I carried her. She did not affect showing herselfe, she knew y^e court well, and pass'd one summer in it at Windsor with Lady Tuke, one of the queene's women of the bed-chamber (a most virtuous relation of hers); she was not fond of that glittering scene, now become abominably licentious, though there was a designs of Lady Rochester and Lady Clarendon to have made her a maid of honour to the queene as soon as there was a vacancy. But this
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she did not set her heart upon, nor indeede on any thing so much as the service of God, a quiet and regular life, and how she might improve herself in the most necessary accomplishments, and to w^{ch} she was arriv'd at so greate a measure.

"This is y^e little history and imperfect character of my deare child, whose piety, virtue, and incomparable endowments deserve a monument more durable than brasse and marble. Precious is the memorial of the just. Much I could enlarge on every period of this hasty account, but that I ease and discharge my overcoming passion for the present, so many things worthy an excellent Christian and dutifull child crowding upon me. Never can I say enough, oh deare, my deare child, whose memory is so precious to me!

"This deare child was born at Wotton in the same house and chamber in which I first drew my breath, my wife having retir'd to my brother there in the great sicknesse that yeare upon the first of that moneth, and neere the very houre that I was borne, upon the last; viz. October.

"16 March. She was interr'd in the south-east end of the church at Deptford, neere her grandmother and severall of my younger children and relations. My desire was she should have ben carried and layed among my own parents and relations at Wotton, where I desire to be interr'd myselfe, when God shall call me out of this uncertaine transitory life, but some circumstances did not permit it. Our vicar, Dr. Holden, preach'd her funeral sermon on 1 Phil. 21. 'For to me to live is Christ, and to die is gaie,' upon which he

made an apposite discourse, as those who heard it assur'd me (for grieve suffer'd me not to be present), concluding with a modest recital of her many virtues and signal piety, so as to draw both teares and admiration from the hearers. I was not altogether unwilling that something of this sort should be spoken, for the edification and encouragement of other young people.

"Divers noble persons honour'd her funeral, some in person, others sending their coaches, of w^{ch} there were six or seven with six horses, viz. the Countesse of Sunderland, Earle of Clarendon, Lord Godolphin, S^r Stephen Fox, Sir W^m Godolphin, Viscount Falkland, and others. There were distributed amongst her friends about 60 rings.

"Thus liv'd, died, and was buried the joy of my life, and ornament of her sex and of my poore family! God Almighty of his infinite mercy grant me the grace thankfully to resigne myselfe and all I have, or had, to his divine pleasure, and in his good time, restoring health and comfort to my family: 'teach me so to number my days that I may apply my heart to wisdom,' be prepar'd for my dissolution, and that into the hands of my blessed Saviour I may recommend my spirit! Amen!

"On looking into her closet, it is incredible what a number of collections she had made from historians, poetes, travellers, &c. but above all, devotions, contemplations, and resolutions on these contemplations, found under her hand in a booke most methodically dispos'd; prayers, meditations, and devotions on particular occasions, with many pretty letters
to

to her confidants; one to a divine (not nam'd), to whom she writes that he would be her ghostly father, and would not despise her for her many errors and the imperfections of her youth, but beg of God to give her courage to acquaint him with all her faults, imploring his assistance and spiritual directions. I well remember she had often desir'd me to recommend her to such a person, but I did not think fit to do it as yet, seeing her apt to be scrupulous, and knowing the great innocency and integrity of her life.

"It is astonishing how one who

had acquir'd such substantial and practical knowledge in other ornamental parts of education, especially music, both vocal and instrumental, in dauncing, paying and receiving visites, and necessary conversation, could accomplish halfe of what she has left; but as she never affected play or cards, which consume a world of precious time, so she was in continual exercise, which yet abated nothing of her most agreeable conversation. But she was a little miracle while she liv'd, and so she died!"

ARTICLE II.—*Recollections of CURRAN and some of his Contemporaries,*
by CHARLES PHILLIPS, Esq.

THE Irish character, in all its parts and combinations, is so singular, that it must always be interesting, and afford a subject of deep meditation to the philosopher. But more especially is the mental character of the Irish nation peculiar, even as it is displayed in the most illiterate and least civilized portion of the people: the peasantry in that country often display an originality and richness of combination in their ideas, a wildness in their imagery, and a shrewdness in their observations, which is very astonishing; and to this natural character, improved in some degree by education and circumstances, the most celebrated men of that nation, Sheridan, Burke, and Curran, are mainly indebted for their justly acquired celebrity.

Of Irish eloquence all these possessed a large portion; perhaps, however, the eloquence of Curran, when it rose to its highest pitch, surpassed in its power of creating a new world round those who heard it, the eloquence either of Sheridan or Burke. But Curran must always excite an interest, not merely on account of his eloquence, but also for his wit, and more especially from his close connexion with the most momentous period of Irish history. Mr. Phillips chiefly exhibits his friend as a man of eloquence and wit; and, on the whole, has produced an interesting volume. Most probably we shall have occasion, next year, to consider Mr. Curran, as connected with the history of Ireland, in noticing his Life, by his son.

EARLY

EARLY LIFE OF CURRAN.

"CALLED, as we have thus seen him, to the bar, he was without friends, without connexions, without fortune, conscious of talents far above the mob by which he was elbowed, and cursed with sensibility which rendered him painfully alive to the mortifications he was fated to experience. Those who have risen to professional eminence, and recollect the impediments of such a commencement—the neglect abroad—the poverty perhaps at home—the frowns of rivalry—the fears of friendship—the sneer at the first essay—the prophecy that it will be the last—discouragements as to the present—forebodings as to the future—some who are established endeavouring to crush the chance of competition, and some who have failed anxious for the wretched consolation of companionship—those who recollect the comforts of such an apprenticeship may duly appreciate poor Curran's situation. After toiling for a very inadequate recompense at the sessions of Cork, and wearing, as he said himself, his teeth almost to their stumps, he proceeded to the metropolis, taking for his wife and young children a miserable lodging upon *Hog Hill*. Term after term, without either profit or professional reputation, he paced the hall of the Four Courts. Yet even thus he was not altogether undistinguished. If his pocket was not heavy, his heart was light; he was young and ardent, buoyed up not less by the consciousness of what he felt within, than by the encoura-

ging comparison with those who were successful around him, and he took his station among the crowd of idlers, whom he amused with his wit or amazed by his eloquence. Many even who had emerged from that crowd, did not disdain occasionally to glean from his conversation the rich and varied treasures which he did not fail to squander with the most unsparing prodigality; and some there were who observed the brightness of the infant luminary struggling through the obscurity that clouded its commencement. Amongst those who had the discrimination to appreciate, and the heart to feel for him, luckily for Curran, was Mr. Arthur Wolfe, afterwards the unfortunate but respected Lord Kilwarden. The first fee of any consequence which he received was through his recommendation; and his recital of the incident cannot be without its interest to the young professional aspirant, whom a temporary neglect may have sunk into dejection. 'I then lived,' said he, 'upon Hog Hill; my wife and children were the chief furniture of my apartments; and as to my rent, it stood pretty much the same chance of its liquidation with the national debt. Mrs. Curran, however, was a barrister's lady, and what she wanted in wealth she was well determined should be supplied by dignity. The landlady, on the other hand, had no idea of any gradation except that of pounds, shillings, and pence. I walked out one morning to avoid the perpetual altercations on the subject,

subject, with my mind, you may imagine, in no very enviable temperament. I fell into the gloom to which, from my infancy, I had been occasionally subject. I had a family for whom I had no dinner, and a landlady for whom I had no rent. I had gone abroad in despondence—I returned home almost in desperation. When I opened the door of my study, where *Lavater* alone could have found a library, the first object which presented itself was an immense folio of a brief, twenty golden guineas wrapped up beside it, and the name of *Old Bob Lyons* marked upon the back of it. I paid my landlady—bought a good dinner—gave Bob Lyons a share of it—and that dinner was the date of my prosperity. Such was his own exact account of his professional advancement: and perhaps the reader may feel some interest attached to the person of the man who thus held out to Curran the hand of encouragement when he was trembling upon the pivot of his destiny. A personal acquaintance has given me, in some degree, the means of gratifying his curiosity. Bob Lyons, the attorney, was a perfect but indeed a very favourable specimen of a class of men now quite extinct in Ireland, and never perhaps known in any other country in creation. They were a kind of compound of the rack-rent squire and the sharp law practitioner—careless and craving—extravagant and usurious—honourable and subtle—just as their education or their nature happened to predominate at the moment. They had too much ignorant conceit not to despise the profession, and too many artificial wants not at

times to have recourse to its *arcana*. The solicitor of the morning was the host of the evening; the *invitation* perhaps came on the back of the *capias*, and the gentleman of *undoubted Milesian origin* capped the climax of his innumerable bumpers with toasting confusion to the gentleman by *act of parliament*. This race of men, a genus in themselves distinct and peculiar, grew like an excrescence upon the system of the country: the Irish squire of half a century ago *scorned* not to be in debt; it would be beneath his dignity to live within his income; and next to not incurring a debt, the greatest degradation would have been voluntarily to *pay one*. The consequence necessarily of creditors was law, and the indispensable consequence of law was an attorney: but those whom law estranged, the table re-united—the squire became reconciled to the attorney over a bottle—to avoid his process he made him his agent, and the estate soon passed from their alternate possession by the same course of ruinous prodigality.

“Such was the community of which old Bob Lyons was a most distinguished member; but of which, as I have said before, he was a most favourable specimen. Plausible in his manners, and hospitable in his habits, those who feared him for his undoubted skill as a practitioner, esteemed him for his convivial qualities as a companion. Nor had even his industry the ill favour of selfishness. If he gained all he could, still he spent all he gained, and those who marvelled at the poverty of his neighbourhood, could easily have counted his personal acquisitions.

acquisitions. No matter who might be the poorer for him, he was the richer for no man—in short, it seemed to be the office of his left hand lavishly to expend what his right hand assiduously accumulated. When I became first acquainted with him he had reaped the harvests of two thirds of a century, and alternately sued and entertained two thirds of the province of Connaught, in which he resided. He had all the pleasantries of youth in his address, and art struggled hard to set off the lingering graces of his exterior. His clothes were always adjusted to a nicety—a perennial Brutus rendered either baldness or greyness invisible, and the jet black liquid that made his boot a mirror, *renovated the almost traceless semicircle of his eyebrow!* Such, to an iota, was old Bob Lyons; and to him Curran has often told me he owed not merely much of the prosperity, but many of the pleasantest hours of his existence. The case in which he employed him first, was the Sligo election petition cause, between Ormsby and Wynne; a species of litigation from which, thanks to the Union, no young Irish barrister will ever date his prosperity in future. In this cause Mr. Curran eminently distinguished himself; and so grateful was Lyons for his exertions, that he gave him professional business afterwards in succession to the full amount of eleven hundred pounds. This, of course, quite established him in the world.—the landlady upon Hog Hill began to view him in altogether a different aspect, and an house of his own, furnished at all points, rewarded his friend Lyons with no churlish hos-

pitality. Lyons's country residence was situated on the seashore, about ten miles to the northwest of Sligo. The English reader can have no idea whatever of such a residence in such a country. Scenery rude, varied, and romantic—rocks upon rocks tossed together in the most fantastic groupings—and mountains of every height and every shape, frowning over the vast expanse of the Atlantic ocean, give rather shelter than habitation to a people who have proclaimed eternal warfare with civilization. Half a century has since passed over them without introducing an innovation upon their ancient customs; and the feats of their forefathers, too outrageous for perpetration—and the articles of their superstition, too monstrous for credulity—have now rooted themselves into a kind of prescriptive reverence. The seals that infest their coasts in great numbers, they believe to be animated by the souls of their antiquated maiden relatives, a supposition certainly far more creditable to the chastity of the one sex than the gallantry of the other—the rocks, that with their echoes ‘syllable men's names,’ are the established residence of some rustic wizard—and the *fairies*, numerous enough at the dawn of the morning, never fail to double their numbers towards the conclusion of the frequent holyday! Such was the scene in Curran's early life of many a long vacation. Here the voice, upon whose accents the senate and the people hung, was loud in the revelry of the village wake; and the mind stored with every classic treasure, and inspired with every sublime perception, rivalled the peasant's

peasant's mirth, and wore familiarly the peasant's merriment. Nor was this idle jocularly without its value. Often afterwards in his professional circuit, the hearer, who stood entranced at an eloquence that seemed to flow from the very fount of inspiration, would see him suddenly, with some village witness, assume the vulgar air and attitude and accent, until his familiarity wheedled the confession which his ingenuity never could have extorted. Various were the anecdotes with which Mr. Curran used to exemplify the annals of Mulloghmore and the history of Bob Lyons. But many of them owed half their value to their local interest, and many of them were of a nature more suited to the table than the press. To me, who from my infancy had been familiar with all the localities of the scene, he delighted to repeat them; and as he sported in the retrospect of days so long gone by, the very spirit of the poet's veteran revived within him—he lived over again the pleasures he was describing.

"In one of these excursions a very singular circumstance had almost rendered this the period of his biography. He was on a temporary visit to the neighbouring town of Sligo, and was one morning standing at his bed-room window, which overlooked the street, occupied, as he told me, in arranging his portmanteau, when he was stunned by the report of a blunderbuss in the very chamber with him; and the panes above his head were all shattered into atoms! He looked suddenly around in the greatest consternation. The room was full of smoke—the blunderbuss on the floor just discharged

—the door closed, and no human being but himself discoverable in the apartment! If this had happened in his rural retreat, it could readily have been reconciled through the medium of some offended spirit of the village mythology; but, as it was, he was in a populous town—in a civilized family—amongst Christian doctrines, where the fairies had no power, and their gambols no currency; and to crown all, a poor cobbler, into whose stall, on the opposite side of the street, the slugs had penetrated, hinted in no very equivocal terms that the whole affair was a conspiracy against his life. It was by no means a pleasant addition to the chances of assassination, to be loudly declaimed against by a crazed mechanic as an assassin himself. Day after day passed away without any solution of the mystery, when one evening, as the servants of the family were conversing round the fire on so miraculous an escape, a little urchin, not ten years old, was heard so to wonder how *such an aim* was missed, that an universal suspicion was immediately excited. He was alternately flogged and coaxed into a confession, which disclosed as much precocious and malignant premeditation as perhaps ever marked the annals of juvenile depravity. This little miscreant had received a box on the ear from Mr. Curran for some alleged misconduct a few days before—the Moor's blow did not sink deeper into a mind more furious for revenge, or more predisposed by nature for such deadly impressions. He was in the bedroom by mere chance, when Mr. Curran entered. He immediately hid

hid himself in the curtains till he observed him too busy with his portmanteau for observation. He then levelled at him the old blunderbuss which lay charged in the corner, the stiffness of whose trigger, too strong for his infant fingers, alone prevented the aim which he confessed he had taken, and which had so nearly termi-

nated the occupations of the cobbler. The door was a-jar, and mid the smoke and terror he easily slipped out without discovery. I had the story verbatim a few months ago from Mr. Curran's lips, whose impressions on the subject it was no wonder that forty years had not obliterated."

ANECDOTES OF LORD AVONMORE.

" EMINENT in this society, and indeed in every other society of which he was a member, was BARRY YELVERTON, afterwards Lord Avonmore, the early friend of Curran, the companion of all his dearest enjoyments, the occasional rival of his talents, or victim of his whims, and to the day of his death the theme of his idolatry. His character has been drawn by Sir Jonah Barrington, in his admirable work on the Union, with such a powerful hand, and, as I have heard acknowledged by Mr. Curran, with such scrupulous fidelity, that I shall give it an entire transcription. Indeed, of Lord Avonmore I have myself a kind of early and affectionate recollection. When I was a schoolboy, he went as judge the circuit in which I resided—we were allowed vacation to go and *see the judges*—it was an era in the schoolboy's life. I had never seen a judge before. Poor Lord Avonmore observed, no doubt, the childish awe with which my eyes wandered over the robe—the wig—the little cap of office, and all the imposing para-

phernalia of judicial importance. He took me on the bench beside him—asked my name—my parents—my school, and after patting me on the head and sharing his cakes with me, with much solemnity told me he would certainly return in summer *on purpose* to inquire whether I minded my learning! I fully believed him—fancied myself at least a foot taller, and was in my own way quite as vain as *grown up* children are of similar trifles. When I told Curran the circumstance many a long day afterwards, adding, that at the time I verily felt myself almost as consequential as the judge—'Oh yes,' said he, the tear starting into his eye, 'and take my word for it, that judge was every whit *as innocent as the school-boy*.'

" 'Barry Yelverton,' says Sir Jonah Barrington, 'afterwards Lord Avonmore, and successor to Hussey Burgh, as chief baron of the exchequer, had acquired great celebrity as an advocate at the Irish bar, and was at this time rapidly winging his way to the highest pinnacle of honourable notoriety

notoriety and forensic advancement. He had been elected member of parliament for the town of Carrickfergus, and became a zealous partizan for the claims of Ireland.

" 'It would be difficult to do justice to the lofty and overwhelming elocution of this distinguished man, during the early period of his political exertions. To the profound, logical, and conclusive reasoning of Flood;—the brilliant, stimulating, epigrammatic antithesis of Grattan;—the sweet-toned, captivating, convincing rhetoric of Burgh;—or the wild fascinating imagery, and varied pathos of the extraordinary Curran, he was respectively inferior;—but in powerful, nervous language, he excelled them all. A vigorous, commanding, undaunted eloquence burst in torrents from his lips; not a word was lost. Though fiery, yet weighty and distinct, the authoritative rapidity of his language, relieved by the figurative beauty of his luxuriant fancy, subdued the auditor without a power of resistance, and left him in doubt, whether it was to argument or to eloquence that he surrendered his conviction.

" 'His talents were alike adapted to public purposes, as his private qualities to domestic society. In the common transactions of the world he was an infant;—in the varieties of right and wrong, of propriety and error, a frail mortal;—in the senate and at the bar, a mighty giant;—it was on the bench that, unconscious of his errors, and in his home, unconscious of his virtues, both were most conspicuous. That deep-seated vice, which with equal power freezes the miser's

heart, and inflames the ruffian's passions, was to him a stranger;—he was always rich, and always poor;—but though circumstances might sometimes have been his guide, avarice never was his conductor: like his great predecessor, frugality fled before the carelessness of his mind—and left him the victim of his liberality, and, of course, in many instances a monument of ingratitude. His character was entirely transparent, it had no opaque qualities;—his passions were open—his prepossessions palpable—his failings obvious—and he took as little pains to conceal his faults as to publish his perfections.

" 'In politics he was rather more steady to party than to principle, but evinced no immutable consistency in either:—a patriot by nature, yet susceptible of seduction—a partizan by temper, yet capable of instability—the commencement and conclusion of his political conduct were as distinct as the poles, and as dissimilar as the elements.

" 'Amplly qualified for the bench by profound legal and constitutional learning, extensive professional practice, strong logical powers, a classical and wide-ranging capacity, equitable propensities, and a philanthropic disposition; he possessed all the positive qualifications for a great judge:—but he could not temporize; the total absence of skilful or even necessary caution, and the indulgence of a few feeble counteracting habits, greatly diminished that high reputation, which a more cold phlegmatic mien, or a solemn, imposing, vulgar plausibility, often confers on miserably inferior characters.

"As a judge, he certainly had some of those marked imperfections too frequently observable in judicial officers:—he received impressions too soon, and perhaps too strongly;—he was indolent in research, and impatient in discussion;—the natural quickness of his perception hurried off his judgment, before he had time to regulate it, and sometimes left his justice and his learning *idle spectators* of his reasons and his determination;—while extraneous considerations occasionally obtruded themselves upon his unguarded mind, and involuntarily led him away from the straight path of calm deliberation.

"But the errors of talented and celebrated men are always more conspicuous, exaggerated, and condemned, than those of inferior ones; and perhaps this severity is not altogether unjustifiable: the errors of dulness may be the errors of nature; those of talent have not the same apology. But even with all his faults, Lord Avonmore's abilities were vastly superior to those of almost all his judicial cotemporaries united. If he was impetuous, it was an impetuosity in which his heart had no concern;—he was never unkind, that he was not always repentant;—and ever thinking that he acted with rectitude, the cause of his greatest errors seemed to be a careless ignorance of his lesser imperfections.

"He had a species of intermitting ambition, which either led him too far, or forsook him altogether. His pursuits, of course, were unequal, and his ways irregular:—he sometimes forgot his objects, and frequently forgot himself. Elevated solely by his

own talents—he acquired new habits without altogether divesting himself of the old ones—and there was scarcely a society so high, or a company so humble, that the instinctive versatility of his natural manners could not be adapted to either. A scholar—a poet—a statesman—a lawyer,—in elevated society he was a brilliant wit—at lower tables, a vulgar humourist:—he had appropriate anecdote and conviviality for all—and, whether in the one or in the other, he seldom failed to be either entertaining or instructive.

"He was a friend, ardent, but indiscriminate even to blindness—an enemy, warm, but forgiving even to folly;—he lost his dignity by the injudiciousness of his selections—and sunk his consequence in the pliability of his nature;—to the first he was a dupe—to the latter an instrument:—on the whole, he was a more enlightened than efficient statesman—a more, able, than unexceptionable judge—and more honest in theory, than the practice of his politics. His rising sun was brilliant—his meridian, cloudy—his setting, obscure:—crosses, at length, ruffled his temper—deceptions abated his confidence—time tore down his talent—he became depressed and indifferent—and after a long life of chequered incidents and inconsistent conduct, he died, leaving behind him few men who possessed so much talent—so much heart—or so much weakness.

"This distinguished man, at the critical period of Ireland's emancipation, burst forth as a meteor in the Irish senate: his career in the Commons was not

long—but it was busy and important; he had connected himself with the Duke of Portland, and continued that connexion uninterrupted till the day of his dissolution. But through the influence of that nobleman, and the absolute necessity of a family provision—on the question of the Union, the radiance of his public character was obscured for ever—the laurels of his early achievements fell withered from his brow—and after having with zeal and sincerity laboured to attain independence for his country in 1782—he became one of its salemasters in 1800—and mingling in a motley crowd, uncongenial to his native character—and beneath his natural superiority—he surrendered the rights—the franchises—and the honours of that peerage, to which, by his great talents and his early virtues, he had been so justly elevated.

“ ‘Except upon the bench, his person was devoid of dignity, and his appearance ordinary, and rather mean—yet there was something in the strong-marked lines of his rough unfinished features, which bespoke a character of no common description;—powerful talent was its first trait—fire and philanthropy contended for the next,—his countenance, wrought up and varied by the strong impressions of his labouring mind, could be better termed indicatory than expressive; and in the midst of his greatest errors and most reprehensible moments, it was difficult not to respect, and impossible not to regard him.’ ”

“ Such is his picture as drawn by a very admirable and powerful pen. There certainly are features in it not necessary to have been

exhibited in such a work as this, but quite indispensable to the more serious details of Sir Jonah Barrington's political history. Whatever may have been his tergiversations as a politician, and on the subject alluded to, no one can condemn him more vehemently than I do; we have merely to view him as the friend of Curran, the companion of his convivial hours, and the associate of his professional struggles. His simplicity was quite astonishing. He was the complete GOLDSMITH of the bar, as inspired, as simple, and at times as absent. Curran, who delighted to exemplify both by imitation and by anecdote the characters which he sketched, used to detail innumerable instances of this characteristic. He was his magnus Apollo—he always took care to sit next him at table, and put himself under his especial direction. Over and over again he was the victim of his infallible but good-natured waggishness; and if Curran began the most incredible story, continuing it to the end with a grave face, he was sure to command the temporary credulity of Barry Yelverton! However, when all recollection of the story was lost, and some different topic under discussion, perhaps in about half an hour afterwards, he, *who had been revolving it all the time in his memory*, would at length self-satisfied turn round, ‘Why, Curran, that story you told a while ago, is both morally and physically *impossible*.’ The conscious smile of Curran instantly betrayed the imposition, but the next moment would have made his bearer a dupe again, and the next half hour not failed to produce another discovery.

discovery. The mind, however, which was thus replete with simplicity, was stored with the rich wealth of classic lore, and capable of grasping the most momentous subjects. The court of exchequer in which he presided, was, during his time, literally the arena of wit and eloquence. The idler resorted to it for amusement, the student for information; and scarcely a day passed in which something did not occur well worthy of being recorded. As a judge, and indeed Barrington has hinted at it, Lord Avonmore had one great fault. He was apt to take up a first impression of a cause, and it was very difficult afterwards to obliterate it. The advocate, therefore, had not only to struggle against the real obstacles presented to him by the case itself, but also with the imaginary ones, created by the hasty anticipation of the judge. Curran was one day most seriously annoyed by this habit of Lord Avonmore, and he took the following whimsical method of correcting it. The reader must remember that the object of the narrator was, by a tedious and malicious procrastination, to irritate his hearer into the vice which he was so anxious to eradicate. They were to dine together at the house of a mutual friend, and a large party was assembled, many of whom witnessed the occurrences of the morning. Curran, contrary to all his usual habits, was late for dinner, and at length arrived in the most admirably affected agitation. 'Why, Mr. Curran, you have kept us a full hour waiting dinner for you,' grumbled out Lord Avonmore. 'Oh, my dear lord, I regret it

much—you must know it is not my custom, but—I've just been witness to a most melancholy occurrence.'—'My God!—you seem terribly moved by it—take a glass of wine—what was it—what was it?'—'I will tell you, my lord, the moment I can collect myself—I had been detained at court—in the court of chancery—your lordship knows the chancellor sits late.'—'I do—I do—but go on.'—'Well, my lord, I was hurrying here as fast as ever I could—I did not even change my dress—I hope I shall be excused for coming in my boots?'—'Poh, poh—never mind your boots—the point—come at once to the point of the story.'—'Oh—I will, my good lord, in a moment—I walked here—I would not even wait to get the carriage ready—it would have taken time, you know—now there is a market exactly in the road by which I had to pass—your lordship may perhaps recollect the market—do you?'—'To be sure I do—go on, Curran—go on with the story.'—'I am very glad your lordship remembers the market, for I totally forget the name of it—the name—the name—' 'What the devil signifies the name of it, sir?—it's the Castle Market.'—'Your lordship is perfectly right—it is called the Castle Market.—Well, I was passing through that very identical Castle Market, when I observed a butcher preparing to kill a calf—he had a huge knife in his hand—it was as sharp as a razor—the calf was standing beside him—he drew the knife to plunge it into the animal—just as he was in the act of doing so, a little boy about four years old—his only son—the loveliest little

baby I ever saw, ran suddenly across his path—and he killed! O! my God, he killed——’ —‘The child!—the child!—the child!’—vociferated Lord Avonmore. —‘No, my lord, *the calf*,’ continued Curran, very coolly—‘he killed the calf—but—*your lordship is in the habit of anticipating*.’ The universal laugh was thus raised against his lordship, and Curran declared that, often afterwards, a first impression was removed more easily from the court of exchequer by the recollection of the calf in Castle Market, than by all the eloquence of the entire profession.

“Lord Avonmore loved a jest in his very heart. He could not resist it even upon the bench; and his friend, well aware of the propensity, used not unfrequently to wage war against the gravity of the judgment-seat. He has often related, facetiously enough, an attack which he once made upon the mingled simplicity and laughter-loving disposition of the chief baron; who, with all his other qualifications, piqued himself, and very justly, on his profound classical acquisitions. He was one day addressing a jury of Dublin shopkeepers, so stupid and so illiterate that the finest flights of his eloquence were lost on them. ‘I remember, gentlemen,’ said he, stealing a side glance at the unconscious and attentive Lord Avonmore, ‘I remember the ridicule with which my learned friend has been pleased so unworthily to visit the poverty of my client; and remembering it, neither of us can forget the fine sentiment of a great Greek historian upon the subject, which I shall take the liberty of quoting

in the original, as no doubt it must be most familiar to all of you.—It is to be found in the celebrated work of *Hesiod*, called the ‘*Phantasmagoria*.’—After expatiating upon the sad effects of poverty, you may remember he pathetically remarks—

“Nil habet infelix paupertas durius in se
Quam quod ridiculos homines facit——”

Lord Avonmore bristled up at once—‘Why, Mr. Curran, *Hesiod* was not an historian—he was a poet; and, for my part, I never heard before of any such poem as the *Phantasmagoria*.’—‘Oh, my good lord, I assure you he wrote it.’—‘Well, well, it may be so—I’ll not dispute it, as you seem to be so very serious about it, but at all events, the lines you quoted are *Latin*—they are undoubtedly *Juvenal’s*.’—‘Perhaps, my lord, he quotes them from the *Phantasmagoria*.’—‘Tut, tut, man, I tell you they’re *Latin*—they’re just as familiar to me as my *Blackstone*.’—‘Indeed, my good lord, they’re Greek.’—‘Why, Mr. Curran, do you want to persuade me out of my senses?—I tell you they’re *Latin*—can it be possible that your memory so fails you?’—‘Well, my lord—I see plainly enough we never can agree upon the subject—but I’ll tell you how it can easily be determined—if it was a legal question, I should of course bow at once to the decision of your lordship, but it is not—it’s a mere matter of fact, and there’s only one way, I know, of deciding it.—Send it up as a collateral issue to that jury, and, I’ll be bound, they’ll—*find it Greek*.’ The joke flashed upon the simplicity of Lord Avonmore—he literally shook with laughter; and that the whole picture might preserve

preserve its *keeping*, Curran declared he extended his immense hand over the cheek that was next the jury-box, *by way of keeping them entirely out of the secret*.

"Amongst his other peculiarities, he was in the habit of occasional fits of absence. One day at a crowded dinner, the common toast of our *absent friends* was given. Curran, as usual, sat beside Lord Avonmore, who was immersed in one of his habitual reveries, altogether unconscious of what was passing. He maliciously aroused him—'Yelverton—Yelverton—the host has just announced your health in very flattering terms—it is considered very cavalier in you not to have acknowledged it.'—Up started the unsuspecting Yelverton, and it was not till after a very eloquent speech that he was apprised of the hoax in which it had originated!

"With all this simplicity he was undoubtedly a very great man, and it is an irreparable loss to literature, that either his modesty or his indolence prevented his transmitting to posterity any work to justify the impression which he so powerfully has made on the memory of his cotemporaries. It is said, indeed, that there is in existence, either a translation, or a corrected edition, of Livy, in manuscript, which he prepared during the intervals of his professional labour, but which he was too timid to offer for publication. In illustration of this, Mr. Curran told me himself, that his lordship had produced a most beautiful poetic translation of Horace's celebrated Ode, commencing

"Integer viti, scelerisque purus—"

This translation was the admira-

tion of every one who heard it, but it existed alone in the memory of its author, who never could be prevailed upon to give a copy of it. Curran, one day after dinner, got him to recite it—he then solicited its repetition; but Lord Avonmore saw Curran taking out his pencil for the purpose of reducing it to writing, and no one afterwards ever heard it from his lips! It is remarkable enough, that Mr. Curran, who never failed to descant indignantly upon this negligence in Lord Avonmore, was himself withheld by the very same feeling from giving even a correct copy of his speeches to the world. It was not the fault of, at least, his present humble biographer. I had hoped by repeated solicitations to have made my country my debtor, by inducing him to the undertaking—but, when I urged, he promised, and day after day rolled away over entreaty renewed, and performance deferred, until death terminated the fatal procrastination. I am indebted to the kindness of a friend, who noted it down at the moment, for the following happy illustration, by Lord Avonmore, of the labours of Sir William Blackstone, a celebrated commentator on the laws of England. 'He it was,' said he, 'who first gave to the law the air of science. He found it a skeleton, and he clothed it with life, colour, and complexion—he embraced the cold statue, and by his touch it grew into youth, and health, and beauty.' This was thrown carelessly off by him at the moment, and if report be true, he scarcely ever spoke without uttering something equally worthy of being remembered. There could not

not be found a more appropriate motto to prefix to the Commentaries, than the compendious eulogium of the brother judge. There was only one period of Lord Avonmore's life, upon which his friends could not reflect with complacency. This was the disastrous period of the Union; a measure, for their traitorous support of which, the public will hear with horror, many delinquent members of that suicidal parliament are in the face of day openly claiming performance of the reversionary promises of government! Yet the man who demanded a reform in that day, fared no better than the perhaps equally justifiable malcontent of the present! It may be, that the vote which he unfortunately gave upon that occasion was the result of his honest conviction: however it was too true that a very lucrative office was the consequence of it. Mr. O'Regan attributes to Curran the following exquisite sarcasm on the subject. When the draft of the patent was sent to Lord Avonmore for his approbation, he called into his study a few friends, and amongst the rest Mr. Curran, to see if all was right. The wording ran in the usual form:—'To all to whom these letters patent shall come, greeting—We of the *United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, &c. &c.*—Mr. Curran, when the reader came to this part, exclaimed—'Stop, stop;—'Why should he stop, sir?' said Lord Avonmore.—'Why, because it strikes me, my Lord, that the *consideration* is set out too early in the deed.'—His learned biographer is mistaken in his attribution of this bon mot, which is only one of a great many

equally happy, uttered by Mr. Keller. The truth is, Mr. Curran and Lord Avonmore were not on terms even of common courtesy at the time; and it is not likely that the one would have solicited advice, or the other have hazarded a witticism, with such a man on so odious an occasion. Previous to the Union some unfortunate difference had interrupted the friendship which commenced with their infancy, and grew with their growth; and it was not until the year 1805, that a reconciliation was effected between them. When friends really separate, the reunion is most difficult. The cause of the reconciliation is creditable to them both, and cannot fail to interest the reader, because it originated the following most beautiful picture of his friend, drawn by the hand of Curran in direct reference to the little convivial society which introduced his mention. On the memorable cause of the *King v. Mr. Justice Johnston*, in the Court of Exchequer, when Curran came to be heard, after alluding to a previous decision in the King's Bench against his client, he thus pathetically appealed to Lord Avonmore:—

"I am not ignorant, my lords, that this extraordinary construction has received the sanction of another court, nor of the surprise and dismay with which it smote upon the general heart of the bar. I am aware, that I may have the mortification of being told in another country of that unhappy decision; and I foresee in what confusion I shall hang down my head, when I am told it. But I cherish too the consolatory hope, that I shall be able to tell them, that I had *an old and learned friend*,

friend, whom I would put above all the sweepings of their hall, who was of a different opinion; who had derived his ideas of civil liberty from the purest fountains of Athens and of Rome—who had fed the youthful vigour of his studious mind with the theoretic knowledge of their wisest philosophers and statesmen; and who had refined that theory into the quick and exquisite sensibility of moral instinct, by contemplating the practice of their most illustrious examples—by dwelling on the sweet-souled piety of Cimon; on the anticipated Christianity of Socrates; on the gallant and pathetic patriotism of Epaminondas; on that pure austerity of Fabricius, whom to move from his integrity would have been more difficult than to have pushed the sun from his course. I would add, that, if he had seemed to hesitate, it was but for a moment; that his hesitation was like the passing cloud that floats across the morning sun, and hides it from the view, and does so for a moment hide it by involving the spectator without even approaching the face of the luminary; and this soothing hope I draw from the dearest and tenderest recollections of my life, from the remembrance of those *attic nights* and those *refections of the gods*, which we have spent with those admired and respected and beloved companions who have gone before us—over whose ashes the most precious tears of Ireland have been shed: yes, my good Lord, *I see you do not forget them*—I see their sacred forms passing in sad review before your memory—I see your pained and softened fancy, recalling those

happy meetings when the innocent enjoyment of social mirth expanded into the nobler warmth of social virtue, and the horizon of the board became enlarged into the horizon of man;—when the swelling heart conceived and communicated the pure and generous purpose—when my slenderer and younger taper imbibed its borrowed light from the more matured and redundant fountain of yours. Yes, my lord, we can remember those nights with no other regret than that they can return no more; for,

“We spent them not in toys, or lust,
or wine,
But search of deep philosophy,
Wit, eloquence, and poetry—
Arts which I loved; for they, my friend,
were thine.”

But, my lords, to return to a subject, from which to have thus far departed, I think may not be wholly without excuse.

“He then proceeded to reconsider the legal argument in the midst of which this most beautiful episode bloomed like a green spot amid the desert.

“Mr. Curran told me himself, that when the court rose, the tipstaff informed him he was wanted immediately in chamber by one of the judges of the exchequer. He of course obeyed the judicial mandate, and the moment he entered, poor Lord Avonmore, whose cheeks were still wet with the tears extorted by this heart-touching appeal, clasped him to his bosom, and from that moment every cause of difference was obliterated.

“A curious and very characteristic anecdote of Lord Avonmore, illustrative of his extreme sensitiveness upon classical subjects,

was

was related to me by a gentleman of high authority. *Mr. Plunket*, who in the English senate has added another leaf to the laurels of the Irish bar, had appealed once from one of the college elections, and the examination of Lord Avonmore became indispensable. It was necessary for the witness frequently to make use of the term *testimonium*; which, in the plural, he invariably called *testi-*

moniums. *Mr. Plunket*, who intended to publish the evidence, and was particularly anxious to have it what he thought correct, asked his lordship whether he had any objection to have the phrase *testimoniums* taken down *testimonia*. 'O, not the least, sir,' answered the offended scholar, 'provided in your opinion it is better English.'

ARTICLE III.—*Political and Literary Anecdotes of his own Times*, by
Dr. WILLIAM KING, Principal of St. Mary Hall, Oson.

THIS little volume is a proof and illustration of the truth and justice of the remark, that time gives a value to much information that at the period to which it applies would be deemed trifling and unimportant; and it also proves that a person of inferior talents and limited knowledge, if he is of an observant disposition, a retentive memory, and mixes much with the world, may collect materials, which to a future age will become interesting and valuable. Not that we mean to insinuate that all the contents of this volume derive their interest and value, solely from the circumstance, that they relate to a period that is past: on the contrary, one of our extracts will show, that history itself may de-

rive from Dr. King's anecdotes materials by which her pages may be rendered more complete as well as more accurate.

Dr. King was known to his contemporaries chiefly as an elegant scholar, a man of some wit—a polemical writer, and a zealous but discreet adherent of the house of Stewart. These anecdotes were written in his 76th year; and, he assures us, they are most from his own knowledge, and that the rest were related by friends, on whose honour and veracity he could depend. The MS. in the hand-writing of the author, was obtained from two ladies, his relatives: so that its genuineness and the authenticity of its contents seem undoubted.

CURIOUS INSTANCES OF AVARICE.

"AVARICE, says the author of *Religio Medici*, seems to me not so much a vice, as a deplorable piece of madness; and if he had added incurable, his definition would have been perfect; for an avaricious man is never to be cared unless by the same medicine which perchance may cure a mad dog. The arguments of reason, philosophy, or religion, will little affect him; he is born and framed to a sordid love of money, which first appears when he is very young, grows up with him, and increases in middle age, and when he is old, and all the rest of his passions have subsided, wholly engrosses him. The greatest endowments of the mind, the greatest abilities in a profession, and even the quiet possession of an immense treasure, will never prevail against avarice. My Lord Hardwick, the late Lord Chancellor, who is said to be worth 800,000*l.* sets the same value on half a crown now as he did when he was only worth one hundred. That great captain, the duke of Marlborough, when he was in the last stage of life, and very infirm, would walk from the public rooms in *Bath* to his lodgings in a cold dark night to save sixpence in chair hire. If the duke, who left at his death more than a million and a half sterling, could have foreseen that all his wealth and honours were to be inherited by a grandson of my Lord Trevor's, who had been one of his enemies, would he have been so careful to save sixpence for the sake of his heir? Not for the sake of his heir; but he would

always have saved a sixpence. Sir James Lowther, after changing a piece of silver in George's Coffee-house, and paying twopence for his dish of coffee, was helped into his chariot (for he was then very lame and infirm), and went home; some little time after he returned to the same coffee-house on purpose to acquaint the woman who kept it that she had given him a bad halfpenny, and demanded another in exchange for it. Sir James had about 40,000*l.* per annum, and was at a loss whom to appoint his heir. I knew one Sir Thomas Colby, who lived at Kensington, and was, I think, a commissioner in the victualling-office; he killed himself by rising in the middle of the night when he was in a very profuse sweat, the effect of a medicine which he had taken for that purpose, and walking down stairs to look for the key of his cellar, which he had inadvertently left on a table in his parlour: he was apprehensive that his servants might seize the key and rob him of a bottle of port wine. This man died intestate, and left more than 200,000*l.* in the funds, which was shared among five or six day-labourers, who were his nearest relations. Sir William Smyth, of Bedfordshire, who was my kinsman, when he was near seventy, was wholly deprived of his sight: he was persuaded to be couched by Taylor, the oculist, who by agreement was to have sixty guineas if he restored his patient to any degree of sight: Taylor succeeded in his operation, and Sir William

was

was able to read and write without the use of spectacles during the rest of his life; but as soon as the operation was performed, and Sir William perceived the good effects of it, instead of being overjoyed, as any other person would have been, he began to lament the loss (as he called it) of his sixty guineas. His contrivance therefore now was how to cheat the oculist: he pretended that he had only a glimmering, and could see nothing perfectly; for that reason the bandage on his eye was continued a month longer than the usual time: by this means he obliged Taylor to compound the bargain, and accept of twenty guineas; for a covetous man thinks no method dishonest which he may legally practise to save his money. Sir William was an old bachelor, and at the time Taylor couched him had a fair estate in land, a large sum of money in the stocks, and not less than 5000 or 6000 in his house. But to conclude this article; all the dramatic writers, both ancient and modern, as well as the keenest

and most elegant satirists, have exhausted their whole stock of wit to expose avarice; this is the chief subject of Horace's satires and epistles; and yet the character of a covetous man hath never yet been fully drawn or sufficiently explained. The *Euclio* of Plautus, the *L'Avare* of Moliere, and the *Miser* of Shadwell, have been all exceeded by some persons who have existed within my own knowledge. If you could bestow on a man of this disposition the wealth of both the *Indies*, he would not have enough; because by enough (if such a word is to be found in the vocabulary of Avarice) he always means something more than he is possessed of. *Crassus*, who had a yearly revenue sufficient to maintain a great army, perished, together with his son, in endeavouring to add to his store. In the fable of *Midas*, the poet had exhibited a complete character, if *Midas*, instead of renouncing the gift which the god had bestowed on him, had chosen to die in the act of creating gold."

ANECDOTES OF THE PRETENDER.

"SEPTEMBER, 1750, I received a note from my Lady Primrose, who desired to see me immediately. As soon as I waited on her, she led me into her dressing-room, and presented me to ——. If I was surprised to find him there, I was still more astonished when he acquainted me with the motives which had induced him to hazard a journey to England at this juncture. The impatience of

his friends who were in exile had formed a scheme which was impracticable; but although it had been as feasible as they had represented it to him, yet no preparation had been made, nor was any thing ready to carry it into execution. He was soon convinced that he had been deceived, and therefore, after a stay in London of five days only, he returned to the place from whence he

he came. As I had some long conversations with him here, and for some years after held a constant correspondence with him, not indeed by letters but by messengers, who were occasionally despatched to him; and as during this intercourse I informed myself of all particulars relating to him and of his whole conduct, both in public and private life, I am perhaps as well qualified as any man in England to draw a just character of him; and I impose this task on myself not only for the information of posterity, but for the sake of many worthy gentlemen whom I shall leave behind me, who are at present attached to his name, and who have formed their ideas of him from public report, but more particularly from those great actions which he performed in Scotland. As to his person, he is tall and well made, but stoops a little, owing perhaps to the great fatigue which he underwent in his northern expedition. He has an handsome face and good eyes; (I think his busts which about this time were commonly sold in London, are more like him than any of his pictures which I have yet seen; but in a polite company he would not pass for a genteel man. He hath a quick apprehension, and speaks *French, Italian, and English*, the last with a little of a foreign accent. As to the rest, very little care seems to have been taken of his education. He had not made the belles lettres or any of the finer arts his study, which surprised me much, considering his preceptors, and the noble opportunities he must have always had in that nursery of all the elegant and liberal arts and sciences. But

I was still more astonished when I found him unacquainted with the history and constitution of *England*, in which he ought to have been very early instructed. I never heard him express any noble or benevolent sentiments, the certain indications of a great soul and a good heart; or discover any sorrow or compassion for the misfortunes of so many worthy men who had suffered in his cause. But the most odious part of his character is his love of money, a vice which I do not remember to have been imputed by our historians to any of his ancestors, and is the certain index of a base and little mind. I know it may be urged in his vindication, that a prince in exile ought to be an economist. And so he ought; but nevertheless his purse should be always open, as long as there is any thing in it to relieve the necessities of his friends and adherents. King Charles the Second, during his banishment, would have shared the last pistole in his pocket with his little family. But I have known this gentleman with two thousand Louis d'ors in his strong box pretend he was in great distress, and borrow money from a lady in Paris, who was not in affluent circumstances. His most faithful servants, who had closely attended him in all his difficulties, were ill rewarded. Two Frenchmen, who had left every thing to follow his fortune, who had been sent as couriers through half Europe, and executed their commissions with great punctuality and exactness, were suddenly discharged without any faults imputed to them, or any recompense for their past service. To this spirit

spirit of avarice may be added his insolent manner of treating his immediate dependents, very unbecoming a great prince, and a sure prognostic of what might be expected from him if ever he acquired sovereign power. Sir J. Harrington, and Col. Goring, who suffered themselves to be imprisoned with him rather than desert him; when the rest of his family and attendants fled, were afterwards obliged to quit his service on account of his illiberal behaviour. But there is one part of his character, which I must particularly insist on, since it occasioned the defection of the most powerful of his friends and adherents in England, and by some concurring accidents totally blasted all his hopes and pretensions. When he was in Scotland, he had a mistress, whose name is Walkenshaw, and whose sister was at that time, and is still housekeeper at Leicester House. Some years after he was released from his prison, and conducted out of France, he sent for this girl, who soon acquired such a dominion over him, that she was acquainted with all his schemes, and trusted with his most secret correspondence. As soon as this was known in England, all those persons of distinction, who were attached to him, were greatly alarmed; they imagined that this wench had been placed in his family by the English ministers; and, considering her sister's situation, they seemed to have some ground for their suspicion; wherefore they despatched a gentleman to *Paris*, where the prince then was, who had instructions to insist that Mrs. Walkenshaw should be removed to a convent for a certain term; but her gallant absolutely

refused to comply with this demand; and although Mr. M'Namara, the gentleman who was sent to him, who has a natural eloquence, and an excellent understanding, urged the most cogent reasons, and used all the arts of persuasion to induce him to part with his mistress, and even proceeded so far as to assure him, according to his instructions, that an immediate interruption of all correspondence with his most powerful friends in England, and in short that the ruin of his interest, which was now daily increasing, would be the infallible consequence of his refusal; yet he continued inflexible, and all M'Namara's entreaties and remonstrances were ineffectual. M'Namara staid in *Paris* some days beyond the time prescribed him, endeavouring to reason the prince into a better temper; but finding him obstinately persevere in his first answer, he took his leave with concern and indignation, saying, as he passed out, 'What has your family done, sir, thus to draw down the vengeance of Heaven on every branch of it through so many ages?' It is worthy of remark, that in all the conferences which M'Namara had with the prince on this occasion, the latter declared, that it was not a violent passion, or indeed any particular regard, which attached him to Mrs. Walkenshaw, and that he could see her removed from him without any concern; but he would not receive directions in respect to his private conduct from any man alive. When M'Namara returned to London, and reported the prince's answer to the gentlemen who had employed him, they were astonished

nished and confounded. However, they soon resolved on the measures which they were to pursue for the future, and determined no longer to serve a man who could not be persuaded to serve himself, and chose rather to endanger the lives of his best and most faithful friends, than part with an harlot, whom, as he often declared, he neither loved nor esteemed. If ever that old adage *Quos Jupiter vult perdere*, &c. could be properly applied to any person, whom could it so well fit as the gentleman of whom I have been speaking? for it is difficult by any other means to account for such a sudden infatuation. He was, indeed, soon afterwards made sensible of his misconduct, when it was too late to repair it: for from this era may truly be dated the ruin of his cause; which, for the future, can only subsist in the N—n—ing congregations, which are generally formed of the meanest people, from whom no danger to the present government need ever be apprehended. Before I close this article, I must observe, that during this transaction, my Lord M—— was at *Paris* in the quality of envoy from the K—— of P——; M'N—m— had directions to acquaint him with his commission: my Lord M—— not in the least doubting the prince's compliance with the request of his friends in England, determined to quit the K—— of P——'s service as soon as his embassy was finished, and go into the prince's family. This would have been a very fortunate circumstance to the prince on all accounts, but more especially as nothing could be more agreeable to all those persons of

figure and distinction, who were at that time so deeply engaged in his cause; for there was not one of all that number who would not have reposed an entire confidence in the honour and discretion of my Lord M——. But how was this gentleman amazed, when he perceived the prince's obstinacy and imprudence? who was resolved, by a strange fatality, to alienate the affections of his best friends, and put an absolute barrier to all his own hopes. From this time my Lord M—— would never concern himself in this cause; but prudently embraced the opportunity, through the K—— of P——'s interest, of reconciling himself to the *English* government.

"Since I wrote this article, I have met with a pamphlet lately published (1762) in French, entitled, *Testament Politique du Maréchal Duc de Belleisle*. The author of this work is said to be the present writer of the *Brussels Gazette*: he pretends to know, that when the French had resolved on the expedition against Minorca, the command of their troops was offered to Prince Charles, which he refused, complaining of his imprisonment in the Castle of *Vincennes*, et finit par me dire (says Mr. Belleisle) que les Anglois lui rendroient justice, s'ils le jugeoient à propos; mais qu'il ne vouloit plus être leur *épouvantail*. I can scarce believe the command of this expedition was ever offered to Prince Charles; but if it were, I can easily believe that his answer was such as this author has reported; for he had often declared to his friends, after the ill treatment which he had received from the Court of *France*,
that

that he never would accept of any offers which that court might hereafter make him, which never had any real intention to serve him, but only to use him occasionally as their instrument, and to

sacrifice him to their own interest. He knew enough of the history of his family to have learnt this truth, and he had on two or three occasions experienced it in himself."

ARTICLE IV.—*The Literary Character, illustrated by the History of Men of Genius, drawn from their own feelings and confessions. By the Author of "Curiosities of Literature."*

THOUGH this work of Mr. D'Israeli is not so entertaining as any of his other publications, it is perhaps more interesting, and certainly impresses us with an infinitely more favourable opinion of the author's powers of mind. There runs through the whole of it an amiable delicacy of feeling, a nice, discriminating, and sometimes even a profound perception of the workings of the human heart, and a refinement as well as propriety of reflection, that cannot fail to persuade the reader that the author deserves esteem for his amiable qualities, as well as respect for his talents. In the preface he informs us that the outline of this work was first published in 1795, as "An Essay on the Literary Character;" and that several of his friends, some of whom have attained celebrity, imagined "that their attachment to literary pursuits had been strengthened even by so weak an effort. An extra-

ordinary effect has concurred with these opinions: a copy which has accidentally fallen into my hands formerly belonged to the great poetical genius of our times; and the singular fact that it was twice read by him in two subsequent years, at Athens in 1810 and 1811, instantly convinced me that the volume deserved attention."

The work consists of nineteen chapters:—On Literary Characters. Youth of Genius. The first Studies. The irritability of Genius. The Spirit of Literature, and the Spirit of Society. Literary Solitude. The Meditations of Genius. The Enthusiasm of Genius. Literary Jealousy. Want of Mutual Esteem. Self-praise. The Domestic Life of Genius. The Matrimonial State. Literary Friendships. The Literary and Personal Character. The Man of Letters. Literary Old Age. Literary Honours. The influence of Authors.

YOUTH OF GENIUS.

"THE virtuous and contemplative Boyle imagined that he had discovered in childhood that disposition of mind which indicated an instinctive ingenuousness; an incident which he relates, evinced, as he thought, that even then he preferred aggravating his fault, rather than consent to suppress any part of the truth, an effort which had been unnatural to his mind. His fanciful, yet striking illustration may open our inquiry. 'This trivial passage'—the little story alluded to—'I have mentioned now, not that I think that in itself it deserves a relation, but because as the sun is seen best at his rising and his setting, so men's native dispositions are clearest perceived whilst they are children, and when they are dying. These little sudden actions are the greatest discoverers of men's true humours.' That the dispositions of genius in early life presage its future character, was long the feeling of antiquity. Isocrates, after much previous observation of those who attended his lectures, would advise one to engage in political studies, exhorted another to compose history, elected some to be poets, and some to adopt his own profession. He thought that nature had some concern in forming a man of genius; and he tried to guess at her secret by detecting the first energetic inclination of the mind. This principle guided the Jesuits.

"In the old romance of King Arthur, when a cowherd comes to the king to request he would make his son a knight—'It is a great thing thou askest,' said Arthur, who inquired whether this entreaty

proceeded from him or his son? The old man's answer is remarkable—'Of my son, not of me; for I have thirteen sons, and all these will fall to that labour I put them; but this child will not labour for me, for any thing that I and my wife will do; but always he will be shooting and casting darts, and glad for to see battles, and to behold knights, and always day and night he desireth of me to be made a knight.' The king commanded the cowherd to fetch all his sons; they were all shapen much like the poor man; but Tor was not like none of them in shape and in countenance, for he was much more than any of them. And so Arthur knighted him.' This simple tale is the history of genius—the cowherd's twelve sons were like himself, but the unhappy genius in the family who perplexed and plagued the cowherd and his wife and his twelve brothers, was the youth averse to labour, but active enough in performing knightly exercises; and dreaming on chivalry amidst a herd of cows.

"A man of genius is thus dropt among the people, and has first to encounter the difficulties of ordinary men deprived of that feeble ductility which adapts itself to the common destination. Parents are too often the victims of the decided propensity of a son to a Virgil or an Euclid; and the first step into life of a man of genius is disobedience and grief. Lilly, our famous astrologer, has described the frequent situation of such a youth, like the cowherd's son who would be a knight. Lilly proposed to his father that he should

should try his fortune in the metropolis, where he expected that his learning and his talents would prove serviceable to him; the father, quite incapable of discovering the latent genius of his son in his studious dispositions, very willingly consented to get rid of him, for, as Lilly proceeds, 'I could not work, drive the plough, or endure any country labour; my father oft would say I was *good for nothing*,'—words which the fathers of so many men of genius have repeated.

"In reading the memoirs of a man of genius, we often reprobate the domestic persecutions of those who opposed his inclinations. No poet but is moved with indignation at the recollection of the Port Royal Society thrice burning the romance which Racine at length got by heart; no geometrician but bitterly inveighs against the father of Pascal for not suffering him to study Euclid, which he at length understood without studying. The father of Petrarch in a barbarous rage burnt the poetical library of his son amidst the shrieks, the groans, and the tears of the youth. Yet this neither converted Petrarch into a sober lawyer, nor deprived him of the Roman laurel. The uncle of Alfieri for more than twenty years suppressed the poetical character of this noble bard; he was a poet without knowing to write a verse, and Nature, like a hard creditor, exacted with redoubled interest, all the genius which the uncle had so long kept from her. Such are the men whose inherent impulse no human opposition, and even no adverse education, can deter from being great men.

"Let us, however, be just to the parents of a man of genius;

they have another association of ideas concerning him than we; we see a great man, they a disobedient child; we track him through his glory, they are wearied by the sullen resistance of his character. The career of genius is rarely that of fortune or happiness; and the father, who may himself be not insensible to glory, dreads lest his son be found among that obscure multitude, that populace of mean artists, who must expire at the barriers of mediocrity.

"The contemplative race, even in their first steps towards nature, are receiving that secret instruction which no master can impart. The boy of genius flies to some favourite haunt to which his fancy has often given a name; he populates his solitude; he takes all shapes in it; he finds all places in it; he converses silently with all about him—he is a hermit, a lover, a hero. The fragrance and blush of the morning; the still hush of the evening; the mountain, the valley, and the stream; all nature opening to him, he sits brooding over his first dim images, in that train of thought we call reverie, with a restlessness of delight, for he is only the being of sensation, and has not yet learnt to think; then comes that tenderness of spirit, that first shade of thought, colouring every scene, and deepening every feeling; this temperament has been often mistaken for melancholy. One, truly inspired, unfolds the secret story.

"Endowed with all that nature can bestow,
The child of fancy oft in silence bends
O'er the mixt treasures of his pregnant breast

With conscious pride. From them he oft resolves

To frame he knows not what exelling things,

And

And win he knows not what sublime reward
Of praise and wonder"—

This delight in reverie has been finely described by Boyle: 'When the intermission of my studies allowed me leisure for recreation,' says Boyle, 'I would very often steal away from all company, and spend four or five hours alone in the fields, and think at random, making my delighted imagination the busy scene where some romance or other was daily acted.' This circumstance alarmed his friends, who imagined that he was overcome with melancholy.

"It is remarkable that this love of repose and musing is retained throughout life. A man of fine genius is rarely enamoured of common amusements or of robust exercises; and he is usually unadroit where dexterity of hand or eye, or trivial elegancies, are required. This characteristic of genius was discovered by Horace in that Ode which school-boys often versify. Beattie has expressly told us of his Minstrel—

"The exploit of strength, dexterity, or speed

To him nor vanity, nor joy could bring."

Alfieri said he could never be taught by a French dancing-master, whose art made him at once shudder and laugh. If we reflect that as it is now practised it seems the art of giving affectation to a puppet, and that this puppet is a man, we can enter into this mixed sensation of degradation and ridicule. Horace, by his own confession, was a very awkward rider; and the poetical rider could not always secure a seat on his mule; Metastasio humorously complains of his gun; the poetical sportsman could only

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frighten the hares and partridges; the truth was, as an elder poet sings,

"Instead of hounds that make the wooded hills

Talk in a hundred voices to the rills,
I like the pleasing cadence of a line
Struck by the concert of the sacred Nine."
Browne's Brit. Past. B. ii. Song. 4.

And we discover the true 'humour' of the indolent contemplative race in their great representatives Virgil and Horace. When they accompanied Mæneas into the country, while the minister amused himself at tennis, the two bards reposed on a vernal bank amidst the freshness of the shade. The younger Pliny, who was so perfect a literary character, was charmed by the Roman mode of hunting, or rather fowling by nets, which admitted him to sit a whole day with his tablets, and stylus, that, says he, 'should I return with empty nets, my tablets may at least be full.' Thomson was the hero of his own Castle of Indolence.

The youth of genius will be apt to retire from the active sports of his mates: Beattie paints himself in his own Minstrel,

"Concourse and noise, and toil he ever fled,

Nor cared to mingle in the clamorous fray

Of squabblings imps; but to the forest sped."

"Bossuet would not join his young companions, and flew to his solitary task, while the classical boys avenged his flight by applying to him from Virgil the *bos suetus aratro*, the ox daily toiling in the plough. The young painters, to ridicule the persevering labours of Domenichino in his youth, honoured him by the same title of "the great ox;" and Passeri, in his delightful biography of

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his own contemporary artists, has happily expressed the still labours of his concealing genius, *sua taciturna lentezza*, his silent slowness. The learned Huet has given an amusing detail of the inventive persecutions of his school-mates, to divert him from his obstinate love of study. 'At length,' says he, 'in order to indulge my own taste, I would rise with the sun, while they were buried in sleep, and hide myself in the woods, that I might read and study in quiet;' but they beat the bushes, and started in his burrow the future man of erudition. Sir William Jones was rarely a partaker in the active sports of Harrow; it was said of Gray that he was never a boy; and the unhappy Chatterton and Burns were remarkably serious boys. Milton has preserved for us in solemn numbers, his school-life—

"When I was yet a child, no childish play
To me was pleasing; all my mind was set
Serious to learn and know, and thence to do
What might be public good; myself I thought

Born to that end, born to promote all truth,
All righteous things— Par. Reg.

"If the youth of genius is apt to retire from the ordinary sports of his mates, he often substitutes others, the reflections of those favourite studies which are haunting his young imagination; the amusements of such an idler have often been fanciful. Ariosto, while yet a schoolboy, composed a sort of tragedy from the story of Pyramus and Thisbe, and had it represented by his brothers and sisters. Pope seems to have indicated his passion for Homer in those rough scenes which he drew up from Ogilby's version, and when Sir William Jones at Harrow divided

the fields according to a map of Greece, and portioned out to each school-fellow a dominion; and further, when wanting a copy of the Tempest to act from, he supplied it from his memory, we must confess that the boy Jones was reflecting in his amusements the cast of mind he displayed in his after-life, and that felicity of memory and taste so prevalent in his literary character. Florian's earliest years were passed in shooting birds all day and reading every evening an old translation of the Iliad; whenever he got a bird remarkable for its size or its plumage, he personified it by one of the names of his heroes, and raising a funeral pyre consumed the body; collecting the ashes in an urn, he presented them to his grandfather, with a narrative of his Patroclus or Sarpedon. We seem here to detect, reflected in his boyish sports, the pleasing genius of the author of Numa Pompilius, Gonsalvo of Cordova, and William Tell.

"It is perhaps a criterion of talent when a youth is distinguished by his equals; at that moment of life with no flattery on the one side, and no artifice on the other, all emotion and no reflection, the boy who has obtained a predominance has acquired this merely by native powers. The boyhood of Nelson was characterized by events congenial to those of his after-days; and his father understood his character when he declared that 'in whatever station he might be placed, he would climb, if possible, to the top of the tree.' Some puerile anecdotes which Franklin remembered of himself, in association with his after-life, betray the invention,

vention, and the firm intrepidity of his character; and even perhaps the carelessness of means to obtain his purpose. In boyhood he was a sort of adventurer; and since his father would not consent to a sea-life, he made the river near him represent the ocean; he lived on the water, and was the daring Columbus of a school-boy's boat. A part where he and his mates stood to angle, in time became a quagmire. In the course of one day the infant projector thought of a wharf for them to stand on, and raised it with a heap of stones deposited there for the building of a house. But he preferred his wharf to another's house; his contrivances to aid his puny labourers, with his resolution not to quit the great work till it was effected, seem to strike out to us the decision and invention of his future character. But the qualities which attract the companions of a school-boy may not be those which are essential to fine genius. The captain or leader of his school-mates has a claim on our attention; but it is the sequestered boy who may chance to be the artist, or the literary character.

"Is there then a period in youth which yields decisive marks of the character of genius? The natures of men are as various as their fortunes. Some, like diamonds, must wait to receive their splendour from the slow touches of the polisher; while others, resembling pearls, appear at once born with their beautiful lustre.

"Among the inauspicious circumstances is the feebleness of the first attempts; and we must not decide on the talents of a young man by his first works. Dryden and Swift might have

been deterred from authorship, had their earliest pieces decided their fate. Racine's earliest composition, which we know of by some fragments his son has preserved, to show their remarkable contrast with his writings, abounded with those points and conceits which afterwards he abhorred; the tender author of *Andromache* could not have been discovered while exhausting himself in his wanderings from nature, in running after conceits as absurd and surprizing as the worst parts of Cowley. Gibbon betrayed none of the force and magnitude of his powers in his 'Essay on Literature,' or his attempted History of Switzerland. Johnson's cadenced prose is not recognizable in the humble simplicity of his earliest years. Many authors have begun unsuccessfully the walk they afterwards excelled in. Raphael, when he first drew his meagre forms under Perugino, had not yet conceived one line of that ideal beauty, which one day he of all men could alone execute.

"Even the manhood of genius may pass by unobserved by his companions, and may, like *Aeneas*, be hidden in a cloud amidst his associates. The celebrated *Fabius Maximus* in his boyhood was called in derision 'the little sheep,' from the meekness and gravity of his disposition. His sedateness and taciturnity, his indifference to juvenile amusements, his slowness and difficulty in learning, and his ready submission to his equals, induced them to consider him as one irrecoverably stupid. That greatness of mind, unalterable courage, and invincible character *Fabius* afterwards displayed, they then imagined had lain concealed in the

apparent contrary qualities. The boy of genius may indeed seem slow and dull even to the phlegmatic, for thoughtful and observing dispositions conceal themselves in timorous silent characters, who have not yet learnt their strength; nor can that assiduous love, which cannot tear itself away from the secret instruction it is perpetually imbibing, be easily distinguished from that pertinacity which goes on with the mere plodder. We often hear from the early companions of a man of genius that at school he had appeared heavy and unpromising. Rousseau imagined that the childhood of some men is accompanied by that seeming and deceitful dulness, which is the sign of a profound genius; and Roger Ascham has placed among 'the best natures for learning, the sad-natured and hard-witted child,' that is, the thoughtful or the melancholic, and the slow. Domenichino was at first heavy and unpromising, and Passeri expresses his surprise at the accounts he received of the early life of this great artist. 'It is difficult to believe,' he says, 'what many assert, that from the beginning this great painter had a ruggedness about him, which entirely incapacitated him from learning his profession, and they have heard from himself that he quite despaired of success. Yet I cannot comprehend how such vivacious talents, with a mind so finely organized, and accompanied with such favourable dispositions for the art, would show such signs of utter incapacity; I rather think that it is a mistake in the proper knowledge of genius, which some imagine indicates itself most decisively by its sudden vehemence,

showing itself like lightning, and like lightning passing away.' A parallel case we find in Goldsmith, who passed through an unpromising youth; he declared that he was never attached to the belles lettres till he was thirty, that poetry had no peculiar charms for him till that age, and indeed to his latest hour he was surprising his friends by productions which they had imagined he was incapable of composing. Hume was considered, for his sobriety and assiduity, as competent to become a steady merchant; of Johnson it was said that he would never offend in conversation, as of Boileau that he had no great understanding, but would speak ill of no one. Farquhar at college was a heavy companion; and afterwards, combined with great knowledge of the world, a light airy talent. Even a discerning parent or master has entirely failed to develop the genius of the youth, who has afterwards ranked among eminent men; and we ought as little to infer from early unfavourable appearances as from inequality of talent. The great Isaac Barrow's father used to say, that if it pleased God to take from him any of his children he hoped it might be Isaac, as the least promising; and during the three years Barrow passed at the Charter-house, he was remarkable only for the utter negligence of his studies and his person. The mother of Sheridan, herself a literary female, pronounced early, that he was the dumbest and most hopeless of her sons. Bodmer, at the head of the literary class in Switzerland, who had so frequently discovered and animated the literary youths of his country, could never detect the latent genius of Gesner;

Gesner; after a repeated examination of the young man, he put his parents in despair with the hopeless award that a mind of so ordinary a cast must confine itself to mere writing and accompts.

"Thus it happens that the first years of life do not always include those of genius, and the education of the youth may not be the education of his genius. In all these cases nature had dropt the seeds in the soil, but even a happy disposition must be concealed amidst adverse circumstances. It has happened to some men of genius during a long period of their lives, that an unsettled impulse, without having discovered the object of its aptitude, a thirst and fever in the temperament of too sentient a being which cannot find the occupation to which it can only attach itself, has sunk into a melancholy and querulous spirit, weary with the burthen of existence; but the instant the latent talent had declared itself, his first work, the eager offspring of desire and love, has astonished the world at once with the birth and the maturity of genius.

"Abundant facts exhibit genius unequivocally discovering itself in the juvenile age, connecting these facts with the subsequent life—and in general, perhaps a master-mind exhibits precocity. 'Whatever a young man at first applies himself to, is commonly his delight afterwards.' This remark was made by Hartley, who has related an anecdote of the infancy of his genius, which indicated the man. He declared to his daughter that the intention of writing a book upon the nature of man was conceived in his mind when he was a very little boy—when swinging

backwards and forwards upon a gate, not more than nine or ten years old; he was then meditating upon the nature of his own mind, how man was made, and for what future end—such was the true origin, in a boy of ten years old, of his celebrated book on the 'frame, the duty, and the expectation of man.' The constitutional propensity has declared itself in painters and poets, who were such before they understood the nature of colours and the arts of verse. The vehement passion of Peiresc for knowledge, according to accounts Gassendi had received from old men who had known him a child, broke out as soon as he had been taught his alphabet; his delight was to be handling books and papers, and his perpetual inquiries after their contents obliged them to invent something to quiet the child's insatiable curiosity, who was offended if told he had not the capacity to understand them. He did not study like ordinary scholars, and would read neither Justin nor Ovid without a perpetual consultation of other authors, such was his early love of research! At ten years of age his taste for the studies of antiquity was kindled at the sight of some ancient coins dug up in his neighbourhood; and then that passion for knowledge 'began to burn like fire in a forest,' as Gassendi most happily describes the fervour and the amplitude of his mind. We have Boccaccio's own words for a proof of his early natural tendency to tale writing, in a passage of his genealogy of the Gods: 'Before seven years of age, when as yet I had met with no stories, was without a master, and hardly knew my letters, I had
a natural

a natural talent for fiction, and produced some little tales.' Thus the Decamerone was appearing much earlier than we suppose. So Ariosto, as soon as he obtained some knowledge of languages, delighted himself in translating French and Spanish romances; was he not sowing plentifully the seeds of his Orlando Furioso? Lope de Vega declares that he was a poet from the cradle, beginning to make verses before he could write them, for he bribed his school-mates with a morsel of his breakfast to write down the lines he composed in the early morning. Descartes, while yet a boy, was so marked out by habits of deep meditation, that he went among his companions by the title of the philosopher, always questioning and settling cause and effect. It happened that he was twenty-five years of age before he left the army, but the propensity for meditation had been early formed, and the noble enterprise of reforming philosophy never ceased to inspire his solitary thoughts. Descartes was a man born only for meditation—and he has himself given a very interesting account of the pursuits which occupied his youth, and of the progress of his genius; of that secret struggle he so long held with himself, wandering in concealment over the world, for more than twenty years, and, as he says of himself, like the statuary, labouring to draw out a Minerva from the marble block. Michael Angelo, as yet a child, wherever he went, busied himself in drawing; and when his noble parents, hurt that a man of genius was disturbing the line of their ancestry, forced him to relinquish

the pencil, the infant artist flew to the chisel: art was in his soul and his hands. Velasquez, the Spanish painter, at his school-tasks, filled them with sketches and drawings, and as some write their names on their books, his were known by the specimens of his genius. The painter Lanfranco was originally the page of a marquess; who observing that he was perpetually scawling figures on cards, or with charcoal on the walls, asked the boy whether he would apply to the art he seemed to love? The boy trembled, fearing to have incurred his master's anger; but when encouraged to decide, he did not hesitate: placed under one of the Carraccio's, his rapid progress in the art testified how much Lanfranco had suffered by suppressing his natural aptitude. When we find the boy Nanteuil, his parents being averse to their son's practising drawing, hiding himself in a tree to pursue the delightful exercise of his pencil; that Handel, intended for a doctor of the civil laws, and whom no parental discouragement could deprive of his enthusiasm for the musical science, for ever touching harpsichords, and having secretly conveyed a musical instrument to a retired apartment, sitting through the night awakening his harmonious spirit; and when we view Ferguson, the child of a peasant, acquiring the art of reading without any one suspecting it, by listening to his father teaching his brother; making a wooden watch without the slightest knowledge of mechanism, and while a shepherd, like an ancient Chaldean, studying the phenomena of the heavens and making a celestial globe, as he

he had made a wooden watch, can we hesitate to believe that in such minds, there was a resistless and mysterious propensity, growing up with the temperament of these artists? Ferguson was a shepherd-lad on a plain, placed entirely out of the chance of imitation; or of the influence of casual excitement; or any other of those sources of genius so frequently assigned for its production. The case of Opie is similar.

"Yet these cases are not more striking than one related of the Abbé La Caille, who ranked among the first astronomers of the age. La Caille was the son of the parish clerk of a village; at the age of ten years his father sent him every evening to ring the church bell, but the boy always returned home late. His father was angry and beat him, and still the boy returned an hour after he had rung the bell. The father, suspecting something mysterious in his conduct, one evening watched him. He saw his son ascend the steeple, ring the bell as usual, and remain there during an hour. When the unlucky boy descended, he trembled like one caught in the fact, and on his knees confessed that the pleasure he took in watching the stars from the steeple was the real cause of detaining him from home. As the father was not born to be an astronomer, like the son, he flogged the boy severely. The youth was found weeping in the streets, by a man of science, who, when he discovered in a boy of ten years of age, a passion for contemplating the stars at night, and who had discovered an observatory in a steeple, in spite of such ill-treatment, he decided that the

seal of nature had impressed itself on the genius of that boy.—Relieving the parent from the son and the son from the parent, he assisted the young La Caille in his passionate pursuit, and the event completely justified the prediction. Let others tell us why children feel a predisposition for the studies of astronomy, or natural history, or any similar pursuit. We know that youths have found themselves in parallel situations with Ferguson and La Caille, without experiencing their energies.

"The case of Clairon, the great French tragic actress, deserves attention: she seems to have been an actress before she saw a theatre. This female, destined to be a sublime actress, was of the lowest extraction; the daughter of a violent and illiterate woman, who with blows and menaces was driving about the child all day to manual labour. 'I know not,' says Clairon, 'whence I derived my disgust; but I could not bear the idea to be a mere workwoman, or to remain inactive in a corner.' In her eleventh year, being locked up in a room, as a punishment, with the windows fastened, she climbed upon a chair to look about her. A new object instantly absorbed her attention; in the house opposite she observed a celebrated actress amidst her family, her daughter was performing her dancing lesson; the girl Clairon, the future Melpomene, was struck by the influence of this graceful and affectionate scene. 'All my little being collected itself into my eyes; I lost not a single motion; as soon as the lesson ended all the family applauded, and the mother embraced the daughter. That difference

ference of her fate and mine filled me with profound grief, my tears hindered me from seeing any longer, and when the palpitations of my heart allowed me to re-ascend the chair, all had disappeared.' This was a discovery; from that moment she knew no rest; she rejoiced when she could get her mother to confine her in that room. The happy girl was a divinity to the unhappy one, whose susceptible genius imitated her in every gesture and motion; and Clairon soon showed the effect of her ardent studies, for she betrayed all the graces she had taught herself, in the common intercourse of life: she charmed her friends and even softened her barbarous mother; in a word, she was an actress without knowing what an actress was.

"In this case of the youth of genius, are we to conclude that the accidental view of a young actress practising her studies, imparted the character of the great tragic actress Clairon? Could a mere chance occurrence have given birth to those faculties which produced a sublime tragedian? In all arts there are talents which may be acquired by imitation and reflection; and thus far may genius be educated; but there are others which are entirely the result of native sensibility, which often secretly torment the pos-

essor, and which may even be lost for the want of development; a state of languor from which many have not recovered. Clairon, before she saw the young actress, and having yet no conception of a theatre, never having entered one, had in her soul that latent faculty which creates a genius of her cast. 'Had I not felt like Dido,' she once exclaimed, 'I could not have thus personified her!'

"Some of these facts, we conceive, afford decisive evidence of that instinct in genius, that constitutional propensity in the mind, sometimes called organization, which has inflamed such a war of words by its equivocal term and the ambiguity of its nature; it exists independent of education, and where it is wanting, education can never confer it. Of its mysterious influence we may be ignorant; the effect is more apparent than the cause. It is, however, always working in the character of the chosen mind. In the history of genius, there are unquestionably many secondary causes of considerable influence in developing or even crushing the germ—these have been of late often detected, and sometimes carried even to a ridiculous extreme; but among them none seem more remarkable than the first studies and the first habits."

THE MATRIMONIAL STATE.

"MATRIMONY has often been considered as a condition not well suited to the domestic life of genius; it is accompanied by too many embarrassments for the head and the heart. It was an axiom with Fuessli, the Swiss artist, that the marriage state is incompatible with

with a high cultivation of the fine arts. Peiresc, the great French collector, refused marriage, convinced that the cares of a family were too absorbing for the freedom necessary to literary pursuits, and a sacrifice of fortune incompatible with his great designs. Boyle, who would not suffer his studies to be interrupted by 'household affairs,' lived as a boarder with his sister, Lady Ranelagh. Bayle, and Hobbes, and Hume, and Gibbon, and Adam Smith, decided for celibacy. Such has been the state of the great author whose sole occupation is combined with passion, and whose happiness is his fame—fame, which balances that of the heroes of the age, who have sometimes honoured themselves by acknowledging it.

"This debate, for our present topic has sometimes warmed into one, in truth is ill adapted for controversy; the heart is more concerned in its issue than any espoused doctrine terminating in partial views. Look into the domestic annals of genius—observe the variety of positions into which the literary character is thrown in the nuptial state. Will cynicism always obtain his sullen triumph, and prudence be allowed to calculate away some of the richer feelings of our nature? Is it an axiom that literary characters must necessarily institute a new order of celibacy? One position we may assume, that the studies, and even the happiness of the pursuits of literary characters, are powerfully influenced by the domestic associate of their lives.

"Men of genius rarely pass through the age of love without its passion; even their Delias and

Amandas are often the shadows of some real object. According to Shakespeare's experience,

"Never durst poet touch a pen to write,
Until his ink were temper'd with love's
sighs."

Love's Labour Lost, Act IV. Scene 3.

Their imagination is perpetually colouring those pictures of domestic happiness they delight to dwell on. He who is no husband may sigh for that devoted tenderness which is at once bestowed and received; and tears may start in the eyes of him who can become a child among children, and is no father. These deprivations have usually been the concealed cause of the querulous and settled melancholy of the literary character. The real occasion of Shenstone's unhappiness was, that early in life he had been captivated by a young lady adapted to be both the muse and the wife of the poet. Her mild graces were soon touched by his plaintive love-songs and elegies. Their sensibility was too mutual, and lasted for some years, till she died. It was in parting from her that he first sketched his 'Pastoral Ballad.' Shenstone had the fortitude to refuse marriage; his spirit could not endure that she should participate in that life of deprivations to which he was doomed, by an inconsiderate union with poetry and poverty. But he loved, and his heart was not locked up in the ice of celibacy. He says in a moment of humour, 'It is long since I have considered myself as *undone*. The world will not perhaps consider me in that light entirely till I have married my maid.' Thomson met a reciprocal passion in his Amanda, while the full tenderness of his heart

heart was ever wasting itself, like waters in a desert. As we have been made little acquainted with this part of the history of the poet of the Seasons, I give his own description of these deep feelings from a manuscript letter written to Mallet. 'To turn my eyes a softer way, to you know who—absence sighs it to me.—What is my heart made of? a soft system of low nerves, too sensible for my quiet—capable of being very happy or very unhappy; I am afraid the last will prevail. Lay your hand upon a kindred heart, and despise me not. I know not what it is, but she dwells upon my thought in a mingled sentiment, which is the sweetest, the most intimately pleasing the soul can receive, and which I would wish never to want towards some dear object or another. To have always some secret darling idea to which one can still have recourse amidst the noise and nonsense of the world, and which never fails to touch us in the most exquisite manner, is an art of happiness that fortune cannot deprive us of. This may be called romantic; but whatever the cause is, the effect is really felt. Pray, when you write, tell me when you saw her, and with the pure eye of a friend, when you see her again, whisper that I am her most humble servant.' Even Pope was enamoured of a 'scornful lady;' and, as Johnson observed, 'polluted his will with female resentment.' Johnson himself, we are told by Miss Seward, who knew him, 'had always a metaphysical passion for one princess or other,—the rustic Lucy Porter, or the haughty Molly Aston, or the sublimated methodistic Hill Boothby; and, lastly, the

more charming Mrs. Thrale.' Even in his advanced age, at the height of his celebrity, we hear his cries of lonely wretchedness. 'I want every comfort; my life is very solitary and very cheerless. Let me know that I have yet a friend—let us be kind to one another.' But the 'kindness' of distant friends is like the polar sun, too far removed to warm. A female is the only friend the solitary can have, because her friendship is never absent. Even those who have eluded individual tenderness, are tortured by an aching void in their feelings. The stoic Akenside, in his books of 'Odes,' has preserved the history of a life of genius in a series of his own feelings. One entitled, 'At Study,' closes these memorable lines:

' Me though no peculiar fair
Touches with a lover's care;
Though the pride of my desire
Asks immortal friendship's name,
Asks the palm of honest fame
And the old heroic lyre;
Though the day have smoothly gone,
Or to lettered leisure known,
Or in social duty spent;
Yet at eve my lonely breast
Seeks in vain for perfect rest,
Languishes for true content.'

"If ever a man of letters lived in a state of energy and excitement which might raise him above the atmosphere of social love, it was assuredly the enthusiastic, Thomas Hollis, who, solely devoted to literature and to republicanism, was occupied in furnishing Europe and America with editions of his favourite authors. He would not marry, lest marriage should interrupt the labours of his platonic politics. But his extraordinary memoirs, while they show an intrepid mind in a robust frame, bear witness to the self-tormentor

tormentor who had trodden down the natural bonds of domestic life. Hence the deep 'dejection of his spirits;' those incessant cries, that he has 'no one to advise, assist, or cherish those magnanimous pursuits in him.' At length he retreated into the country, in utter hopelessness. 'I go not into the country for attentions to agriculture as such; nor attentions of interest of any kind, which I have ever despised as such; but as a *used man*, to pass the remainder of a life in tolerable sanity and quiet, after having given up the flower of it, voluntarily, day, week, month, year, after year, successive to each other, to public service, and being no longer able to sustain, in *body or mind*, the labours that I have chosen to go through without falling speedily into *the greatest disorders*, and it might be *imbecility itself*. This is not colouring, but the exact plain truth,' and Gray's,

'Poor moralist, and what art thou?

A solitary fly!

Thy joys no glittering female meets,
No hive hast thou of hoarded sweets.'

"Assuredly it would not be a question whether these literary characters should have married, had not Montaigne, when a widower, declared that 'he would not marry a second time, though it were wisdom itself;'—but the airy Gascon has not disclosed how far *Madame* was concerned in this anathema.

"If the literary man unites himself to a woman whose tastes and whose temper are adverse to his pursuits, he must courageously prepare for a martyrdom. Should a female mathematician be united to a poet, it is probable that she

would be left to her abstractions; to demonstrate to herself how many a specious diagram fails when brought into its mechanical operation; or while discovering the infinite varieties of a curve, may deduce her husband's. If she becomes as jealous of his books as other wives are of the mistresses of their husbands, she may act the virago even over his innocent papers. The wife of Bishop Cooper, while her husband was employed on his *Lexicon*, one day consigned the volume of many years to the flames; and obliged that scholar to begin a second siege of Troy in a second *Lexicon*. The wife of Whitelocke often destroyed his MSS. and the marks of her nails have come down to posterity in the numerous *lacerations* still gaping in his '*Memorials*.' The learned Sir Henry Saville, who devoted more than half his life, and near ten thousand pounds, to his magnificent edition of St. Chrysostom, led a very uneasy life between that Saint and Lady Saville; what with her tenderness for him and her own want of amusement, Saint Chrysostom incurred more than one danger. One of those learned scholars who translated the Scriptures, kept a diary of his studies and his domestic calamities, for they both went on together; busied only among his books, his wife, from many causes, plunged him into debt; he was compelled to make the last sacrifice of a literary man, by disposing of his library. But now, he without books, and she worse and worse in temper, discontents were of fast growth between them. Our man of study, found his wife, like the remora, a little fish, sticking at

at the bottom of his ship impeding its progress. He desperately resolved to fly from his country and his wife. There is a cool entry in the diary, on a warm proceeding, one morning; wherein he expresses some curiosity to know the cause of his wife being out of temper! Simplicity of a patient scholar! The present matrimonial case, however, terminated in unexpected happiness; the wife, after having forced her husband to be deprived of his library, to be daily chronicling her caprices, and finally, to take the serious resolution of abandoning his country, yet, living in good old times, religion and conscience united them again; and, as the connubial diarist ingeniously describes this second marriage of himself and his wife,—‘made it be with them, as surgeons say it is with a fractured bone, if once well set, the stronger for a fracture.’ A new consolation for domestic ruptures!

“Observe the errors and infirmities of the greatest men of génius in their matrimonial connexions. Milton carried nothing of the greatness of his mind, in the choice of his wives; his first was the object of sudden fancy. He left the metropolis, and unexpectedly returned a married man; united to a woman of such uncongenial dispositions, that the romp was frightened at the literary habits of the great poet, found his house solitary, beat his nephews, and ran away after a single month’s residence! to this circumstance, we owe his famous treatise on Divorce, and a party, (by no means extinct,) who, having made as ill choices in their wives, were for divorcing, as fast

as they had been for marrying, calling themselves *Miltonists*. When we find that Molière, so skilful in human life, married a girl from his own troop, who made him experience all those bitter disgusts and ridiculous embarrassments which he himself played off at the Theatre; that Addison’s fine taste in morals and in life, could suffer the ambition of a courtier to prevail with himself to seek a countess, whom he describes under the stormy character of Oceana, who drove him contemptuously into solitude, and shortened his days; and, that Steele, warm and thoughtless, was united to a cold precise ‘Miss Prue,’ as he calls her, and from whom he never parted without bickerings; in all these cases, we censure the great men, not their wives. ROUSSEAU has honestly confessed his error: he had united himself to a low illiterate woman—and when he retreated into solitude, he felt the weight which he carried with him. He laments that he had not educated his wife; ‘In a docile age, I could have adorned her mind with talents and knowledge which would have more closely united us in retirement. We should not then have felt the intolerable tædium of a tête-à-tête; it is in solitude one feels the advantage of living with another who can think.’ Thus Rousseau confesses the fatal error, and indicates the right principle.

“But it seems not absolutely necessary for the domestic happiness of the literary character, that his wife should be a literary woman. The lady of Wieland was a very pleasing domestic person, who without reading her husband’s

band's works, knew he was a great poet. Wieland was apt to exercise his imagination in a sort of angry declamation and bitter amplifications, and the writer of this account, in perfect German taste, assures us, 'that many of his felicities of diction were thus struck out at a heat:' during this frequent operation of his genius, the placable temper of Mrs. Wieland overcame the orgasm of the German bard, merely by her admiration and her patience. When the burst was over, Wieland himself was so charmed by her docility, that he usually closed with giving up all his opinions. There is another sort of homely happiness, aptly described in the plain words of Bishop Newton: He found 'the study of sacred and classic authors ill agreed with butchers' and bakers' bills;' and when the prospect of a bishopric opened on him, 'more servants, more entertainments, a better table, &c.' it became necessary to look out for 'some clever sensible woman to be his wife, who would lay out his money to the best advantage, and be careful and tender of his health; a friend and companion at all hours, and who would be happier in staying at home than be perpetually gadding abroad.' Such are the wives, not adapted to be the votaries, but who may be the faithful companions through life, even of a man of genius.

"That susceptibility, which is love in its most compliant forms, is a constitutional faculty in the female character, and hence its docility and enthusiasm has varied with the genius of different ages. When universities were opened to the sex, have they not acquired

academic glory? Have not the wives of military men shared in the perils of the field, and as Anna Commena, and our Mrs. Hutchinson, become even their historians? In the age of love and sympathy the female receives an indelible character from her literary associate; his pursuits are even the objects of her thoughts; he sees his tastes reflected in his family, much less by himself, whose solitary labours often preclude him from forming them, than by that image of his own genius in his house—the mother of his children. Antiquity abounds with many inspiring examples of this cameleon reflection of the female character. Aspasia, from the arms of Pericles, borrowing his genius, could instruct the archons how to govern the republic; Portia, the wife of the republican Brutus, devouring the burning coals, showed a glorious suicide which Brutus had approved; while Paulina, the wife of Seneca, when the veins of that philosopher were commanded to be opened, voluntarily chose the same death; the philosopher commanded that her flowing blood should be stopped, but her pallid features ever after showed her still the wife of Seneca! The wife of Lucan is said to have transcribed and corrected the *Pharsalia* after the death of her husband; the tender mind of the wife had caught the energy of the bard by its intercourse; and when he was no more, she placed his bust on her bed, that she might never close her eyes without being soothed by his image. The picture of a literary wife of antiquity has descended to us, touched by the domestic pencil of a man of genius.

genius. It is the susceptible Calphurnia, the lady of the younger Pliny; 'her affection to me has given her a turn to books—her passion will increase with our days, for it is not my youth or my person, which time gradually impairs, but my reputation and my glory, of which she is enamoured.' Could Mrs. Hutchinson have written the life of her husband, had she not reflected from the patriot himself, all his devotedness to the country, had she not lent her whole soul to every event which concerned him? This female susceptibility was strong in the wife of Klopstock; our novelist Richardson, who could not read the Messiah in the original, was desirous of some account of the poem, and its progress. She writes to him that no one can inform him better than herself, for she knows the most of that which is not published, 'being always present at the birth of the young verses, which begin by fragments here and there, of a subject of which his soul is just then filled. Persons who live as we do have no need of two chambers; we are always in the same; I with my little work, still, still,—only regarding sometimes my husband's sweet face, which is so venerable at that time, with tears of devotion and all the sublimity of the subject—my husband reading me his young verses and suffering my criticisms.' Meta Mollers writes with enthusiasm, and in German English; but he is a pitiful critic who has only discovered the oddness of her language.

"GESNER declared, that whatever were his talents, the person who had most contributed to develop them was his wife. She

is unknown to the public; but the history of the mind of such a woman can only be truly discovered in the 'Letters of Gesner and his Family.' While Gesner gave himself up entirely to his favourite arts, drawing, painting, etching, and composing poems, his wife would often reanimate a genius that was apt to despond in its attempts, and often exciting him to new productions, her certain and delicate taste was attentively consulted by the poet-painter—but she combined the most practical good sense with the most feeling imagination; this forms the rareness of the character—for this same woman, who united with her husband in the education of their children, to relieve him from the interruptions of common business, carried on alone the concerns of his house in *la librairie*. Her correspondence with her son, a young artist travelling for his studies, opens what an old poet comprehensively terms 'a gathered mind.' Imagine a woman attending the domestic economy, and the commercial details, yet withdrawing out of this business of life into that of the more elevated pursuits of her husband, and the cares and counsels she bestowed on her son to form the artist and the man. To know this incomparable woman we must hear her. 'Consider your father's precepts as oracles of wisdom; they are the result of the experience he has collected, not only of life, but of that art which he has acquired simply by his own industry.' She would not have her son suffer his strong affection to herself to absorb all other sentiments. 'Had you remained at home, and been habituated under
your

your mother's auspices to employments merely domestic, what advantage would you have acquired? I own we should have passed some delightful winter evenings together; but your love for the arts, and my ambition to see my sons as much distinguished for their talents as their virtues, would have been a constant source of regret at your passing your time in a manner so little worthy of you.' How profound is her observation on the strong but confined attachments of a youth of genius. 'I have frequently remarked, with some regret, the excessive attachment you indulge towards those who see and feel as you do yourself, and the total neglect with which you seem to treat every one else. I should reproach a man with such a fault who was destined to pass his life in a small and unvarying circle; but in an artist, who has a great object in view, and whose country is the whole world, this disposition seems to me likely to produce a great number of inconveniencies—alas! my son, the life you have hitherto led in your father's house has been in fact a pastoral life, and not such a one as was necessary for the education of a man whose destiny summons him to the world.'—And when her son, after meditating on some of the most glorious productions of art, felt himself, as he says, 'disheartened and cast down at the unattainable superiority of the artist; and that it was only by reflecting on the immense labour and continued efforts which such master-pieces must have required, that I regained my courage and my ardour,' she observes, 'this passage, my dear son, is to me as

precious as gold, and I send it to you again, because I wish you to impress it strongly on your mind. The remembrance of this may also be a useful preservative from too great confidence in your abilities, to which a warm imagination may sometimes be liable, or from the despondence you might occasionally feel from the contemplation of grand originals. Continue, therefore, my dear son, to form a sound judgment and a pure taste from your own observations; your mind, while yet young and flexible, may receive whatever impressions you wish. Be careful that your abilities do not inspire in you too much confidence, lest it should happen to you as it has to many others, that they have never possessed any greater merit than that of having good abilities.' One more extract to preserve an incident which may touch the heart of genius. This extraordinary woman, whose characteristic is that of strong sense with delicacy of feeling, would check her German sentimentality at the moment she was betraying those emotions in which the imagination is so powerfully mixed up with the associated feelings. Arriving at their cottage at Sihlwald, she proceeds—'On entering the parlour three small pictures, painted by you, met my eyes. I passed some time in contemplating them. It is now a year, thought I, since I saw him trace these pleasing forms; he whistled and sang, and I saw them grow under his pencil; now is he far, far from us.—In short, I had the weakness to press my lips on one of these pictures. You well know, my dear son, that I am not much addicted to scenes

of a sentimental turn; but to day, while I considered your works, I could not restrain from this little impulse of maternal feelings. Do not, however, be apprehensive that the tender affection of a mother will ever lead me too far, or that I shall suffer my mind to be too powerfully impressed with the painful sensations to which your absence gives birth. My reason convinces me that it is for your welfare that you are now in a place where your abilities will have opportunities of unfolding,

and where you can become great in your art.'

"Such was the incomparable wife and mother of the Gesners!—Will it now be a question whether matrimony is incompatible with the cultivation of the arts? A wife who reanimates the drooping genius of her husband, and a mother who is inspired by the ambition of seeing her sons eminent, is she not the real being which the ancients only personified in their Muse?

ANECDOTES OF MENDELSONN.

"OF the difficulties overcome in the self education of genius, we have a remarkable instance in the character of Moses Mendelsohn, on whom literary Germany has bestowed the honourable title of the Jewish Socrates. Such were the apparent invincible obstructions which barred out Mendelsohn from the world of literature and philosophy, that, in the history of men of genius, it is something like taking in the history of man, the savage of Aveyron from his woods,—who, destitute of human language, should at length create a model of eloquence, without a faculty of conceiving a figure, should be capable to add to the demonstrations of Euclid; and, without a complex idea, and with few sensations, should at length, in the sublimest strain of metaphysics, open to the world a new view of the immortality of the soul!

"Mendelsohn, the son of a poor rabbin, in a village in Ger-

many, received an education completely rabbinical, and its nature must be comprehended, or the term of education would be misunderstood. The Israelites in Poland and Germany live, with all the restrictions of their ceremonial law, in an insulated state, and are not always instructed in the language of the country of their birth. They employ for their common intercourse a barbarous or *patois* Hebrew, while the sole studies of the young rabbins are strictly confined to the Talmud, of which the fundamental principle, like the sonna of the Turks, is a pious rejection of every species of uninspired learning. This ancient jealous spirit, which walls in the understanding and the faith of man, was shutting out what the imitative Catholics afterwards called heresy. It is, then, these numerous folios of the Talmud which the true Hebraic student contemplates through all the seasons of life, as the Patuecos in their

their low valley imagine their surrounding mountains to be the confines of the universe.

"Of such a nature was the plan of Mendelsohn's first studies; but even in his boyhood this conflict of study occasioned an agitation of his spirits, which affected his life ever after; rejecting the Talmudical dreamers, he caught a nobler spirit from the celebrated Maimonides; and his native sagacity was already clearing up the darkness around. An enemy not less hostile to the enlargement of mind than voluminous legends, presented itself in the indigence of his father, who was now compelled to send away the youth on foot to Berlin to find labour and bread.

"At Berlin he becomes an amanuensis to another poor rabbin, who could only still initiate him into the theology, the jurisprudence and scholastic philosophy of his people. Thus he was no farther advanced in that philosophy of the mind in which he was one day to be the rival of Plato and Locke, nor in that knowledge of literature of which he was to be among the first polished critics of Germany.

"Some unexpected event occurs which gives the first great impulse to the mind of genius. Mendelsohn received this from the first companion of his misery and his studies, a man of congenial, but maturer powers. He was a Polish Jew, expelled from the communion of the Orthodox, and the calumniated student was now a vagrant, with more sensibility than fortitude. But this vagrant was a philosopher, a poet, a naturalist and a mathematician. Mendelsohn, at a

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distant day, never alluded to him without tears. Thrown together into the same situation, they approached each other by the same sympathies, and communicating in the only language which Mendelsohn knew, the Polander voluntarily undertook his literary education.

"Then was seen one of the most extraordinary spectacles in the history of modern literature. Two houseless Hebrew youths might be discovered, in the moonlight streets of Berlin, sitting in retired corners, or on the steps of some porch, the one instructing the other, with an Euclid in his hand; but what is more extraordinary, it was a Hebrew version, composed by himself, for one who knew no other language. Who could then have imagined that the future Plato of Germany was sitting on those steps!

"The Polander, whose deep melancholy had settled on his heart, died—yet he had not lived in vain, since the electric spark that lighted up the soul of Mendelsohn had fallen from his own.

"Mendelsohn was now left alone; his mind teeming with its chaos, and still master of no other language than that barren idiom which was incapable of expressing the ideas he was meditating on. He had scarcely made a step into the philosophy of his age, and the genius of Mendelsohn had probably been lost to Germany had not the singularity of his studies and the cast of his mind been detected by the sagacity of Dr. Kisch. The aid of this physician was momentous; for he devoted several hours every day to the instruction of a poor youth, whose strong capacity he had the

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discernment to perceive, and the generous temper to aid. Mendelssohn was soon enabled to read Locke in a Latin version, but with such extreme pain, that, compelled to search for every word, and to arrange their Latin order, and at the same time to combine metaphysical ideas, it was observed that he did not so much translate, as guess by the force of meditation.

“ This prodigious effort of his intellect retarded his progress, but invigorated his habit, as the racer, by running against the hill, at length courses with facility.

“ A succeeding effort was to master the living languages, and chiefly the English, that he might read his favourite Locke in his own idiom. Thus a great genius for metaphysics and languages was forming itself by itself.

“ It is curious to detect, in the character of genius, the effects of local and moral influences. There resulted from Mendelssohn's early situation, certain defects in his intellectual character, derived from his poverty, his Jewish education, and his numerous impediments in literature. Inheriting but one language, too obsolete and naked to serve the purposes of modern philosophy, he perhaps overvalued his new acquisitions, and in his

delight of knowing many languages, he with difficulty escaped from remaining a mere philologist; while in his philosophy, having adopted the prevailing principles of Wolf and Baumgarten, his genius was long without the courage or the skill to emancipate itself from their rusty chains. It was more than a step which had brought him into their circle, but a step was yet wanted to escape from it.

“ At length the mind of Mendelssohn enlarged in literary intercourse: he became a great and original thinker in many beautiful speculations in moral and critical philosophy; while he had gradually been creating a style which the critics of Germany have declared was their first luminous model of precision and elegance. Thus a Hebrew vagrant, first perplexed in the voluminous labyrinth of Judaical learning, in his middle age oppressed by indigence and malady, and in his mature life wrestling with that commercial station whence he derived his humble independence, became one of the master writers in the literature of his country. The history of the mind of Mendelssohn is one of the noblest pictures of the self-education of genius.”

Voyages and Travels.

PART II.

FOR some years past, the most numerous publications have been those of voyages and travels; hence, if they are the works of well informed, intelligent and observant persons, great additions must have been made to our stock of knowledge respecting the various countries to which they relate. It is however not to be expected, that where works on any particular subject are extremely numerous, even the greater part of them should be works of merit; at the same time it must be acknowledged, that there are advantages attending travellers of the present day, to which travellers of former periods were strangers.

We allude particularly to two circumstances: in the first place, the science at present possessed by most who travel; and, secondly, the facilities of travelling. With respect to the preparatory information possessed by travellers of the present day, it is evident that it must greatly surpass that which was enjoyed by our ancestors. Let us consider for a moment what are the chief objects of investigation to which a traveller applies himself;—they must relate, either to the physical state of the country he visits,—to its

cluding the customs, manners, and in short all that constitutes the character of the people: or to its political state—under that term comprehending its statistics, as well as its laws, form, and practice of government. So far as the moral state of a country is the object of a traveller's investigation, we of the present day do not seem to possess any advantages to which our ancestors were strangers; they had all the preparatory knowledge on this subject which we possess. But it is different with respect to the two other points. Let us first consider the physical state of a country, more particularly what is termed its natural history: it is evident that, as very great advances have been made, during the present age, in all branches of this science, especially chemistry and mineralogy, travellers now must be much better able to investigate and describe the natural history of the countries they visit, than travellers were at a time when the most important branches of this science were almost in their infancy.

So with regard to the statistics of a country: this is almost a new science; at least, till within these few years, it has not been reduced to form, or exhibited in such a manner that it could be regularly

and easily acquired. Accordingly, if we compare modern books of travels with those which were published even half a century ago, we shall find the latter almost entirely destitute of details or comprehensive views of the population, agriculture, manufactures, and commerce, of the countries to which they relate. Whereas in modern books of travels, even in those which professedly and principally relate to other topics, statistical inquiries are seldom or never utterly neglected.

But those who travel in the present day possess also the advantage of having access to a great variety of books relating to the countries they intend to visit, unknown to travellers of former days; not merely books of travels, but books on one or other of the three great and leading points to which we have already alluded. From this source, as well as from his own knowledge, a traveller of the present day ought to set out on his travels uncommonly well prepared;—informed not only of what is already known respecting the countries he means to visit, but also of what is still uninvestigated, or imperfectly known and described, or respecting which the statements of preceding travellers differ.

Secondly, with respect to facilities of travelling: this advantage may be considered in two points of view: in the first place, the numerous countries that are now open to travellers, which till lately were almost entirely closed against them; and again, the greater number and variety of means and sources of information that can now be obtained in those countries which

were formerly visited frequently, but not with these advantages.

Let us only very briefly consider the different quarters of the globe, as they could be explored, and were explored and known, in the beginning of the last century, and as they have been explored in the beginning of the present century. Then, even the western coasts of North America were in a great measure unknown: at present not only has this coast been thoroughly investigated, but nearly all the country intervening betwixt it and the Atlantic has been visited. The same remark applies, with little exception, to South America. Our conquests in India have laid open to travellers a vast extent of country, which even yet offers a rich harvest to travellers. The Turkish dominions can now be visited with a safety, and facilities and opportunities of gaining information respecting them, unknown half a century ago. The vast empire of Russia is now easy of access. Even Africa, though the most impenetrable quarter of the globe, has partially yielded to the zeal and enterprize of modern travellers.

These in a manner are all new fields for the modern traveller; and if we consider the advantages at present possessed in travelling into more civilized countries, we shall be equally convinced that modern travellers ought to obtain much more full and accurate information than travellers of former days could obtain. In Germany, France, Switzerland, Italy, &c. a traveller now is not obliged to have his thoughts nearly so much occupied about his own accommodation as was the case formerly;

merly; and access to what he wishes to know is much more easily procured.

But it is an old and just remark, that too much facility in doing any thing, often occasions it to be ill done; and it must be confessed this remark applies with considerable truth and force to books of modern travels. Every body can write in the present age; and as the want of the requisite previous knowledge, and of ability or opportunities of gaining information while travelling is easily supplied by the numerous books respecting the particular country visited,—it is no wonder if books of travels are very numerous, and that among them there should not be many of very great merit.

The remark, however, which is often applied to books generally,—that a book must be a very bad one, from which something may not be learnt—seems to us, to apply with peculiar propriety to books of travels. It is scarcely possible for a man of common sense and observation to pass through a strange country, where of course novelty rouses attention, without noticing some things, or communicating some observations, worthy of record.

Books of travels which describe the moral state of a country pos-

sess an interest which is not to be found in those which relate to the physical state of a country, and, but rarely, and then only in a trifling degree, in those books of travels which relate to the political institutions of a country. The moral state of a country,—at least so far as it consists in manners, customs, and general character, is constantly undergoing a change; and it is extremely curious and instructive to compare the accounts which travellers of different periods give on those subjects. This remark particularly applies to such countries as have had their moral state affected by any great convulsion: hence the interest possessed by all books of travels,—however poorly written,—which describe France, and the countries which were subverted by her during the revolution—because, by many of them, we can trace and ascertain the change in their moral state, occasioned by that event. Great changes must have also taken place in the political institutions and the statistics of these countries: but these are topics which comparatively few travellers are qualified or disposed to investigate, and very few readers find to be nearly so interesting as information respecting the moral state of a country.

ARTICLE I.—*Sketches of America.* By H. B. FEARON.

IT appears that Mr. Fearon was deputed, in June 1817, by 39 English families, to ascertain whether any and what part of the United States would be suitable

for their residence. From this account of the object of Mr. Fearon's journey, it is evident, that, in order to qualify him for it in a proper manner, he ought to

to be a person not only of considerable information, but also very observant and very impartial. By information we do not mean such information as could be obtained from books,—this alone would be of little avail. The families who sent him, seem to have wished to settle in America, either as agriculturists, or in some manufactures or trades: of course Mr. Fearon's object was to learn the probability of their succeeding in those lines: but this he could not do, unless he possessed a good deal of various information on agriculture and manufactures. Another object was to ascertain the manners, disposition, and general character of the people of the United States; for a profitable occupation in the midst of immoral, unsocial, unfriendly, or unpleasant people, could not be desirable; a third object was to investigate the political institutions. All know that the theory and form of the American government is republican, and highly

favourable to liberty; but a little experience will teach us, that the form and theory of a government, and its practical operation, are very often extremely different.

Mr. Fearon seems to have executed the various objects of his mission in a very satisfactory manner: he was very active and indefatigable in his inquiries and observations: he seems very impartial, and to have told the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so far as he could learn it. His statements and opinions are, on the whole, favourable to the first object of his journey; the greater facility of supporting a family in America, especially in agriculture;—they are extremely unfavourable to the second object of his journey—the character of the people; and though on the whole favourable to the third object, the practice of the government, he certainly mentions facts, which prove that republicanism is not so incorrupt as its admirers represent it to be.

THE AMERICAN CHARACTER.

“THE remark is now an old one, ‘That Americans have no national character.’ Half a century ago the observation was probably correct; but I think a personal acquaintance will show its utter want of foundation at the present period. Their national character, in my judgment, is broadly and distinctly marked; and, as is common with that of other nations, partakes of a mixture of wisdom and folly, of vir-

tue and vice, of some excellencies and of great defects. Although I cannot go the whole length of *Moore's* description of them, yet with a mind constituted, as I presume his to be, and with the disappointments which his strong prepossessions in favour of America must have given rise to, I can easily conceive that he would not find much difficulty in concluding that—‘The rude familiarity of the lower orders, and indeed the un-

polished

polished state of society in general, would neither surprise nor disgust, if they seemed to flow from that simplicity of character, that honest ignorance of the class of refinement, which may be looked for in a new and inexperienced people. *But when we find them arrived at maturity in most of the vices, and all the pride of civilisation, while they are still so remote from its elegant characteristics, it is impossible not to feel that this youthful decay, this crude anticipation of the natural period of corruption,* represses every sanguine hope of the future greatness and energy of America."

"National, like individual character, must be in a great measure formed or controlled by the circumstances in which men are situated. For the creation of a valuable standard of character, Americans are disadvantageously placed: they are far removed from that mass of floating intelligence which pervades Europe; but more especially England; and in addition to this, as a people, and in their political capacity, they have nothing to contend for—nothing to call forth their energies; and but little of external excitement beyond the pursuits of gain, and merely animal gratification. In their civil condition, all obtain a living with ease. For religion, their priests think for them; they have neither persecution to excite zeal, opposition or controversy to awaken them to inquiry, nor yet virtue or knowledge sufficient to show them its advantages; whilst in their political capacity, they have the cheapest, the easiest, and the most reasonable form of government in the world. To illustrate nations by

individuals is an old, and by no means inappropriate mode of estimating political character; and, for myself, I never knew an individual who was freed from strong external excitement, or who possessed every thing which he desired without personal exertion; that did not sink into indolence, indifference, selfishness, and actual vice. This seems to be made, and wisely so, one of the terms and conditions of our nature—'Whom the Lord loveth he chasteneth,' is a sacred maxim; that chastisement is, I believe, as valuable as it is necessary. I have not indeed seen the character whom I could call excellent, that had not undergone trials, privations, and sufferings. To become intellectual, energetic, and virtuous, in the present state of our existence, seems to require that we should first know sorrow, and have been acquainted with grief: not that I am the advocate for political oppression in order to produce those consequences, or that I wish to see transplanted into this free and hitherto unoppressed country, enormous taxation—iniquity in high places—civil disabilities—religious exclusions—standing armies—and hired spies and informers; but that a something *must* occur, before this people can be roused from their present lethargy,—made, even in a limited degree, deserving of their unparalleled natural and political advantages—that something of this nature, among the wise dispensations of Providence, *will* occur; I have no doubt; for I cannot allow myself to draw the melancholy conclusion of Moore, that what we now see of the character of the people, bad

bad as it may appear, 'represses every sanguine hope of the future energy and greatness of America.'

"To understand America correctly, it is, in some measure, necessary to recur to the character and condition of its first civilized population. They were, in the first instance, emigrants from the several European nations, particularly England; the most respectable class of which were those who fled from religious persecution; no inconsiderable number of transports; the great body of the rest were as emigrants ever are—the most enterprising, the most needy, but by no means the most intelligent of their native country. It is such only, generally speaking, that can be induced to quit the land which gave them birth; even although the exchange should bring with it the most decided advantages. The word *home* contains a sacred spell, which rarely can be broken. We cling to the hovels, the rocks, and the sands of our birth-place, with a filial affection which seldom ceases but with our existence. These feelings the Deity seems to have implanted for wise purposes in the bosoms of all men. The emigrant to a wilderness will therefore rarely be a man even moderate in his worldly circumstances; and he will still more rarely be possessed of regular habits, or a cultivated mind. *Exceptions* will exist of persons who take distant views, and who can bring every feeling and thought under the guidance of reflection and principle; but such will ever be but *exceptions*, while our nature remains the same. Such then were the seeds of American society; let us look at

the circumstances in which these men were placed; in a country where civilisation had made no progress; where every man, both in mind and body, was fully occupied in obtaining the bare means of subsistence; and where their relative situation towards the natives of the soil was calculated to deaden every just, benevolent, and humane sentiment. As society advanced, indeed, the whole population no longer remained 'hewers of wood and drawers of water.' Classification commenced; but still those whose views, means, or habits could be mental, were extremely limited in number. They left Europe at a dark period, not themselves the finest specimens of the national picture; even those amongst them who had leisure for literary objects, met with obstacles at every step—the want of books, the want of society, and of communication with learned individuals or of scientific bodies. There was besides no history attached to their country; they lived *indeed* in a new world, 'which was endeared to them by no recollections, and which could neither excite nor gratify their curiosity, by the records of the past.' The first accessions of strength from the '*old country*,' furnished little besides an increase of the manual labour. The colonial government introduced some men of information: public education was attended to; riches increased; the slave trade was encouraged; negroes were introduced in every American colony; the extermination of Indians went on, the invaders gradually seizing on their country. Literature was now in some respects advancing, though the colonists

lonists depended for their mental as well as bodily clothing upon the mother country; English, Dutch, Irish, Scotch, Germans, and their several descendants, were becoming to speak one language, and have one common interest. They were, as colonists ever and necessarily are, inferior to the parent country in the first class of its intelligence, but above its grosser ignorance. Society had at this time acquired stability. The *Revolution* now took place. The motives and causes which led to this most important event are deserving of marked attention: they were not, as had been the case with most other great national struggles, a dissatisfaction *generally* with their government, or a desire to be an *independent people*. Their resistance went to one specific claim of the English ministry, *taxation without representation*; this object defeated, their design was to return to their former political condition: that there was no original intention to establish an independent constitution, is admitted by Mr. Jefferson in his '*Notes on Virginia*.' In the April of 1776, three months before the declaration of independence, Paine's '*Common Sense*' appeared. Previous to the publication of this book, the leaders in the contest were made acquainted with its object and general purport. They were then alarmed — completely frightened at the bare idea of declaring themselves independent. *Sir* individuals could not be found, who, at that time, would go the length of a separation from the mother country, from which a small concession, with regard to the stamp-act, was hailed with the most

enthusiastic delight—the wish of the whole people being to heal the existing differences, and return to their former dependent situation. These facts are necessary to be borne in mind, as they will account for much which exists in the people of the United States at the present day. The effect of '*Common Sense*' upon the public mind was electric. Men were alarmed indeed—but they read, and conviction flashed upon their minds. Three months after the appearance of this book, the '*Declaration of Independence*' was signed. The contest now assumed altogether an altered aspect; the struggle was no longer for a rescue from a peculiar mode of taxation, but for the maintaining of rights, political and national, for vital and fundamental principles, which, if once established, would build upon their shores a temple of freedom, and leave it there, a model for other nations and for after ages. The friends of human liberty in Europe crossed the Atlantic to fan their darling flame. Others also emigrated of a more dubious character: America became the receptacle for speculators and fortune-hunters, for adventurers, and base and demoralized characters of every shade and description. The peaceful pursuits of agriculture were exchanged for those of the sword; society was shifted from its base, and every thing became disorganized. Peace was at length proclaimed, but it failed to bring with it those halcyon days, of which the olive branch is generally considered the precursor. America was now a chaos, bankrupt alike, it was feared, in morals and in finances. Their warmest

warmest patriots doubted whether their independence were not in fact a curse to them. The administration of Washington, which succeeded, was marked by policy, by sound views, and by political wisdom; but, in drawing up the constitution, the desire to guard against the possibility of corruption, nearly produced the effect of destroying all government — a jealousy of power, carried to an imprudent excess, had too much weakened the pillars which should support the political fabric. A revision of the principles of the federal union became necessary to the salvation of the republic. This question gave rise to two great political parties, *practically* though not *theoretically* possessed of opposite principles of government, and fostering in their breasts, even unto this day, the most implacable hatred. The friend of domestic peace and of public morals, feeling, perhaps too acutely, present evils, without calculating that a time for their correction must arrive, fondly dwelt upon a remembrance of those days when they were children of the English family; forgetting, as men too frequently do when reviewing the past, all that was painful and unpleasant, and only cherishing the recollection and sighing after advantages of which they had been deprived. European politics became now the subject of general attention. The French revolution naturally produced unusual excitement: a large majority were its advocates. They considered the event as only a continuation of the struggle which they had commenced, for the emancipation of the world. Others, sickened with the effects of their

own change, viewed it with jaundiced eyes. Great Britain, joining in the confederacy against the new republic, and the excesses committed by the French, afforded fresh food for the nourishment of political parties on this continent. The *federalists* now obtained the additional title of English Tories, and the *democrats*, that of French Jacobins. Revolutionists upon the wildest principles flocked to America. The French party became so numerous and so strong, that those who differed from them were in fact exposed to a system of practical proscription throughout the Union. A head, less deliberate and cool than Washington's, would have been driven into an open alliance with republican France; as it was, the Gallie ambassador (Genet) nearly set the administration at defiance. So triumphant, indeed, were these advocates of desperate measures, that at one period an expression of difference of opinion endangered personal safety, and even a list of proscribed Americans (among which was Mr. John Quincy Adams) was suspended from the mast-head of a French frigate in Boston harbour. This danger, however, was by prudence ultimately avoided; and peril from the contrary side would seem next to have followed. The presidency of Mr. Adams (a federalist) succeeded that of Washington. Some of his measures were perhaps compelled by the circumstances of the times; but no friend of liberty can advocate his fourteen years' naturalization law; his frequent public prosecutions for libel; his plans for a standing army; and his aim to obtain the state and style of royalty. The effect

effect of his administration was to re-excite all the violent and turbulent feelings of the democratic party, which Washington's policy had allayed. At the termination of the first period of his presidency, a desperate conflict ensued; the federal party were defeated in his person for the presidency by a majority of one. Mr. Jefferson rose upon his ruins; and from that time to the present, the democratic party have sat at the helm of state. The unsuccessful attempt at revolution in Ireland, threw into America a considerable number of well-intentioned perhaps, but certainly very diseased members of the body politic; while the accession of multitudes of the most ignorant classes of society from Holland and Germany, together with the vast increase of black population, rapidly added to the numerical population, extending the range and increasing the produce of manual labour without adding any thing that was valuable to, if I may so express myself, the stock of national mind. America, in the meantime, in her political capacity, was making rapid advances towards taking her standing as a first-rate power. Her internal resources were boundless; her geographical situation secured her from attack during the weakness, as it were, of infancy; her population went on increasing in a ratio not paralleled in modern times, but easily to be accounted for upon well-known principles of political economy. At this time it was that the disturbed state of Europe threw into her hands the carrying trade of the world, and enabled her to erect a mercantile

marine, only second to that of Great Britain. This unexpected, and *unprepared for* influx of wealth, demoralized, while it enriched; with the people, there was no preparation, no pupillage, no gradation, no step from the primitive log-house to the splendour of the palace. European luxury and vice, unadorned by European knowledge, and not ameliorated by European habits of refinement, rapidly overspread the land, and produced their natural and unavoidable consequences. The pursuits of the whole people assumed also a hazardous and *speculative* cast; opportunities for indulging which were constantly presented by the disturbed state of European commerce, and by their own vast unpeopled continent. The means of living were in the hands of every man, with the occupation of but one-fourth part of his time. They were in possession of political and domestic ease, the sources or the value of which their want of reflection prevented them from estimating; and having at once the means, the time, and the opportunity of gratifying their passions, or indulging their indolence, they have not pursued learning beyond their school-books. Thus, neglecting to encourage any pursuits, either individually or collectively, which may be called *mental*, they appear, as a nation, to have sunk into habits of indolence and indifference; they are neither lively in their tempers, nor generous in their dispositions: though a great political nation, they have little science and no literature; and, as individuals, while they are theoretically possessed of freedom

dom and independence, they are too frequently but mere machines in the hands of interested and unprincipled men.

"The war of 1812 forms an important epoch in their history; it not only called into action all their latent animosities, but it produced an effect which had not been anticipated. It was found that their resources, though vast, and even boundless, were as yet unorganized, and not of a kind of which they could immediately avail themselves. Party violence was extreme—loans could not be negotiated—government securities sold at 33½ per cent discount—specie had disappeared, and penny and two-penny notes were a common circulating medium. A convention was held of the New England States, which, had not peace intervened to prevent their views being carried into execution, would probably have terminated in a division of the states. Loans, contracts, jobs, smuggling, speculation, and fraud, infected every part of the Union. The nation suffered,—but, as their sufferings were of short duration, they have now almost forgotten their existence.

"Looking fairly therefore at all these circumstances, we ought not to be surprised to find that *American theory is at least two centuries in advance of American practice*. We have usually connected with our ideas of republicanism and unpolished manners, a simplicity and honesty of mind which more than compensate for all minor defects. That we should not meet with even an approach to these characteristics in America is by no means extraordinary, when we

reflect upon their origin, and the materials from which their present character is derived. They were not originally a new people who have gradually advanced from barbarism, to a knowledge of enlightened political principles; on the contrary, they formed not even the best portion of an old stock, and they have been placed in novel circumstances, and occupied in pursuits little calculated to increase political virtue, or advance mental acquirements. Their constitution itself is not an original production; it is modelled, in fact, upon that of England, partaking of most of its forms, intermixed with many peculiarities of the colonial *régime*. In the instance of Rhode Island, the original charter of Charles the Second is its present form of government. The laws of England are at this moment, almost without even an attempt at improvement, the laws of America. Old Bailey, Hicks's Hall, and Westminster causes, with the acts of George the Third, &c. &c. &c. are now cited in the most distant courts of law—in the wilderness as well as in *old America*: even the French lawyers in Louisiana are compelled to substitute Coke's Institutes, Blackstone's Commentaries, and East's Reports, in the stead of the laws of the *ancien régime*, or the mighty modern assistance which could have been derived from the *Code Napoleon*!

"The theory of education is British, at least so far as that name can be given to mere externals; the plans of public schools, mode of study, and the authors used, being taken from English practice, but without the solidity of inquiry.

inquiry, and variety of assistance derived both from writers and professors, which characterize our present establishments.

"The *reading* of Americans (for I have not seen in society an approach to what can be called *study*) is English; there being few native writers, and but a small number of these who possess the respect of even their own countrymen. Our novels and poetry, not excepting those which proceed from the Minerva press, meet with an immediate reprint, and constitute *practically* the entire American library.

"There are *theatres*, either stationary or occasional, in most towns of which the population is two thousand and upwards; yet I know of but one native play (Bunker's Hill): the performers too are English, at least in the proportion to Americans of eight out of every ten; so that the stage of this country may justly be denominated British. Many of the vulgar sayings, and still more vulgar prejudices, of our little island, are transported hither. Frenchmen and frogs, Irishmen and bulls, are even the subjects of American ridicule, and in the uncontaminated style of vulgar cockneyism. Another source of intimate communication with England exists in the articles of clothing, and nearly every domestic utensil, being also the manufacture of our island. Yet in spite of all these various ties of connexion with England, and with Englishmen, they appear generally to regard both with jealousy and hatred. Did this dislike proceed from correct principles, I should think it honourable to their national character; for we,

or at least our government, have certainly left no means untried to prevent them, in the first instance, from obtaining the natural rights of men, and — when that was found to be impossible, then to blast all the advantages they had gained, and crush their rising prosperity. But the American hatred of our country is not bottomed upon causes which *reason* would have dictated: its component parts cannot be denominated to be either rational or reflective — it is, in source, and in mode of expression, an exact parallel to that of our most uneducated classes concerning the French people, who always dislike Frenchmen, and the only reason they can give for such feelings is, because they *are* Frenchmen — and because the newspapers have said Frenchmen ought to be hated.

"To copy from a nation like England, which is so pre-eminently distinguished by knowledge, as varied as it is profound, can reflect disgrace on no country; but in the act of imitation there should be judicious selection, and not an indiscriminate application of institutions and practices, which, though perhaps suited to a peculiar country, and a very mixed state of society, cannot be expected to harmonize with the wants or the character of another people, under circumstances and in civil condition essentially different. The Americans seem to have forgotten this, and, like most imitators, very peculiarly excel in the *defects* of the original. This conduct, on their part, is attended with serious disadvantages to themselves, and prevents their possession of a solid base upon which to erect a purely

purely American superstructure. At present their mental streams are derived from two sources, (those of the old and of the new world,) of opposite qualities, either of which used separately, or by a limited and judicious admixture, would be beneficial; but as they are suffered to flow on to the point of their junction without interruption or purification, they only produce muddy and infectious waters. Converse with an American upon the condition of the world at large, its political situation and true interests, he is rarely clear-headed; not from want of capacity, but the sources of his knowledge have been so jumbled, and his information in general is so ill-arranged, that he is often, in the same breath, an advocate for the extremes of liberty and of slavery. The nation at large dislike England; and yet, both individually and collectively, would be offended should a hint be expressed that they were of Irish or of Dutch, and not of English descent. They contend for the superiority of their genius in taste, mechanical arts, and literature, and yet they disregard fashions or books which are not imported from Great Britain. Notwithstanding this voluntary national dependence, there are, perhaps, no people, not even excepting the French, who are so vain as the Americans; their self-estimation, and cool-headed bombast, when speaking of themselves or their country, are quite ludicrous. An anecdote is told of General Moreau, who, at the commencement of the late war with England, was in America: a friend, addressing him, observed that his military talents

would be of essential service to the republic. He replied in the negative; adding, that there was not a drummer in the American army who did not think himself equal to General Moreau. This fact will apply to all occupations with an equal degree of faithfulness. Every man here thinks he has arrived at the acmé of perfection: the mechanics themselves possess the same feeling. When at Newark, I was informed that some choice designs in chair-japaning and coach-plating were lately produced by two emigrants: the natives turned upon their heels, 'Ay, they guessed them 'ere were fashions they had left off.' Every American considers that it is impossible for a foreigner to teach him any thing, and that his head contains a perfect encyclopædia. This excessive inflation of mind must be attended with many disadvantages; though when I look at the various causes which have combined to produce it, I am not much surprised at its existence. As a people, they feel that they have got to gain a character, and, like individuals under similar circumstances, are captious and conceited in proportion to their defects. They appear to aim at a standard of high reputation, without the laborious task of deserving it, and practise upon themselves the self-deception of believing that they really are that which they only wish to be. This feeling has not been lessened by their successes in the late contest with Great Britain; for, although in several engagements on our favourite element they had an overwhelming superiority, yet there were instances when that

was

was not the case; and the defeat of English frigates, with even any disparity of force, was too great an honour to be estimated exactly as it merited. The boasting upon this subject is so extravagant, that it burlesques the object of its praise. 'America is now the ruler of the waves;' and every song and joke, fact and falsehood, that we have bestowed upon our tars, are transferred to the 'Star-spangled banner, and the brave sons of Columbia,' with the characteristic fidelity of a national intellect, rendered barren from want of culture; and even on such an occasion has hardly produced an attempt at originality.

"My knowledge of the details of the late war was extremely limited when I first landed in this country. A short residence here, however, will force upon the attention of all persons an acquaintance with naval history. Every man, woman, and child in America talk about the *Guerrière*, the *Java*, the *Macedonia*, the *Frolic*, *Lake Erie*, *Lake Champlain*, and the 'vast inferiority of British sailors and soldiers to the true-blooded Yankees.' A non-intercourse act seems to have passed against the sciences, morals, and literature in American society; even the ladies are content to be silent, or, when they do express an idea, it is sure to contain the *refined* and *intellectual* names of *Commodore Hull*, *Captain Lawrence*, and *General Jackson*. A knowledge of such events is certainly desirable; but to cause them, as they are here, to be the never-ending theme of conversation, the circle round which every thing revolves, is to make the

going into society a punishment instead of a pleasure. This tendency is stated to have been finely ridiculed by Mr. Jeffrey, of the *Edinburgh Review*, who visited this country soon after the war. To a question said to have been put to him by Mr. Madison, 'What did you think of the war, Mr. Jeffrey?' he coolly replied, 'Upon my word, sir, I did not hear of it.'

"Naval affairs being so frequently the subject of remark, I took some trouble to investigate the real facts relating to them; and found that a large body of the American seamen were British subjects; and that, more particularly, the forces of their vessels almost ensured success. In the first victory, that of the '*Constitution*' over the '*Guerrière*,' Mr. James, author of the able work, entitled '*The Naval Occurrences of the late War*,' states the broad-side metal in pounds of the American was 768; of the British, 517: the American complement of men, 468; of British, 263: of size in tons of the American, 1533; of British, 1084. In the affair of the '*United States*' and '*Constitution*,' which defeated the '*Macedonia*' and '*Java*,' a similar disparity existed; and in the *Lake Erie* fleet, the American amount of broad-side metal in pounds was 928; of British, 459: the size in tons, 1530; of British, 865: in complement of men, 580; of British, 345. These are matters about which I should have known little, and cared less, had they not been in American society the eternal source of conversation, to the exclusion of every subject of taste, morals, or literature,—indeed of every other, except the praise

praise of priests, and the price of cotton, flour, and *niggers*.

"The tyrannical conduct of our government in naval affairs, their system of impressment and of flogging, and the absurd and insolent claim of the right of search, might well, particularly the last, have exasperated the American nation, and more especially her seamen; still the Americans are deserving of great honour for what they really achieved. School-boys in the art of war, they were yet better prepared for it, and evinced more practical dexterity, than our hoary headed practitioners. But with this limited degree of praise, they are not content; they are, forsooth, 'the lords of the ocean!' 'Neptune's choicest sons!' 'Victorious, though the English had great superiority of force!' 'The star-spangled banner is the astonishment, the admiration, and the glory of the world!'—with volumes more of such frothy, senseless bombast.

"Other causes of their great national pride and vanity suggest themselves to the mind. One may consist in their being so far removed from the seat of the arts and sciences, that their acquirements are not tried by the only effectual standard—comparison. They are left in undisputed possession of the belief, that infancy is manhood; that puerility is superiority; and that mediocrity is first-rate talent. They have a political republic within themselves; but they send scarcely one representative to the general republic of letters. European writers too, who have never actually visited America, taking their ideas of the inhabitants, their

manners and institutions, from the laws and political constitution of the country, have frequently been profuse in their eulogies. Speculating emigrants, from interested motives, have followed in the same track. American authors, in the sincerity of their hearts, have re-echoed their praises; while politicians, among whom I regret to see Mr. Muproe occupying a prominent part, have told them that they are '*the most enlightened nation in the world!!*' Americans would be more than human, were they not injured by this powerful combination against their national improvement.—Man's vanity is of all points the most tender; and there are few, I believe, willing to reject flattery, even from any source, or to any extent. So far indeed is this carried in the United States, that if a traveller should point out the smallest defect or error, no inquiry is ever made by the Americans into the *truth* of the charge; the writer is immediately viewed as a foul calumniator, or guilty of premeditated falsehood and intentional insult; and is not unlikely to be denominated a hireling, in the pay of some foreign government. Should this tone of thinking remain uncorrected, it cannot but produce the most pernicious effects. By such a course, improvement must be checked and error perpetuated. The vanity of this people may thus be gratified; but they must be content to remain children in knowledge and improvement of every kind, and submit to be rocked for ages in the cradle of European intellect.

"There are additional considerations worthy of our attention
in

in forming a correct estimate of the American people. One which suggests itself is, the want of *social subordination* which exists among them. Servants feel themselves independent of their employers, and children of their parents. This may be attended with some advantages; it may please, when contrasted with the degrading slavery of the European world; but it is not free from serious and peculiar evils. It increases selfish feelings and pursuits; it individualizes society; and prevents a development of those social qualities which are of important benefit to, as well as the greatest ornament of our nature. **EARLY MARRIAGES** partly proceed perhaps from this state of things, though the great source of their frequency is certainly, in conformity with a well-known theory—the ease with which the necessities of life can be obtained. Arguments are not wanting in favour of youthful matrimonial engagements; and, without considering the matter in an individual point of view, it certainly contributes to the more rapid advancement of a country requiring population. Yet, strong as such reasons may be, I should, if morally considered, hesitate in bearing my testimony to their solidity. The youth of twenty, and the female of fourteen, are ill fitted for the cares, anxieties, and education of a family—neither their bodily nor mental strength has attained maturity. Those days also which ought to be devoted to the acquirement of solid information, and to the improving, perhaps it may be said, to the creating the character, are necessarily devoted to other objects.

1818.

The cares of life, under such circumstances, begin to press upon individuals who have not previously had time or opportunity to learn its duties. No provision has been made for the support of a rising family—to *this*, therefore, every other object will generally be sacrificed: by these means a sordid and calculating spirit is engendered—the more generous feelings of our nature acquire neither strength nor stability; and every mental and ennobling pursuit is abandoned with a view to the getting on in life.

“The American female character requires our attention: in mental pursuits it would appear to be at present but little advanced. This proceeds, no doubt, from a variety of causes; all that has been said of the male population, by a natural re-action affecting the female also. The demand, too, (if I may be excused a mercantile phrase upon such a subject,) exceeding the supply, together with the comparatively less value set upon domestic comfort, may, perhaps, have tended to produce the extreme attention to mere personal ornament, and the universal neglect of either mental or domestic knowledge, which appears to exist among the females here, as compared with those of England.

“The reflections generated by these considerations are, what my personal observation has confirmed—that a great part of the nation are content to be employed in procuring the first necessities of life, and in mere animal enjoyment. These several causes may have assisted in the production of a general fact, that here all knowledge, beyond that

that of immediate pecuniary interest, is superficial.

"The *statesman* of America has heretofore been altogether of a different, and, perhaps, a superior race to those of Europe. There has been in this country nothing of the *regularly-trained* and *family-born great man*. A senator, a secretary of state, or a president, is commonly a lawyer, who has risen by his talents or perseverance; and, in addition, he is not unfrequently a farmer: and when his official duties have terminated, he returns from Washington to his home, and resumes his former occupations. From this domestic and sound mode of conducting the public weal, there has of late years been a partial deviation. Certain families have edged themselves into government-offices, and have proved to be, in practice at least, adherents of the doctrine of *hereditary descent*; yet the general features remain as described: and, however discordant the fact may appear with the principles of legitimacy, I believe none will be found hardy enough to assert, that these men display any want of the knowledge or ability required by their station; or that they do not play their parts with as much vigour, effect, and integrity, as if they had been the descendants of an ancient and titled aristocracy.

"The existence of slavery in the United States has a most visible effect upon the national character. It necessarily brutalizes the minds of the southern and western inhabitants; it lowers, indeed, the tone of humane and correct feeling throughout the Union; and imperceptibly con-

tributes to the existence of that great difference which here exists between theory and practice. The treatment of the Indian nations is but ill calculated to excite liberal or humane feelings; for, however Mr. Munroe and others may attempt to philosophize upon the benefits which arise from uncivilized man's making way before a more '*dense population*,' the admitted fact is, that Americans are making continued encroachments upon the aboriginal inhabitants, either under the semblance of treaties, or by direct warfare, produced, as the present one is said to have been, by designed aggressions, and aggravating insults on the part of the people of the United States.

"The diversity of laws in separate states, by which acts considered as a crime in one part are not punishable in another, and also many confused impressions of right and wrong, generate much evil, while the state of the bankrupt laws, and an immense and complicated paper currency, are universal and increasing evils; each of these having opened an extensive field to the calculations of avarice and the speculations of the dishonest. The list of insolvencies in the state from which I now write is enormous. Failure in trade, so far from being a cause of loss, or a subject of shame, is generally the means of securing a fortune; and so callous upon this subject has the public mind become, that no kind of disadvantage or disgrace attaches to the individual, who takes, therefore, little pains to disguise the source of his wealth.

"Although *pauperism* has not arrived at English maturity, nor does

does it often attract the public eye (for myself, I have seen but three beggars, one of whom accosted me in the gallery of the House of Representatives in Washington); yet it does exist, and that to an extent which I had not imagined until the perusal of Governor Clinton's most able address to the New York legislature. He there remarks—'Our statutes relating to the poor are borrowed from the English system. And the experience of that country as well as our own shows that pauperism increases with the augmentation of the funds applied to its relief. This evil has proceeded to such an alarming extent in the city of New York, that the burdens of heavy taxation which it has imposed, menace a diminution of the population of that city, and a depreciation of its real property. The consequences will be very injurious to the whole state; for the decay of our great market will be felt in every department of productive labour. Under the present system the fruits of industry are appro-

priated to the wants of idleness; a laborious poor man is taxed for the support of an idle beggar; and the voice of mendicity, no longer considered degrading, infects a considerable portion of our population in large towns. I am persuaded that the sooner a radical reform takes place, the better. The evil is contagious, and a prompt extirpation can alone prevent its pernicious extension.'

"To pauperism may be added LOTTERIES, which are numerous in all the states; and in many the English exploded iniquity of *insurance*, and '*little goes*,' exist in full operation.

"The *commerce* of the United States has experienced a great revival since 1815. During the calamitous period of war, the merchant-ships were rotting, and their owners became bankrupt. The following statement, the amounts of which are in dollars, copied from official reports, presents a most interesting detail of the trade of America at this time:—

Exports for the Year ending Sept. 30, 1817.

The <i>domestic</i> products or manufactures exported, amounted to	Dollars	68,313,500
The <i>foreign</i> products or manufactures	-	19,358,069
Total	Dollars	87,671,569

The exports were,

	<i>Domestic.</i>	<i>Foreign.</i>
To the northern countries of Europe	3,828,563	2,790,408
Dominions of the Netherlands	3,397,775	2,387,553
Ditto of Great Britain	41,431,168	2,037,074
Ditto of France	9,717,423	2,717,395
Ditto of Spain	4,530,156	3,893,780
Ditto of Portugal	1,501,237	333,586
All other dominions	3,907,178	5,198,283
Dollars	68,313,500	19,358,069

The exports were,

	<i>Domestic.</i>	<i>Foreign.</i>	<i>Total.</i>
From New Hampshire -	170,599	26,825	197,424
Vermont -	913,201	—	913,201
Massachusetts -	5,908,416	6,019,581	11,927,997
Rhode Island -	577,911	372,556	950,467
Connecticut -	574,290	29,849	604,139
New York -	13,660,733	5,046,700	18,707,433
New Jersey -	5,849	—	5,849
Pennsylvania -	5,538,003	3,197,589	8,735,592
Delaware -	38,771	6,083	44,854
Maryland -	5,887,884	3,046,046	8,933,930
Dist. of Columbia -	1,689,102	79,566	1,768,668
Virginia -	5,561,238	60,204	5,621,442
North Carolina -	955,211	1,369	956,580
South Carolina -	9,944,443	428,270	10,372,613
Georgia -	8,530,831	259,883	8,790,714
Ohio -	7,749	—	7,749
Louisiana -	8,241,254	783,558	9,024,812
Michigan Territory -	64,228	—	64,228
Mississippi do. -	43,887	—	43,887
Dollars	68,313,500	19,358,069	87,671,569

Of these exports there were:—

1. Derived from the sea - - - -	Dollars 1,671,000
2. from the forest - - - -	6,484,000
3. from agriculture - - - -	57,222,000
4. from manufactures - - - -	2,202,000
Uncertain - - - -	734,000

The duties collected on the importation of articles, which were afterwards re-exported, without being entitled to drawback, amounted to 627,206 dollars 37 cents.

The *flour* exported from October 1, 1816, to September 30, 1817, amounted to - - - - Dollars 17,751,376

The *sea island cotton* exported within the same time - 3,240,752

Other cotton exported, amounted to - - - - 19,386,862

Tobacco, amounted to - - - - 9,230,020

Rice - - - - 2,378,880

Fish - - - - 1,328,050

Timber and lumber, of all descriptions - - - - 3,381,349

Pot and pearl ashes - - - - 1,967,243

These form the principal exports of domestic product: the *iron*, in all shapes, exported, amounted to 138,579 dollars. Amongst the most curious exports may be ranked *maple sugar*, which amounted to 4,374 dollars. The *gunpowder* exported, amounted to 356,522 dollars.

“ Although

"Although this does not equal in amount the business done previous to the issuing of the English orders in council, it is still very large in extent; and the articles of export being all bulky, they operate as an important nursery for seamen.

"The FINANCES of the United States are derived from sale of lands, and duties on imports. The latter, in an especial degree, are found very productive. Still this is *in fact*, though it may not be *in name*, internal taxation. It may be well to remember, that one-half of the amount collected is upon British goods, most of which are articles, *not of luxury*, but of *necessity*; so that the population of America perform the double duty of defraying their own taxes, and contributing towards the payment of ours.

"The *liberty of the press* exists here to an almost unlimited extent: and yet it is not used as an organ for putting the people in possession of even domestic information. The newspapers are miserably edited, seldom containing any thing but advertisements, shipping intelligence, and English extracts. The proceedings of congress are not systematically reported. Sometimes the substance of a debate will be given three weeks after its occurrence. The business of the state-legislatures rarely appears at all in the public journals, except in the shape of bare lists of bills passed or rejected. The transactions in courts of law, and all minor home proceedings, rarely appear upon record. These sins of *omission* are certainly to be lamented, as, by their existence, an interest fails to be excited in the public mind

on those occurrences, and those subjects, which are, unquestionably, of first rate importance. During the late war, it is stated, a military scheme, modelled upon the French law of conscription, was in the contemplation of the then secretary, but now president, Munroe; the chief of the naval department also recommended to congress, a plan for the *impressment* of seamen, to man their infant navy; but such is the habitual indolence of the people, and their indifference with regard to public affairs, that these events are known but by few individuals.

"The *government*, it will be seen, are not free from charges of mal-administration: but, when compared with England, America can *afford* an annual increase of corruption for, at least, a few centuries to come; and although the people are unworthy of, and not alive to their unequalled advantages, they still *are* their *own* *governors*, and they are vain of the distinction. This *one fact*, assisted by the jealousy of rival parties, must preserve the United States for many years, from any lengthened series of obnoxious measures, and protect the people from gross inroads upon their liberties or their constitution.

"The state of *mechanic arts* varies, of course, according to the profession. Those which have been encouraged by not being exposed to European competition, and which have had the combined benefit of emigrant and native ingenuity, have excelled. Among these I would class shoe, coach, and cabinet-making, together with steam-boat and ship-building: I was going to say bank-

bank-note engraving, but that would not, perhaps, be correct as a general statement of the art in America, though the house of Murray, Draper, and Fairman, of Philadelphia, probably surpass in the excellence of their art any others in the world: their notes, executed for the United States' bank, exhibit such eminent talent, that forgery may safely be said to be impossible. Why does not your bank of England employ this house? or, if that would be too humiliating to their pride, why not engage a first-rate English artist, instead of issuing premiums upon forgery, in their disgracefully executed national notes? Piano-forte making may be similarly classed: generally, it has not arrived at much perfection, although an individual, (Mr. Stuart, an English gentleman), who lives at Baltimore, manufactures pianos, which I should have little fear of comparing with those of Clementi or Broadwood.

"Of the LITERATURE of the United States I can say but little. Having examined booksellers' collections, private and public libraries, I find that, like dry goods stores, their stock consists only of British manufactures. Three American works have lately appeared: the first, a novel, called 'Keep Cool,' I have met with in most of the western and southern states. Upon its merits I cannot pretend to give an opinion. I took it up several times, with a previous resolution to read at least six pages, but at no time could I force myself through a third. With Mr. Wirt's 'Life of Patrick Henry' I have been much interested: it evinces a mind familiar with polite literature; and

if the title were altered from the 'Life of Patrick Henry,' to that of 'Sundry Essays, designed to prove the elegance of the English Language, the extent of the author's powers of imagination and talent of description, with occasional hints concerning the Life of Patrick Henry,' it would be more descriptive of the book: for any reader who takes up this work with the design of becoming acquainted with the late Virginian patriot, will find frequent disappointment, on the introduction of each incident of Mr. Henry's life, by the extravagant bombast of the biographer. The work, in short, though bearing evidence of considerable talent, evinces, from the commencement to the termination, a disregard of the requisites for the task which is undertaken, and this by allotting to Patrick Henry a station in the drama inferior to that of the author, Mr. Wirt.

"Mr. Bristed's 'Resources of the United States,' has just been published. The author, I am informed, is an Englishman by birth. His work evinces that he is an American federalist by adoption. It contains many important statements, and the usual political admixture which distinguishes the American writers (particularly those of this gentleman's party) upon government. The following maxims are laid down, *in connexion with the broadest principles of liberty*, the whole presenting a code of political economy for which it is difficult to invent a name: '*It is the duty of every FREE government to train its people gradually to bear a due weight of internal taxation.*'—'*It is worse than childish, it is insane policy*' (a com-

(a compliment to the president) 'to trust for the public revenue to the duties upon imported goods.'—'The reduction of the direct tax from six to three millions of dollars, and the limitation of those three millions to only one year, are fearful omens of the entire extinction of that tax!'—'The liberties of Britain are not about to expire under the pressure of her military, or the encroachments of her government. If they are to perish, they will perish under the daggers of her democracy. If she is to be blotted out of the list of independent and powerful nations, it will be by the parricidal hand of her own rabble, led on to their own and their country's ruin, by anarchical reformers, alike bankrupt in fortune, reputation, character, and principle!'—Yet, it is said, 'to crown all, the POLITICAL SOVEREIGNTY of the nation residing in the people gives the American people an elevation unknown and unattainable in any other country.'—'Liberty has struck deep root in this country. It is entwined with the first affections of the heart: it is spun into the primitive staple of the mental frame of the Americans. It thoroughly pervades, and perceptively modifies even their domestic life. It has, in fine, become the common reason, and the want of the whole American people.'—'The prosperity and happiness of the American citizens seem too great a price to pay for the privilege of manufacturing a few yards of broad cloth, or a few pieces of muslin. England herself is a portentous illustration of this truth: now at this time, and for the last five and twenty years, her manufacturing districts have sent forth, and are

issuing out, full bands of Luddites and Spenceans, and Jacobins and anarchists, and rebels and assassins, that continually put to the strength, and strain the nerves of her government.'—I send these extracts for the purpose of presenting you at one view the mind of the whole federal party, and indeed that of the entire American people, concerning English reformers and United States' liberty.

"*Salmagundi*, a work written after the manner of the Citizen of the World, is a most able native production: for amusement, wit, talent, and satire, I should conceive it can have few equals. Mr. Erving, the present ambassador at the court of Madrid, is said to be one of the authors. Mr. Quincy Adams has published *Lectures delivered at Cambridge College*, in two volumes. You have, I believe, Joel Barlow's national epic, '*The Columbiad*.'—There are several other American works; but, upon the whole, the native library is extremely circumscribed.

"In the *fine arts* much advancement has not been made: Individuals have excelled, as in the cases of Mr. Alston and Mr. West, both natives of America: The proofs of their talent, but particularly those of the latter, must descend to future ages: Still, the mind of the American nation is scarcely alive to an enjoyment of the more noble productions of art, or the higher walks of mental cultivation.

"I have thus endeavoured to lay before you a true representation of the American character; with the sources from which it may have been formed, and the causes

causes which have conduced to its production. Although I believe it must improve, yet I am by no means sanguine in my anticipations that improvement will be immediate; or even rapid in its progress. Many of the causes, external and internal, which have already operated, will continue to exist; and, as I have before said, there would appear to be placed in the very stamina of the character of this people, a coldness, a selfishness, and a spirit of conceit, which form strong barriers against improvement. Let us,

however, still hope for the best. In opposition to these obstacles, there are strong and living truths abroad. The *principles* at least of liberty are acknowledged, and the *fact* of a free government exists as an example to the world. As rational men, these things are worthy of our respect; and, in the hand of Heaven, we may be assured that all the rest, however dark and unintelligible to us it may appear, will still finally and effectually 'work together for good.'

ARTICLE II.—*Account of Batavia.* By the late Dr. GILLAN,
Physician to the Embassy under Lord Macartney.

[From the Quarterly Journal.]

"**B**ATAVIA, from the excessive heat of its climate, and the peculiar disadvantages of its situation, in a low fenny plain, surrounded with bogs and morasses on every side, has always been accounted one of the most unhealthy spots on the face of the earth; and the uniform experience of its fatal effects upon Europeans who have ventured to settle there, has abundantly confirmed the justice of the apprehension usually entertained against it as a place of residence. It is generally believed that it proves a grave to nine-tenths of the Europeans who remain there in the space of one year; and of those who survive, there is hardly one to be seen who has the appearance of health in his countenance. A sallow paleness of face, a sickly languor of complexion, an emaciated look,

and listless debility of motion, appear in every person. The inhabitants are familiar with disease and death. There is scarcely an example of a stranger's having remained long at Batavia without being attacked by fever, which is a general denomination here for illness of every kind, and indeed it is pretty justly applied. It is now well known in the medical world, that intermittent and remittent fevers derive their origin from those noxious vapours and exhalations which arise from fens and marshes, in warm climates and in warm seasons. And hence, countries and places where these abound, are always infested with these diseases; and the general terms of *miasmata palustria*, have very justly been adopted by physicians, as expressing the source of the causes which produce them.

But

But Batavia and the adjacent country are, from their local circumstances, so particularly exposed to these miasmata, whose native virulence is intensely exalted by the thick humid shade of the trees and forests, which exclude the rays of the sun and refreshing breezes of the wind, that it does not at all appear surprising that such fevers, with all the train of their malignant effects, should prevail here in their most aggravated forms. Europeans soon after their arrival first become languid and feeble, and in a few weeks, sometimes in a few days after, are attacked by fever. At first it is commonly of a tertian type, which, after two or three paroxysms, becomes a double tertian, and then a continued remittent, which usually carries off the patient in a very short time. Many of them fall victims to the second or third paroxysm; but in these cases a constant delirium, and a great determination of the blood to the brain, are always observed. In some it begins in a quotidian form, with regular intermissions for a day or two, and then becomes a continued remittent, attended with the same fatal consequences as the former. In other cases, the fever from the first attack shows no intermission, or even remission at all, but marks its type by increased periodic exacerbations. Such cases are often mistaken for typhus, and almost always prove fatal; but, upon the strictest examination and the most careful inquiry I could make, it did not appear there were any well ascertained cases of typhus observed at Batavia. It is very difficult, however, for a stranger, who remains here but for a few

days, to get accurate information on any subject, much less respecting the nature, genera, and species of the diseases of the country; for the physicians and surgeons of Batavia, like the rest of the inhabitants, are adventurers, who were originally in very low situations in life, and never had the benefit of a liberal education, and much less of a proper medical one; they are totally unacquainted with the classification and distinction of diseases, and are almost entirely ignorant of the theory of medicine. Their practice of course must be entirely empiric, and appear very bad in the eyes of a regular physician, who is accustomed to proceed upon principles and experience together. The principal people, and those who can afford it, are attended, when sick, at their own houses, where the physicians go to see them. It does not appear, however, that they derive much benefit from their skill; and indeed from the circumstances above mentioned, there could be little reason to expect it. The use of Peruvian bark is little known amongst them; and when at any time they do exhibit it, it is in such small quantities, that no cure can be expected from it. There is no change made in the diet or regimen of the patient; and the chief, or rather the sole, remedy administered, is a solution of camphor in spirit of wine, of which a table-spoonful is taken occasionally in a glass of water.

“When the fever does not prove fatal, and the patient's constitution resists it for a length of time, it becomes at last habitual or constitutional. In this manner it continues sometimes for several years,

years, and, from long custom, the patient at last becomes so familiarized to it, that it is hardly thought a disease. In the intervals of intermission he manages his business, and goes out and pays visits, as if nothing were the matter. I had an opportunity of seeing a striking example of this while we remained at Batavia. One morning Mr. Maxwell and I went to pay a visit to Mr. Engelhart; he was in his cabinet and in his morning dress: the conversation turned accidentally upon the nature of the climate, the diseases of the place, and the frequency of death among the Europeans who settled there. 'Il est bien vrai, monsieur,' said he to me, 'c'est un des plus mauvais climats qu'il y ait sur la terre, presque tout le monde meurt ici — mais moi, grace à Dieu, je me porte toujours bien, et quoique je perde tous les ans la moitié de mes amis, je jouis toujours moi d'une très bonne santé;'—at the same time he looked around him as if he wanted something. As he had promised to give me in writing a particular account of the Upas Tree, and as that was the principal object I had in view, I thought he was looking for pen, ink, and paper, to write. Accordingly I brought them to him from the other end of the table, where they stood, and asked him whether they were not what he wanted?—'Point du tout, monsieur, je cherche un mouchoir; c'est aujourd'hui mon jour de fièvre, j'ai eu un terrible accès ce matin, qui n'est pas encore tout-à-fait passé. Vous pouvez encore en voir les restes sur mon front, et je voudrais avoir un mouchoir pour m'en essuyer la sueur;'—at the

same time he called his servant to bring him one. How, said I, Sir, a fever! I thought you had just told me that you always enjoyed good health. 'Oh, monsieur,' replied he, 'à ma fièvre près cela est vrai, mais je suis si accoutumé à cela que cela n'empêche que je ne me porte fort bien. Je sais que je dois en mourir un jour si je reste ici, mais j'ai déjà ramassé une assez jolie fortune, et je compte bien retourner en Europe avant que cette période n'arrive.'

"There are two public hospitals for the inferior sorts of people, to which they repair when they are taken ill. One of these hospitals is within the town, the other at a little distance without it, and situated on a spot of ground almost surrounded by water, which makes it appear like an island, and hence it is called the Isle of Purmerent. The hospital within the town is not reckoned so good as the other, and is therefore chiefly destined for urgent cases, or sudden accidents, which do not admit of delay, or time to carry the patient to the Isle of Purmerent, whose situation is considered as so much better, and so much more healthful. All convalescents, however, are sent there; their number is, indeed, very small, and the registers of either hospital record but few recoveries. Both these hospitals are under the management and immediate inspection of the governor and council of the Indies, who also appoint the surgeons and physicians, who are all here upon the company's establishment. The office of first physician to the hospital is a very lucrative one. He who held it last had been a common surgeon-barber,

barber, and employed for some time in the lowest duties of his profession, in running from house to house, shaving beards and dressing hair. In process of time he came to be first physician to the hospital, and about eight months before our arrival he had returned to Holland with a million and a half of florins. His successor, the present occupant, was exactly in the same line with his predecessor, and has followed him with the same good fortune. He does not appear in any respect a man of abilities, and the gentlemen of the council themselves acknowledge that he is totally ignorant of the theory of medicine, and unacquainted with letters. But it is supposed he will retire in a couple of years, with a fortune equal to that of his predecessor; for it should seem this is the term usually allowed for one in his place to acquire a fortune. I had an opportunity of seeing and consulting with him upon Mr. Titsing's case. We met at Mr. Wiegman's house; but as he neither understood Latin, French, or any language but Dutch, Mr. Titsing himself was obliged to act as interpreter. He could give me no account of Mr. Titsing's case, or indeed of almost any thing whatever, except the laws and regulations for the management of the hospitals. He could only tell me in general, that Mr. Titsing (whose disease I knew to be a tertian, from having seen him repeatedly under the paroxysms, and particularly at Mr. Wiegman's country house, where Sir George Staunton and I had gone with Mr. Wiegman and Mr. Titsing the evening before,) had been long ill of a fever, as they

called it; and that, according to their opinions at Batavia, the nature of this fever was to rot and corrupt the whole frame; that they believed, or were told, that camphor was the most powerful antiseptic in nature, and therefore it was their practice in fever, of which they were not accustomed to distinguish any difference or variety, always to give camphor dissolved in spirit of wine; that they made their patients take a table-spoonful of this solution from time to time in a glass of water, and this not only when they could do it, during the paroxysm itself, but also during the intervals. That for this purpose they recommended it to their patients always to carry with them, wherever they went, a bottle of this solution, and never to omit taking it. That Mr. Titsing was one of the most exact and regular patients, in this respect, that it was possible to have; that he had never omitted his dose of it for one day for some years past; that it was his constant companion wherever he went; that if any patient deserved to recover, it was Mr. Titsing; and that if he had not known, from long experience, how obstinate fevers were in Batavia, and how few ever recovered from them, he should have been very much surprised indeed to find he still continued to labour under it. However, he said, he observed with great satisfaction that, in spite of the fever, and all its septic tendency, the virtues of his camphorated spirit of wine had so far succeeded that Mr. Titsing was not yet quite rotten.

"Mr. Titsing corroborated one part of the physician's story, by pulling out of his pocket his bottle
of

of the solution, and taking a dose of it *more solito*. I ventured to prescribe to Mr. Titsing a different plan of cure, and encouraged much his idea of returning to Europe for the recovery of his health; and I doubt not if he complies with both advices, he will find them a more effectual cure than all the camphor in Batavia.

“ But if diseases are frequent and fatal here, it must be acknowledged that the manner of life of the inhabitants contributes as much to both events, as the climate and situation of the country. The same causes which render the place peculiarly unhealthy, contribute to make it one of the most fruitful spots in the world. It produces fruit and vegetables of every kind in the greatest abundance, and such a variety of spices and condiments as is not to be found in any other country. The ground is fertile, the climate enervating, and the inhabitants indolent, luxurious, and voluptuous. As soon as they get up in the morning, tea, coffee, and chocolate, are served up for breakfast, and fish, flesh, and fowl are placed upon a side-board, as if it were at dinner, and most of the guests partake plentifully of it. No sooner is breakfast removed, than Madeira, claret, gin, Dutch small beer, and English port, are placed upon a table in the portico before the door of the great hall, and pipes, tobacco, and spitting-boxes, are brought for every body. Here they sit under the shade, drinking, smoking, and spitting, till dinner time. It is no uncommon thing for several of them to drink two or three bottles of wine before dinner; and many of them who have pre-

judices in favour of their native country, take small beer, which they are told dilutes the blood, and affords plenty of fluids for a free perspiration: they sometimes drink from ten to fifteen bottles of it in the course of the day. They dine a little after one o'clock. Immediately before dinner two men slaves go round with Madeira wine, of which each takes a bumper, as a tonic or whetter of the appetite, and to give the stomach strength for digestion. This is always the signal that dinner is just going to be served up. Then follow three female slaves, one with a silver basin, with a cover of the same metal pierced with many holes; the second, with a silver jar full of pure water, and sometimes of rose-water, for washing the hands, and the third with towels for wiping them. When this ceremony is finished, the company walk into the hall to dinner, during which a band of music plays at a little distance. The musicians are all slaves, and in the number of these the master's chief ostentation seems to consist. Their dinners are plentiful, and consist of a great variety of dishes. They do not, however, eat much, nor indeed could it be supposed that in such circumstances they could have much appetite for it, but they seem to drink as freely as if they had tasted no wine that day before. At dinner a number of female slaves attend, and this seems to be the time principally allotted for their appearance. After dinner they wash their hands again, take a dish of coffee, and all go to sleep. Their beds, even in houses of the first people, have no sheets: they consist only of a mattress, pillows, a large bolster, and

and a chintz counterpane. They pull off their clothes, put on their night-dress, consisting of a night-cap, and long loose callico gown, which they always carry with them wherever they go; then lie down on the top of the counterpane, and so sleep till about five o'clock. Most of the gentlemen bachelors have a favourite female slave who retires along with them to fan them, and keep off the musquitoes while their master sleeps; but more frequently she performs other services. This, however, is not tolerated in better regulated families, where a wife directs the internal economy of the house. They get up before six o'clock, dress themselves, take tea; and afterwards take an airing in their carriages, pay visits, and form their parties for the evening, which they spend in various amusements, and never part till a very late hour.

"Such habits of life soon exhaust the strength, and enfeeble the constitution. The functions of life are fatigued, the powers of the body are worn out by luxury, indolence, and voluptuousness; and, when disease attacks them, the feeble victim, without nerves or stamina to resist it, falls a speedy sacrifice, and sinks into the grave. Deaths of this kind are so frequent at Batavia, that they scarcely make any impression upon the minds of the inhabitants. The frequency of the event has rendered it familiar, and they shew no signs of emotion or surprise when they hear in the morning of the death of the person with whom they supped in seemingly good health the evening before.

"There are but very few of the

women of Batavia who have been born in Europe, most of them being natives of the place, but descended originally from European parents. The climate and manners of the country appear however to have had very considerable influence upon them, with regard to figure and appearance. The features and outlines of the face are European, but the complexion, character, and modes of life are very different; and approach more to those of the native inhabitants of Java. A pale sickly languor overspreads the whole countenance. There is not the least tint of the rose to be seen in any cheek. While at home in their own houses, they dress like their slaves. Their clothes are made of the same red checkered cotton cloth, and consist chiefly of a long loose gown descending to the ankles, with large wide sleeves. They have no head-dress, but they wear their hair plaited and fixed behind with a silver bodkin, in the same manner as the Paysannes of the Valais, and of several of the cantons of Switzerland do. The colour of the hair is almost universally black. They never use powder, but wear chaplets of flowers, and anoint the hair with cocoa-nut oil to make it grow. They certainly have great abundance of it, and very long and flowing; but whether the cocoa-nut oil contributes any thing to this effect or not, it always gives the hair a greasy dirty look, and has a very disagreeable smell. While they sit in this manner in the midst of their female slaves, dressed as they are, employed in the same occupation, and conversing familiarly with them, a stranger does not easily distinguish

quick them, and passes by without taking any farther notice of them. A circumstance of this kind that happened to Mr. Maxwell and myself, embarrassed us a little. It was on the day we went to pay the visit to Mr. Engelhart, which has been mentioned before. Madame Engelhart, (who is the present governor-general's niece) and her daughter by a former marriage, were sitting amidst their slaves in the portico behind the hall, and dressed exactly in the manner now described. After some conversation with Mr. Engelhart, we walked out to see the garden, stables, and other buildings behind the house; and we passed and repassed several times through the portico, without taking the smallest notice of madame or mademoiselle, whom we confounded with the group that surrounded them. We returned into the hall again, and were going to take leave of Mr. Engelhart, and go away. He said he must first present us to his wife and step-daughter. He went to the door and called them in. We thought we saw two slaves approaching before their mistresses; it was madame and mademoiselle, bare-headed, bare-necked, bare-legged, and bare-footed, clad in nothing but the loose red and blue-checked night-gown. We made our bow, not a little surprised and embarrassed. The ladies curtseyed, spoke a few words to us, and then returned to their slaves.

"When the Batavian ladies go abroad in the cool of the evening, to pay visits, or take an airing in their carriages, and particularly when they go to their assemblies or evening parties, they dress

magnificently. Still, however, they put no powder in their hair, but adorn their heads with a profusion of diamonds and jewels of various kinds, intermixed with chaplets of flowers, and particularly the leaves of the *polyantha tuberosa* and *pundang*. They have very rich gold and silver boxes, in which they carry their betel and areca, and various spices, which they mix with it. They first take one of the betel leaves, and spread upon it a little slacked quick-lime and *gamber*, (which is the inspissated juice or extract of the cashew nut;) they next take a piece of the areca nut, some bruised cardamom-seeds, pepper, and tobacco, and, placing this composition over the gambir and quick-lime, they roll it up in the betel leaf, then wrap the whole in one or two more fresh leaves, and so put it into their mouths, and chew it constantly. This warm stimulating masticatory excites a flow of saliva tinged with the brown dirty colour of the gambir, which also overspreads their lips, teeth, and gums. Each of their areca boxes contains many small compartments for the different kinds of spices and other substances they make use of, and a knife, scissors, nippers, and other instruments for breaking the areca nut, and preparing it for being chewed. The ladies pretend the effect of these pungent fiery substances is to sweeten the smell of the breath, to strengthen the stomach, and give firmness and tone to the muscles and nerves. Each lady has a female slave or squaw that accompanies her wherever she goes, sits at her feet, and carries the areca box, and frequently prepares the quid for

for her mistress. In the parties or assemblies, when they find the heat disagreeable, they retire without any ceremony, undress themselves, put on loose cotton night gowns, and return again into the hall, hardly recognisable by strangers. The gentlemen do the same, strip off their heavy velvets, and return in white cotton jackets, with loose sleeves. The *Edelherrs*, however, have generally diamond buttons to these jackets, and those a little advanced in years also put on their night-caps. Custom may reconcile these things, so as at last to make them appear indifferent, and especially in such climates as these, where every individual finds the benefit of a light loose dress, and pants for cooler air. But, with regard to the chewing the areca, it appears astonishing it should ever cease to appear disgusting to a European. Whatever real or pretended advantages the Batavian fair may derive from it, the appearance and practice are shocking and nauseous to a stranger; and instead of inviting passion, or increasing their charms, seem an invincible antidote against them.

“ This progressive change from the original European, and gradual approach to the complexion, character, and manners of the Aborigines of Java, would seem an argument in favour of the system of those philosophers who derive the whole of the human race from one common original stock, and make every variety of form, colour, and character, depend upon the influence of climate, local circumstances, and habits of life. Some of the wits of Batavia, however, pretend that the partialities and favours many of the ladies have

been suspected of shewing to some of their male slaves might very possibly come in for a modifying share of this physical effect. Women here are generally nubile between eleven and twelve years of age. They are soon ripe, and as soon decay. A woman before the thirtieth year of her age is accounted a *femme passée*. After bearing one or two children their whole frame is relaxed and debilitated. The husband seeks for another mistress, and the slighted wife looks for another lover. It sometimes happens that a mutual tacit consent supports this double economy; but more frequently the passion of jealousy and indignant revenge prevails over every other feeling: and often, it is said, the furious spouse has administered poison to the husband, whose sudden death has been ascribed to the usual violence of the malignant fevers of the country. It appears certain that the climate is by no means so fatal to the female sex as it is to the male. Women live much longer, and are more exempt from disease. There are many examples at Batavia of one woman having outlived six or seven husbands; and in general most married women there have passed through several widowhoods. The mistress of the hotel where we lodged had been six times married before, and the present landlord was her seventh husband. There was every reason to conclude from her *embonpoint* and healthier look, compared with his thin emaciated form, that she stood a fair chance of soon changing him for another successor. There are, however, several causes which contribute to this effect, and that account physically for the longer

longer life and better health of the women in this country. The greatest number of them, though originally of European descent, are natives of the place, and naturalized to the climate and manners of the country. They accommodate themselves from their infancy to the situation in which they are placed. They lead a life of ease and quiet; they continue all day under the coolness of the shade, never stirring abroad or exposing themselves to the heat of the sun, or the action of those noxious miasmata which perpetually float around the country. They take no concern in business or commerce, and of course live unmolested by the cares, anxieties, and concerns of trade and public affairs. They make frequent use of the cold bath, and are much more temperate in eating and drinking than the men, who in general ruin their health and constitutions by excessive indulgence in both these respects.

"There are six different kinds of inhabitants in Batavia and its environs, quite separate and distinct from each other:

"1st. The Dutch and Europeans in general, who have all the power, offices and employments in their own hands, and exercise authority over all the rest; and whose perishing numbers are annually recruited from Europe.

"2d. The Portuguese descendants of the first occupants of Batavia. They have now lost all commerce and connexion with their mother country, and have only a corrupted dialect of the Portuguese remaining amongst them. Even this, there are many of them who hardly understand;

and all more willingly and readily speak the Malay language. They dress like the native Javanese in every respect, except that they wear their hair still after the European fashion. They have adopted almost entirely the manners and customs of the Javanese, from whom they are chiefly to be distinguished by the darker colour of their complexion and skin, by their having longer noses and sharper features of face. They are no longer Roman Catholics, but have all become Lutherans. They are all of them employed in the lowest menial capacities; a few of them are artificers and mechanics, and some of them live entirely by hunting in the woods and forests. They are, indeed, the only chasseurs in the place. In short, they have nothing European or Portuguese about them except the name.

"3d. The native Javanese. These have a peculiar colour of complexion that easily distinguishes them from all the other Indians and inhabitants of the place. They are neither so swarthy as the Portuguese, nor of so yellow a tinge as the Malays in general. Their features are fuller, their eyes large, their noses broad and flat, and their faces large. They are all free, and it is stipulated by treaty with the Dutch, that they must not be made slaves. Their dress too is different from that of the other Indians. They wear their hair in the manner already described, plaited behind and fixed with a silver bodkin, which is the common fashion here for women of all ranks and conditions. But their necks, shoulders, arms, and a great part of the breast and back

back are quite bare. The men, indeed, are usually naked from the waist upwards; but the women have a kind of wrapper which just covers the breast, and so passing obliquely downwards and backwards to the ankles; they cover themselves with a piece of the red and blue cotton cloth, folded in form of a petticoat. This dress they consider as a privilege to distinguish them from the slaves, who are never permitted to wear it, even after they are made free. Female slaves, however, are dressed in a much better and much handsomer manner; and although the form and fashion be uniform with respect to them all, some of them, who are more handsome or greater favourites with their masters than the rest, are clothed in a much finer manner, and adorned with abundance of toys and trinkets. Their dress consists, first, of a white cotton jacket loose at the neck, and with a frill of lace round the opening of the breast. The sleeves are made to fit tight and reach down to the wrist, where they fix them close with a button; round the wrists they wear every kind of toy they can procure. Several of Mr. Wiegeman's had many such of gold and silver, and various coloured stones. This jacket sits close upon the body, and descends below the waist. Round the waist they wear a kind of double petticoat, reaching down the leg almost to the ankle. The petticoat is composed of two pieces of the checker cotton cloth. The one piece is brought from behind forward, and almost meets on the forepart. The other piece resembles an apron, and is put on the contrary way, passing from 1818.

before backwards; but it is much narrower than the former, and does not meet behind. As this kind of double petticoat has no spare cloth, and is drawn very tight round the waist, it shews the figure and shape. The price of slaves varies according to their age and figure; but when they are handsome they cost from 400 to 500 dollars.

"4th. The slaves. They are very numerous, every one having as many as he chooses, and can afford to buy and keep. There are many more female than male slaves. They are brought here from all parts of India; and it is remarked, that at all times, even in themselves and their descendants, the original character and habits of their country may be distinctly traced. Those from the same places or countries associate with each other in preference to the rest; and, it should seem, they encourage and give examples to each other in keeping up pertinaciously the early habits and impressions of their native land. The dress of the female slaves has been already described. That of the males is more humble and simple. It consists of one long gown, reaching from the neck down to the ankles. It is of the same red and blue striped cloth entirely close, excepting an opening at the top for passing it over the head. It has closer sleeves, which are buttoned at the wrist, where they too sometimes wear a few ornaments, and always they have several small yellow buttons at the collar. Each male and female slave has particular departments and particular services to perform, and these only they attend to. Hence the great num-

ber of both always employed and thought necessary in warm climates, and particularly in eastern countries; these slaves have each an allowance of a certain quantity of rice, and about the value of one penny sterling, in Dutch money, per day. They dress their rice in their own manner, and with the penny they buy fish, which they mix with their rice for their ordinary diet; if they choose vegetables they are commonly allowed to take as much as they want from their master's garden. Even from this scanty pittance there are several examples of slaves who have subsisted themselves, and saved at last as much as was necessary for paying letters of liberty, when they have obtained their freedom.

"Although the children of slaves are here, as in other countries where slavery reigns, the property of their masters, yet this source seems to afford but a very small number. The master chooses rather to buy than to rear one. Female slaves are reckoned hardly good for any thing after bearing a child, but for nursing and bringing it up. I saw one or two of them so employed at Mr. Wiegman's. They looked old and worn out, yet I was informed they were young. They seemed to have no task but the care of their child imposed upon them, and I was assured they had nothing else to do. It is looked upon in these circumstances rather to be a loss than an advantage, to encourage matrimonial connexions between the slaves, and accordingly it is discouraged, and as much as possible prevented; nor does it appear that the males are much disposed to press the matter.

They are in general, lazy, languid, and feeble; the low diet on which they feed, and the indolent, unanimated, discouraging life they lead, give but little stimulus to passion. It should seem too their propensities to gallantry are never strong, nor are the exciting objects within their reach peculiarly calculated for calling them forth; unless it be in those cases where their kind mistress has chanced to cast a favouring eye on some happy individual, as the master often does on the female slave that pleases him. The fifth class consists of freed slaves and their descendants, who all continue free in virtue of the liberty of their fathers. The number of these is not very great, but they are manumitted from time to time by their masters, for various reasons: sometimes on account of long and faithful services, sometimes for particular actions meritorious in the eyes of their masters, or particularly acceptable to them; at other times, when their master, having acquired an ample fortune, is about to return to Europe, and hardly thinks it worth his while to sell them again; but most frequently when he is about to die, and then from various motives, chooses to liberate his slave. The slave so manumitted is obliged to have his liberty confirmed by letters-patent from the governor and council of the Indies, and for these letters he must pay a tax of twenty-five dollars. This sum the slave has sometimes accumulated himself from the savings of his daily allowance from his master, and sometimes the master also pays it for him. But it often happens that he neither has it himself, nor does his master choose to pay it for him;

him; in this case the master engages him to serve him for a stipulated time longer, most frequently, I was told, two years; at the end of which period, if the slave has still continued to behave well and please his master, he then confirms his liberty and pays for his letters-patent, ascertaining his manumission. But should he behave amiss; or unfortunately displease his master, he then retracts his promise of liberating him, and keeps him in his former condition of servitude. When masters are cruel, severe, and otherwise maltreat their slaves, they are sometimes in considerable danger from their revenge; and there have been examples of masters having more than once been murdered by them. But in general they have nothing to fear; and to masters who use them well they are said to show uncommon fidelity and attachment. After they are thus liberated, the same principle of association with their countrymen prevails in full force. They seek for others in the same condition and from the same countries; they build little hamlets, and join together in the same occupations. Their usual practice is to hire a small spot of ground from the governor and council, or any of the servants of the company who have land to let. They convert these spots into gardens, where they cultivate fruit, flowers, and vegetables, and carry them for sale to the market of Batavia, or to the Passai-Tannabank, the general market for such commodities for all the environs of Batavia, and even for all the district back to the Blewenberg mountains. This place is about five miles from the town: it is a

small eminence about thirty feet higher than the level of Batavia, but being the only rising ground to be seen as far as the eye can sweep the plain around the town, it has been selected as a distinguished spot for a public market-place. Twice a week, on Mondays and Fridays, these freed slaves, and the other country people who live at some miles farther distance from town, bring their fruit, flowers, culinary vegetables, poultry, eggs, &c., to this place. The hucksters, fruiterers, and green-grocers, meet them from Batavia, purchase their commodities wholesale, and carry them to Batavia, where they retail them in the streets and in their stands. I saw one of these markets, and could not help being surprised at the prodigious variety and abundance; but nothing struck me so much as to see large waggon and cart loads of pine-apples, heaped up as turnips are brought to Covent Garden. When they are sold here they hardly cost a farthing a-piece. We thought them exceedingly good, although the great abundance seemed to depreciate their value among the inhabitants. Whole fields of them are to be seen growing in the open air around Wiegeman's country-house, and all along the road-side for many miles, back towards the mountains. Even the fruit-sellers, who retail them again, and take their chance of those that spoil in the mean time, (which they readily do in this climate,) sold them to the ships for less than a penny a-piece, after carrying them from Tannabank to Batavia. *Tannabank* means in Malay, *Land of the Friends*; and such it surely is to the Dutch, who have their tables

plentifully supplied from this as from a public store, and the market taxes into the bargain. Besides these articles, the freed slaves cultivate small fields of rice and tobacco for their own consumption; and they are the only people who cultivate the betel and areca, so much used here, and which, in the Malay language, they call *Siri* and *Pinang*. I was informed that these people, besides supplying the place, sold considerable quantities of these articles to the Chinese who trade between Batavia and Canton, where it is also much in vogue. But they get the gambir themselves from Malacca. It has been already remarked, that the constant use of the betel has a very disagreeable effect upon the lips, gums, and teeth, in the eyes of strangers. But the dirty brown colour it gives their teeth does not affect the enamel. It may be rubbed off, and then they appear quite clean, and very white. I saw this done repeatedly, and never observed any teeth spoiled by the use of it. There is another singular practice universal among all the natives of Java, and imitated by many of the free slaves, Portuguese, and Malays, which appears particular to this place. They grind down the extremities of the teeth in both jaws with a whetstone, till they have rendered them smooth and flat, so as that the junction, when they are shut, may be quite close or complete. This operation, I was told, was painful to them, but not by any means so much so as I should have apprehended. I saw the whetstones they commonly use, and found them of two kinds; one sort was evidently of lava, very

compact and hard, found in the mountains of Java. The other kind was of the same nature as the common hone, and brought to them from Canton by the Chinese. Not content with this first operation, they cut a deep groove with a very sharp instrument of hard steel, quite across the enamel of the teeth of the upper jaw, and directly in the middle between the gums and the extremities. This they seem to consider as a very particular ornament; and what appears singularly surprising to a European, they suffer no inconvenience from it. The decay of the teeth, which we find occasioned from the exposure of the substance of the teeth to the free access of the air, does not affect them here. However, there are several reasons that appear in some measure to account for it. In Europe such caries and decay happen indeed when the enamel is destroyed, and the substance of the tooth laid bare to the access of the air; but the destruction of the enamel is the effect of previous disease of the tooth, and the consequent destruction of the substance may be owing fully as much to the diseased action of the enamel, communicated to the substance of the tooth, with which it is in such close contact, as to the deleterious influences of the air. In this case there is no previous disease of the enamel, and of course no communication of it to the substance of the tooth. Besides, they live in a warm climate, and respire an atmosphere whose temperature is equable, and never subject to those vicissitudes of heat and cold, which particularly prevail in the northern countries of Europe, where diseases of the teeth

teeth are common. The food they use is not of the same putrescent nature as ours. They live chiefly on rice, and drink no fermented or vinous liquors. And the constant use of the astringent juice of the gambir, and the antiseptic qualities of the cardamom seeds, and other spices they use with their betel, may, in some measure, be supposed preservatives of the gums and teeth, and even to preserve them from the air, as they are constantly covered over with these substances. Although white teeth are reckoned a peculiar ornament by the natives of Europe, they are not so in the estimation of the Javanese fair, nor in the eyes of their admirers. Jet black is their favourite colour, and their standard of beauty for the teeth. It is a common phrase in all their mouths, 'Monkeys have, white teeth, but we choose to have ours black.' Accordingly they paint all their teeth in both jaws of a jet-black colour, except the two middle incisores, which they gild, or cover over with gold-leaf in each; and when the black paint or gilding wears off, they replace them both with as much care as the belles of Europe seek to purify and whiten theirs.

"The Javanese and Malays, in general, are of a cowardly, but malicious and revengeful, disposition. They will stab or poison for the smallest causes, and many of them will commit murder for money. The common hire of an assassin among themselves is a dollar, and it seems the crime is frequently perpetrated. It is common when they are much pleased or well treated by any one, to express their gratitude by offering to kill any of his enemies, or any

person he may have a quarrel with; at the same time they contrive their measures so well as often to escape detection. Not long ago a Dutch clergyman was murdered in this way, about ten or twelve miles from Batavia, and the assassins never could be found out. Clergymen here engage in civil speculation as well as in theological studies. This man had taken a lease of some lands from the governor and council, and was thought extremely rigid by the Malay and Javanese tenants in collecting his rents; and, in revenge, they determined to murder him. He had a house on his farm, and a church close by, where he used to preach on Sundays. One morning, going to his church, he was stabbed in three places, and instantly expired. I was told this by a gentleman who knew the clergyman, and the circumstances of his murder. But, although they make so light of assassinations of this kind, they never attack openly, or dare to face an enemy who is aware of them. Ten of them would fly before a single European armed, and on his guard. It is this dread that keeps them so much in subjection to the Dutch. They acknowledge themselves, that, were it not for their fire-arms and artillery, they would be in great danger, as they are more than a thousand to one against them. The sixth class of inhabitants are the Chinese, many of whom have settled here, and are engaged in trade between Batavia and Canton. They are the most active and industrious class of the whole, and carry on the greatest part of the business of the place. They are severely taxed,

taxed, but still they find resources for paying them, and living comfortably. They retain the customs, manners, religion, ceremonies, character, and dress of their native country. They are great cheats, especially the merchants. I wanted to buy two or three yards of cotton cloth at Batavia, and as I did not understand the language, the landlord of the hotel went with me, and conducted me to a Chinese shop, where I saw a small piece of about seven yards, which I would have purchased at a reasonable price. The Chinese woman (the merchant's wife), who stood behind the counter, demanded thirty dollars for it. I should have thought four dollars a sufficient price, and was much surprised at the extravagance of the demand. The landlord told me twenty dollars was the usual price of such a piece, and advised me to offer that sum. I replied that I thought it too dear, and should not purchase it at all, and turned towards the door of the shop to go out. The woman, observing this, offered the cloth for twenty dollars, then for fifteen, for ten, and at last for three. I went away, however, without buying it, and much surprised that the landlord should have advised me to offer twenty dollars for what, in his own presence, the woman at last offered me for three. I understood afterwards the landlord would have put the overplus into his own pocket, and paid the merchant only the just price; and it seems this is

the common practice at Batavia, where the Dutch employ the Chinese to execute any business, or furnish any articles of merchandise, but receive the price themselves, paying the Chinese only a very small part of it. The Javanese have many singular customs and practices. They pretend particularly to a knowledge of herbs, and remedies of wonderful virtue and efficacy in the cure of all diseases, and to great skill in magic and fascination. In every country where diseases are frequent and dangerous, and physicians few and ignorant, empiricism prevails, and superstitious credulity in amulets and charms is carried to the greatest length. This seems to be peculiarly the case at Batavia, and the numberless deaths that constantly occur, notwithstanding all these infallible remedies, have not cured their confidence in them. The Dutch say, indeed, that they know neither the nature nor composition of these nostrums; that the Javanese only are in possession of the secret, and that they alone know the plants and simples whence they are prepared, and the forests or mountains where they grow, and that no temptation has yet prevailed upon them to discover them to any European. It is not surprising that such things should be credited and received amongst the ignorant vulgar; but at Batavia, men of the best sense and understanding in other respects are equally duped."

ARTICLE III.—*An Autumn near the Rhine, or Sketches of Courts, Scenery, &c. in some of the German States, bordering on the Rhine.*

THIS is one of the works to which we alluded in our introductory remarks, as deriving its interest from enabling us to compare Germany since and before the French Revolution. The author seems to have possessed great facilities of access to the minor German courts; and the picture he draws of them is sketched with much liveliness and effect, and we have no

doubt, with accuracy and impartiality. His work also contains some curious illustrations of German manners generally, and some excellent descriptions of the scenery on the Rhine; so that it may fairly be recommended as possessing more amusement and interest, united with more information, than most travels of a similar description.

COURT OF BADEN.

"During my stay at Carlsruhe, the court of the grand duke was shut up on account of the approaching confinement of the grand duchess, to which the sovereign and his people were looking forward with anxiety: but their hopes of an heir to the throne have been disappointed, by the arrival of a third little princess. The respectable dowager margravine, the mother of the grand duke, holds her pleasant little court in a handsome house in the town, yecept the palace, and announced by a couple of sentinels at the door. Her royal highness is the sister of the grand duke of Hesse, the old landgravine of Hesse Homberg, and the grand duchess of Weimar. Without the intellect or acquirements of her last illustrious sister, she has much of her simple excellence of character. I was presented to the good old lady at

a *soirée* at the palace, which, with a slight addition of stars and uniforms, resembles those at private houses, to which the soft charms of the belles, cards, lemonade, punch, and *jeux de société*, give the chief *agrémens*. The court was in mourning for a prince of Anhalt, or some other illustrious cousin of the never finishing family. The grand master, a veteran administrator of the drawing-room, erect in the pride of pedigree, performed his office with due pomp and gravity. The margravine, who has given birth to some of the handsomest and most estimable princesses of Europe, is now above seventy years of age—the ruin of a majestic woman. Her noble figure is little bowed by age, and her faded features have still traces of the beauty of her daughters. The ex-queen of Sweden strongly resembles her in features and manner, and will, with

with years, settle into a similar model of matronly dignity and plain simplicity of character.

The evening circles at the palace are pleasant, and tolerably unceremonious. During tea, the margravine converses affably round the circle with much friendliness; after which, she sits down to her *partie quarrée* with the most distinguished persons present; and the branches and scions of sovereignty are so multitudinous in Germany, and the numerous courts present so many convenient '*houses of call*' for princes, that the old lady's party of Boston rarely wants the eclat of a crowned head or two. In the absence of others a *mediatized* prince is generally to be pressed into the service. The rest of the party follow their own views of amusement, as they either lead them to win or lose a few *kreutzers* at Boston, Whist, or Zwingen—to post their sworded figures against the saloon doors in unoccupied awkwardness, or to trust for amusement to a round table of conversation, judiciously provided, in case of need, with ladies' light works, puzzles, and other resources against flagging vivacity. A fair Russian *dame d'honneur* to the princess Amelia of Baden, whose gaiety and *naïveté* shone by the contrast with the tranquil German belles, generally gave life to this placid coterie. Mademoiselle—— is a singular instance of fascinating manners unconnected with beauty. Her unpretending vivacity and mildness gave her the privilege of doing and saying every thing. She was the life of every party; the arranger of every pleasure; and the object of more sentiments than half the

professed beauties of the residence. Her education under the care of the empress of Russia, in a convent of noble ladies, had given her a fund of accomplishments, and, amongst others, the very rare one of speaking English like an Englishwoman. Our language, she assured me, is much cultivated at St. Petersburg, where she had had practice in speaking it. The Russians, and all the Sclavonians, are remarkable for their dexterity as linguists, which my fair acquaintance thought in part owing to the barbarous sounds with which their organs are drilled in their own tongues, which render all others comparatively easy. Dr. Spurzheim would probably trace it to organization; and perhaps the following instance of Russian polish he would also ascribe to some important bump.

"On making our obeisances to the old princess, on her retiring with the ladies of the court, an officer of rank always expressed his reverence by a retreating scrape with the foot, a squat of the head, and a violent elevation of the shoulders. I attributed it at first to awkwardness: but how was I mistaken! it was a fashionable bow *à la Russe*; a mode of which I afterwards saw several examples in Germany, and which a wicked friend suggested must be borrowed from certain respectable quadrupeds of the vast empire, which in England we sometimes put under the tuition of a dancing-master, but whom we never choose for our tutors in the graces.

"The dinner parties at the court of the margravine have the hospitable splendour without the unpleasant

pleasant ceremony of a German court. An easy round table is generally filled with ten or a dozen guests, who arrive from the drawing-room in the usual stately file, and five or six of whom are company invited, and the remainder persons of the court. The party is thus small enough for a general conversation, carried on with about as much vivacity as conversation ordinarily assumes at a German meal, and as is consistent with the consciousness—as little unpleasantly felt as possible, but an inevitable *gêne* to a certain extent—of a princess being of the party.

“At the end of the ceremony of dinner, the butler of the margravine would sometimes introduce for her amusement a favourite parroquet, who would perch upon her royal highness's shoulder, and eat out of her hand, or pay his respects to the company in various quaint ways, till, after having gone through all his feats, the royal pet always made his exit in a rage, which brightened his eyes, and ruffled his plumes, to the amusement of the admiring court. The parroquet was more than commonly amusing one day, out of consideration for his serene highness a little fat prince of Waldek, a sovereign of fourteen, travelling between a couple of governors, and who laughed himself nearly into convulsions at the performances of the comic biped. There was something highly droll in this little Dutch built minor *faisant la cour*, in his quaint coat, silk small clothes, and buckles, to the venerable old princess, who joked and amused him with the most condescending good-humour; while the two tu-

tors stood observing the promising scrapes and repartees of the precious sprig of sovereignty entrusted to their charge.

“The French is the general language of the court and the higher circles at Carlsruhe, as at all the German courts. In the South, proximity to France, and the close alliance of the Rhenish Confederation with their liberal Protector, have, however, made it more general than in the North, where, particularly in the great mercantile towns, many persons refuse to speak it, even with foreigners. The Prussians, in particular, set their faces against it; and the Prussian soldiers, whose haughty airs since the successes of the last campaign make them generally disliked, think the language a sufficient pretext for insulting its speaker. German is still, however, far from excluded at court—it often slides into conversation by accident. The prince or princess address their friendly speeches and inquiries to their compatriots in their own tongue. It is still the language of intimacy and friendship; but French is the current coin of the circle, a part of the court costume, not less indispensable than the sword and buckles, and which, like them, is laid aside the moment the entertainment is over. The necessity for possessing this accomplishment as a qualification for ‘*la bonne société*’ is carried to such a ridiculous pitch, that in a town where there was no court, I have heard a German of the upper rank, speaking in praise of some persons below him, whose talents, he said, would really be an acquisition to the first circle (who were *all Germans*), lament the fatal objection

jection—'but then, you see, they don't speak French.' Leave a circle of German noblesse to themselves, and they will naturally fall into the use of their own tongue, just as they speak it at home to their wives and daughters: but whisper to them that one of the party does not speak French, their dignity will take the alarm, and they will think it necessary to parade the high breeding of the acquired language. If this badge of the court should become common among the *bourgeoisie*, it may go out among the nobles. But the patriotic spirit spreading rapidly among the middling classes shows itself by a violent hostility to every thing foreign, and in particular to the French language, both as one of the insignia of aristocracy, and as a *memento* of their old oppressors.

The courtiers at Carlsruhe are not quite so rigid as their neighbours, in obtruding their nicety on the point of birth, seeing that the despised *bourgeoisie* have a very high representative among them. The grand duchess of Baden, you know, was a demoiselle Tascher, the niece of the empress Josephine, whom the grand duke, when hereditary prince, was obliged by Napoleon to espouse. The grand duchess owes her present secure seat on the throne of Baden, at one time somewhat in jeopardy, chiefly to her prudence and amiable conduct, which have endeared her to the grand duke and his family. Buonaparte, according to custom, little consulted the young prince's inclinations; and the marriage with a stranger and a Frenchwoman without birth, was so disagreeable to him,

that for a long time afterwards he resided at Carlsruhe, while the grand duchess lived at Mannheim. The grand duke, however, about four years ago, accompanying his father—a worthy man, who treated the French princess with great kindness—to see her, was so struck with the graces of her person and manners, that he has never quitted her since. He is now become strongly attached to her, and they live together on happy terms.

"Her royal highness is a handsome, graceful woman, described to me as full of the talent and *aimabilité* of a Frenchwoman. Every one speaks in her praise, as engaging and amiable; the more refined belles I could see with sincerity; but the true-bred, slow, soft, German fair, as I have frequently observed, neither understand nor enjoy the brisk charms of a French rival. There is something about this sparkling, smiling, actively graceful person, which they hardly know how to make out, but which they cannot choose but admire. Her presence gives them an evident uneasiness, which, if not precisely that of conscious inferiority, is the sensation which slowness and gravity often experience in the presence of wit and alacrity. The French ambassador's wife or daughter is frequently the most interesting lady of the court coterie.—When she wins her way, with a graceful glide into the circle, every thing from the air of her turban to the point of her foot, announces a creature of another order, from the erect well-meaning figures around, all looking conscious of their feathers and satins. The German women are often handsomer

somer and finer women—but they want her air of refinement, her easy grace and self-possession.—Their dignity, in comparison, is burly, and their elegance prim and elaborate. The French lady has the air of consciousness of these advantages, which she announces, simply, by not obtruding them. She enjoys her quiet triumph in the circle of beaux she is sure to attract round her—and when she wishes to carry a point, or take the lead, it is done with a placid irresistible grace which has won success before her good sober friends have had time to consult dignity and decorum. This sort of footing is not that of cordiality; and a scrupulous exchange of titles, on both sides, a smiling sympathy on the part of the Frenchwoman, and a doubly collected dignity on that of the German, seem to preclude any nearer *rapprochement*. ‘*The French ladies are so light*’ said a languid German lady to me, innocently mistaking heaviness for stability, and imagining her own countrywomen the antipodes of the quality she objected to.

“One of the most interesting acquaintances I have made in Germany, is that of a French nobleman and his wife, of one of the most distinguished families in France; but whose graceful manners, urbanity, and domestic affections, are far higher claims to esteem. The countess F—, now the tender mother of six children, has a delicacy of figure and expression which gives a grace to all that she says or does. The freshness of feeling and the maternal fondness which remain unspoilt, after a youth of brilliance; and that innate vivacity, which,

needing no stimulus from vanity, can display itself in a circle of friends round an evening table, as charmingly as in the circle of a court, are the rarer qualities which distinguish her. The count has all the gaiety and the polished ease of his countrymen, with a frank sincerity and sterling worth, which it is often the fashion in England not to allow to Frenchmen. But English people are much too apt to criticise character *en Anglais*, rather than *en cosmopolite*—and because gaiety and grace are, with us, artificial elements not to be attained but at some expense of nature and sincerity, we are too apt to imagine that all that is not serious must be insincere, all that is not grave must be hollow and light. My friends, the count and countess ———, are not the only foreigners I know who delightfully reconcile in their characters the solid with the showy, all that is prepossessing and charming in the drawing-room, with all that is virtuous and affectionate in private life. An instance of their domestic propriety of feeling is worth mentioning.

“Private theatricals, at the palace, form the frequent diversion of a German court in the long snowy winters. In filling up the lists of the *dramatis personæ*, for the approaching winter, the grace and taste of madame de F— were calculated on, as in themselves a host. But when the courtiers were anticipating the diversion with pleasure, I was surprised to hear her decline it with some trivial excuse—and on being repeatedly pressed, she at last owned that she had consulted her husband, who did not think the constant

constant rehearsals and dress-makings, and studying plays and attitudes, the most appropriate occupations for the mother of a family.—The whole court, of course, flew upon the husband with reproaches and entreaties; but the supple Frenchman and diplomatist, in whose gaiety you might, at first sight, have seen nothing but levity and polished subservience, was firm as a rock in defending his homely notions against the attacks of royalty and rank; and his wife, not less lively, gave up, without a regret, the amusement in which she was sure of shining, in compliance with his sensible objections.

“Among the court visitors at Carlsruhe, was the hereditary duke of Mecklenburg Schwerin, a jovial good-tempered man, but a perfectly polished courtier. With his rosy complacent face, and lively but dignified manners, he had something of the air of a hearty English naval officer. His royal highness's wife, now dead, was a sister of the emperor of Russia—a dignified alliance, which once stood him in some stead, in a gay crowd at Paris, where a little German prince is in some danger of being overlooked, like a king of Lilliput among the Brobdignags. A French diplomatist was about to present his royal highness to a Turkish prince, at that time the splendid novelty of the Thuilleries and the gay circles—and wishing to procure him a distinguished reception, he puzzled himself a few minutes to hit upon the means of offering him to notice with some more imposing character than that of a simple German prince. At last he bethought him of his Russian

spouse's consequence, and instantly led his royal highness to the turbaned grandee, as the ‘*petit fils de l'Imperatrice Catherine*.’ The Turk had too good reason to remember well the ‘*Imperatrice Catherine*,’ not to overwhelm her illustrious grandson-in-law with oriental civilities. The duke of Mecklenburgh has long been attached to the princess of Hesse Homberg, the only sister of the husband of our princess Elizabeth—but there is ‘one fair daughter and no more,’—and the old sovereign of Homberg loving her more than ‘passing well,’ long declared the impossibility of parting with her. He has now, I understand, at last been induced to consent, with tears in his eyes, to the separation; but he cannot bring himself to remain at Homberg during the marriage, and will return to it only to welcome his married son and his illustrious English daughter-in-law. The old landgrave is somewhat *bizarre* in his character; and when he at last assented to his daughter's marriage, it was on condition that it should take place the 1st of April.

“Another distinguished guest, was his royal highness the hereditary prince of Weimar, who, like the duke of Mecklenburgh, espoused a sister of his majesty of Russia. The prince has some traces of resemblance to his illustrious mother, without any of her personal dignity or her talents—With his tall lolling figure and solemn face, now and then relaxing into a stiff simper, he scrapes round the circle, dropping complacent things with a grave solemnity, and carrying his enormous hat and plume as if about
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to make an offering of them to the ladies. His manner had that sort of overpowering unhappiness which you sometimes see in the subordinate gentry of the stage, who deliver three words of message or of graceful politeness from the same declamatory tribune which they mount in a funeral oration.

"The separate court of the margravine Frederic, the widow of the margrave Frederic, an uncle of the grand duke, occasionally offers the attractions of dinners and evening circles. The residence of a German prince generally presents one or two of these subsidiary courts,—sort of satellites to that of the sovereign—and the neglect of a presentation to which is a breach of all courtier-like *etiquette*. Her highness is a pleasant sensible woman, with whom and her grand master we had the honour of forming a quartetto, for half an hour, on our presentation; occupied by lucubrations on the weather, our journey, the suspension of the *habeas corpus*, and the unlucky *rencontre* of the dog and my lord Castlereagh's hand, &c.; after which we were pleasantly relieved from reminding her highness that we had had enough of her company, by her signifying as much to us, in a graceful retiring bow, and a hope of seeing us again.

"The new regime of Germany has ranked the grand duke of Baden the seventh member of the Serene Confederation, coming immediately after the king of Wirtemberg, and before the solitary elector of Hesse Cassel; now as much an elector, in reality, as an inhabitant of Birmingham or Manchester. In the latter days of

the empire, the elector ranked above the then humble dukes of Wirtemberg; but the sovereigns of Wirtemberg and Baden have availed themselves, more adroitly, of the tide of politics, and by enlisting, zealously, under the banners of Napoleon, have stolen a march upon his electoral highness in power and precedence. The allies, some will say, should not have permitted a staunch old legitimate to be pushed from his stool by a grand duke and a king of yesterday, whose dignities are rather equivocally acquired from a rather equivocal source—But the statesmen of Vienna thought otherwise—and you can easily conceive that compact military sovereignties were in a condition to negotiate more efficaciously than an emigrant prince just returned from exile. The near relationship of Baden with Russia, and Wirtemberg with Great Britain, may also have given some weight to the notes of their diplomatists; while the old elector's close alliance with Prussia (by his own marriage, that of his son, and other intermarriages for the last century) gave him little more than the support of a reed broken by the same storm which had, for a time, swept himself from the map of Germany.

"The population of the grand duchy of Baden—henceforward a considerable power—is about 1,200,000, nearly three times the amount before the profitable Confederation of the Rhine. The revenue before that event was nearly 300,000*l.* per annum; it is now, I believe, increased in about the same proportion as the territory. Besides his connexion as nephew by marriage to Napoleon, the

the grand duke was—whether willingly or not, far be it from me to decide—a useful member of the Rhenish Confederation. His state was drained, and his people squeezed dry, to support his contingent of troops, at one time amounting to no less than 20,000 men. In his zeal, or in his hard task-work, (whichever it is to be called,) the grand duke brought into the field as many troops as his much more competent neighbour of Wirtemberg. His royal highness was little with them himself. Campaigning little suits his weak, indolent character; but they were well equipped by his people's gold, and ably commanded by the young counts of Hochberg, under whom they gained considerable distinction.

“His peace establishment amounts to about 8000 men; four times as many as his subjects are disposed to consider necessary for garrisoning the town, mounting and relieving guard, and parading in full dress before the palace. In this number there are about thirty-three generals; a general to about every 230 men; a proportion, or rather disproportion, which reminds one of our infantine tastes, when in our tin or pasteboard armies we always created as many officers as privates, because they were the prettiest and most showy. Unfortunately, however, for the finances of Baden, general officers are more costly playthings than soldiers, and the people complain loudly that not above six or seven of these doughty commanders are in service, while the remainder receive pay as favourites of the court, and their number is continually augmented to make snug

retiring shelves for the dignitaries whom court manœuvres lay aside to make room for other aspirers. The Baden troops are some of the handsomest and best appointed I have seen in Germany: but a deficiency in these qualifications is rarely to be charged on the legions of the small sovereigns. As they are the pets and hobby-horses of his highness, and the main ornaments of his capital, they are generally more showily equipped than those of more gigantic sovereigns, to whom the great bulk of their army are more for use than ornament. The grand duke of Hesse's army are appointed *à la Française*. In Baden the alliance with the great northern autocrat holds up the ugly Russian and Prussian fashions to imitation; and the long tapering waists, and chests swelling with horsehair or wool, give to the soldiers the awkwardly effeminate look of a Russian or Prussian trooper. The Prussians carry this system of stuffing their men into fine figures to the highest caricature; and many civil elegants of Germany, whose shapes at the distance of a hundred leagues are often under the discipline of a Berlin tailor, owe the manly swell they carry before them to convenient pads inserted in the lapelles of their coats.

It is difficult to give you an idea of the government and political condition of Baden. The exhausting efforts of the country at the conclusion of the late war, and the weak unstable character of the grand duke, have left every thing, according to the vulgar phrase, at sixes and sevens. The desperate condition of the finances has arrived at the unusual extremity

extremity of frequently retarding the salaries of the servants of government. The taxes are high, and the people generally discontented, a main cause of their unfortunate emigrations last year. The grand duke is governed entirely by his favourites, and his wayward inclinations. While his illustrious mother and sisters are patterns of good conduct and sense, his royal highness's character, originally amiable, has been spoilt by being an only son, and an *enfant gâté*. He was educated entirely at Carlsruhe, and has scarcely seen any thing beyond it. The excellent margrave, prudence itself in every thing else, could not refuse the young prince Charles any thing that he wished. His grandfather, the late grand duke, (his father was killed early in Sweden,) one of the most respected princes of Germany, deserved in every thing, but his indulgence of his wild heir, his title of 'Charles Frederic the Wise.' His royal highness's character is now naturally enough formed into one of vacillating indolence, inaptitude to business, and suspicious distrust of all around him. He passes much time in gaming, drinking, and dissipated pleasures, and will sometimes ease himself of the accumulated *ennui* of neglected papers, by consigning a bundle unexamined to the flames. The passion which he has lately taken for the amiable grand duchess, is some restraint upon his wandering course, and may lead him to pursuits of better taste at least, if not of more advantage to his

country. In a small despotic state, the character of the prince is the secret spring that moves the whole machine; and in Baden every thing appears to partake of the sovereign's instability. Changes and new organizations are continually making and meditating; new committees, colleges, and ministeriums, appointed without any apparent improvement of the real condition of things. As to all that relates to political liberty, the establishment of the states, the freedom of the press, &c. &c., the people here, as in the other states, are 'referred to the coming on of time,' and the decisions of the diet, which may come with it. The diet being specially charged with this important matter, the sovereigns reasonably enough suspend all their proceedings till the general precedent of a constitution appears, which the serene assembly are to draw out as a model for all the states.

The congress of diplomatists naturally undertake, rather reluctantly, a task which is to curtail the prerogatives of their illustrious masters—but it is the general opinion of the best informed persons, that sooner or later, representative constitutions must be conceded to the universal demands for them. The spirit of inquiry, and a sense of their rights, have been too much raised by late events among the Germans, to be silenced by any thing but compliance with their rational requisitions. The most staunch supporters of the arbitrary governments see plainly that concessions are no longer to be evaded.

STATE OF RANKS IN GERMANY.

"WE have often remarked, that what forms the superiority of our English frame of society, is that happy amalgamation of its parts, that nice shading off of ranks one into another, which leaves the freest elbow-room to ambition and talents, and preserves the indispensable gradations of rank, without subjecting any classes to absurd and galling exclusions. No country has so dignified an aristocracy, and yet none so much real equality, so free a mixture of ranks. Those who thought to extinguish ranks, and make society as level as Salisbury Plain, by inveterately calling each other citizen, ended, with the sure affinity of extremes, in erecting a rank higher than their country ever knew before, and surrounding it with ultra-aristocrats. The Swiss profess to have no titles; but the Swiss seigneur takes care never to be described in an instrument without the word noble before his name, and thinks it one of the saddest effects of the late misfortunes of his country that his sons are obliged to soil their hands with commerce. The fact is, whether recognised or not by titular distinctions, a virtual aristocracy is as necessary a concomitant of society as an inequality of talents or of stature; and let the analogy be kept up, and the respect paid to it be just what ordinary men involuntarily pay to superiority in brain or in shoulders, and rank has its due, and has no reason to complain. But the mistake made in Germany was to permit to nobility not merely a monopoly of bows, and

titles, and royal society, but almost of the fresh air and the bread and cheese of life. Nothing that was valuable was attainable by any other passport than a prescribed number of quarters of nobility.

"But these days of pure blood and privileged casts are now fast on the wane. The flimsy fabric of society has received a good dislocating shake from the late commotions and concussions. '*Externus timor, maximum concordie vinculum*' made common cause between all classes; and the sovereigns and their gingerbread courtiers in the hour of need were happy enough to owe their deliverance from the iron rod to the sturdy strength of the plebeians, who were alone able to break it. The intercourse of the grave race with the Revolution and its sons was also well calculated to rout them out of some of their obsolete systems. If it was startling to a decorous German to see his sovereign and haughty court proceeding to the frontier to welcome, with cringing submission, the approaching protector of the Rhenish Confederation, or retiring—princesses, maids of honour, and all—to the Golden Sheep, or the Red Bull, in a provincial town, to avoid encountering in the residence a domineering French general, who had perhaps been a shoe-black; it was hardly less so to see a high-born delegate, incrustated in ribands and crosses, and armed with credentials half occupied by the enumeration of his titles, set out on a trembling mission to head-

head-quarters, to negotiate with an aid-de-camp or secretary, who would perhaps have been puzzled to swear to the name of both his parents. The secularizing of the chapters, and confiscation of the rich canonries, for admittance to which it was difficult to prove nobility enough, and very few of which now exist, were more substantial blows to the system; for as title in Germany propagates nothing but title *ad infinitum*, these were most convenient resources to large families of young barons and baronesses, who are now often obliged to remain dignifiedly idle and dignifiedly unamated.

"Owing to these causes, in these degenerate days, the precious *ærgo* of antiquity on the baron's escutcheon is so much declining in repute, that with the exception of eligibility to great household offices at some courts, and the grand crosses of some strict orders, a title of the first edition is nearly as good as one which has gone through a dozen; and even the total want of the particle *Von* (the talismanic symbol of nobility) before the name, is now an exclusion from nothing of more vital importance than the court dinners and the tea-and-turn-out of the noblesse. A court physician of my acquaintance has even dared to write a treatise on nobility, admitting the use of the order upon the whole, but hazarding, in contradistinction to the German creed, that new nobility is decidedly preferable to old. It is hardly necessary to add that the worthy doctor is of himself the new-baked batch.

"The offices of the government, the first political charges, every thing but the gay saloons, are
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now principally filled by the *bourgeoisie*. They are good drudging men of routine, who make able privy counsellors, and war counsellors, and forest counsellors, &c. while the activity and intellect of their noble rivals rarely qualifies them for any thing beyond a commission in the *Chevaux Legers*, or hussars, or the very arduous offices about the court drawing-room, which far surpass in estimation any of a political character. You might live at a German court for a month without ever hearing of such a person as the prime minister. I sat at the court dinner one day next to an awkward looking man, who seemed little to belong to the company around him, in spite of a star and a cordon, whether or not of the celebrated order of the '*Blue Herring*' I cannot say. On inquiring who he was, I was flipantly answered, 'Oh! it's the prince's minister.' But it is impossible to spend a day in the residence without hearing the name of his excellency the grand chamberlain, or grand marshal, who orders the court dinner, and announces it when ready, or his excellency the grand equerry, who paces a score of the grand duke's nags every morning, rung in one's ears, with all his titles and qualifications. These '*hautes charges*,' as they are called, not demanding any unreasonable portion of talent or activity, are still monopolized, without detriment to the public, by the possessors of pure blood.

"The clashing of consequence between the *bourgeoisie* and the noblesse, which arise from this occupation by the former of all important objects of ambition, coupled
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coupled with their scrupulous exclusion from the insipid elegance of noble society, occasion the most ridiculous inconsistencies, and give to society the character of a phial of oil and any heavier fluid, which, after infinite shaking, still pertinaciously refuse to amalgamate, but the separate bodies of each roll about mutually repelling, sometimes one uppermost, sometimes the other. The cabinet of one court is composed of a council of ministers who are at the head of all the departments of government, communicate immediately with the sovereign, and are the main springs of the machine. The seats at this board, requiring more noddle than often falls to the lot of the pure blood gentry, are all naturally occupied by the *bourgeoisie*: but for want of the indispensable Von, these cabinet ministers, the most important men in the state, are never permitted to set foot in the court saloons, and rarely in those of the noblesse, which are crowded by young sprigs of nobility, who act under them in the subordinate offices of government. An acquaintance of mine who now represents a German sovereign at a great foreign court, has, from the same want of qualification, never had the honour of visiting that of his own country. The forest masters of the districts, as I before mentioned, are offices exclusively set apart for the wearers of the coronet; but the financial and official business of the department is conducted by a forest college in the residence town, to which the forest masters are in all respects subject, and which it often happens is fully possessed by the active bourgeoisie. The conse-

quence is a perpetual clashing between the college and the noble forest masters; the former, happy in the opportunity of paying off old piques, and the latter glad to dispute the authority of men superior to them in office and in all talents—except those of felling a tree or flaying a boar—but who are by no means worthy to play penny Boston and sip lemonade with the rouged baronesses in the evening.

“The bourgeoisie are, in short, every day growing such consequential and important personages, that I have known the *herr ober director* of a court library, a *cidevant valet-de-chambre*, refuse the loan of a book to a princess of the family; and his royal highness, the son of a sovereign, take a snug cup of tea *en famille*, with a bourgeois in financial administration, palaver his fat wife, and condescendingly flirt with mademoiselle, his daughter, from a desire to stand well with the administrator of the treasury. These instances will give you an idea of the undermining of the importance of nobility which the increased activity of the middle ranks is every day pushing farther, and which noble stupidity and frivolity are not likely to check. The nobility are continually startled with some fresh explosion of their rivals’ consequence—new appointments, new favours, acquired by untitled wights, nobody knows how. These strides they always set down to their rivals’ unscrupulous use of dirty underhand roads to preferment—but though this is sometimes the case, their own inertness and imbecility often leaves the door open, and the bourgeoisie profit

profit by opportunity with nothing more than honourable ambition and activity.

"Of course, the noblesse are the more chary of their supremacy in the drawing-room, in consequence of their declining importance every where else. Their political insignificance makes them doubly absolute as *arbitri elegantiarum*. But the modish winks and nods which note the little deficiencies in court *ton*, in the untitled ladies and gentlemen of the Casino balls, and the criticisms of the dress, manners, and bad French of the baronesses of yesterday, on their *entrée* at court, are only laughs on the wrong side of the mouth (to use the vulgar phrase)—the superiority they assert being so exclusively trivial and superficial. I happened to have for a neighbour one day at a court entertainment, the recently ennobled spouse of a minister of state, making her *debut* at court, at the interesting age of sixty, appropriately qualified by her patent, her satins, and her blotches of rouge. My fair neighbour appearing somewhat embarrassed by her new blushing honours, and the observation of the Argus-eyed belles around her, I was happy to relieve her by conversation, which cost me some trouble, as her bourgeoisie education had not extended her acquirements beyond her native language. My commiserating politeness to this *debutante* lady of the minister afforded, afterwards, an ample theme of merriment to my friends of less impeachable purity of blood.

"The only recognised opportunities of contact between the two classes, are the alternate public balls and evening societies,

which take place every week, at the Casino: the citizens owing their favoured participation in these amusements to the convenience of their subscription for the support of the handsome establishment. Sometimes, on grand occasions, the court condescend to attend. They occupy one end of the noble saloon, sometimes raised by a step above the rest of the room, surrounded by courtiers and noblesse, who, in all the concentrated splendour of dresses and decorations contrive to keep up an atmosphere around them not derogatory to sovereignty.

The worthy beaux and belles of the city, in their humbler array of finery, keep the distance of respectful spectators, eyeing and admiring the movements of royalty and the glitter and graces of the court, which they have only a precious periodical opportunity of observing. In the dance, of course, the court and nobility take the lead, and the gradation of fashion and grace, in the string of whirling couples, is sometimes very curious—commencing with a prince and princess, whose easy evolutions bespeak refined tuition, and closed by a dapper bourgeois, in his best clothes, who twirls his perspiring partner with an ardour little tamed by the graces. Though the court belles are the models of *ton* and grace in the room, the fresh charms of their humble rivals sometimes subject them to unpleasant mortifications. Their volatile beaux will sometimes profit by the occasion for variety, and dance the whole evening with the happy bourgeois, while the maids of honour and baronesses not having an opportunity of consoling themselves by similar overtures

tures to the young citizens, are sometimes obliged to remain quiet spectators of their rivals' triumphs. When not there on official duty, the court ladies and many of the noblesse consequently often neglect these promiscuous meetings; and would absent themselves oftener, if a ball—the opportunity for a waltz—were not almost equally irresistible to all ranks. The assemblies, or evening circles, a good deal like those at private houses, are more thinly attended. Tea, cards, conversation, refreshments, and *jeux de société* are, as usual, the bill of fare of amusement. The billiard-rooms draw off many of the beaux. The young people of all ranks join in grown up children's games, and sometimes, *impromptu* dances, with a good-humoured ease. The dowagers, both of the court and city, hang together a little more scrupulously, keep to their separate card-tables, are nice about speaking first, and exchange, when brought into contact, various little announcements and defiances of superiority—the city dames being generally quite as starched and slow in making advances as their titled rivals. This is naturally the growing character of the *bourgeois*, who show, pretty abundantly, all the airs of successful *parvenus*. Their acquisitious of importance, at the expense of the privileged class, make the ridiculous exclusions—trifling as they are—to which they are still subject, doubly galling; for that species of philosophy which would be content to smile in the consciousness of real importance at these frivolous inferiorities, is a feeling far above the flight of the worthy bourgeois gentry. The no-

blesse very unjustly taunt them with this soreness at their ineligibility to the pleasures of the *beau monde*, and affect to wonder that having gained the lucrative bureaux, they should still covet the *entrée* of the drawing-rooms.—But the feeling is quite natural.—Absurd sweeping disqualifications—however really unimportant the object—are always galling to any body of men; and to be proscribed *en masse* from what is, in fact, the only society in a small town, is neither very reasonable nor very agreeable. Among themselves, the worthy bourgeois lead that sort of muddling drudging life, which affords little opportunity for society; their social pleasures extend, therefore, little beyond the *reunions* at the Casino—the eagerly anticipated scene of the rivalries and conquests of the gaudy damsels. At some courts the barrier against the non-nobles is a little relaxed, and high diplomatic office is sometimes a passport without the commendatory *Von*; but this is rare—and to the ladies, the monosyllable is the only introduction. On inquiring after two pretty and graceful women, whom I knew at Carlsruhe, and whom I missed in the gay circles, the conclusive answer was, '*Elles ne sont pas de la société—Elles sont de la Bourgeoisie.*' All this child's play will, in time, fall into disuse—as much of what once existed has already done; but the good Germans, you know, do nothing rashly—and shut up in their forests and ceremonies, they appear slower in catching the improvements in the spirit of the age than their more mercurial neighbours."

GERMAN UNIVERSITIES AND WOMEN.

"Nothing can be imagined more striking than the contrast between an English and a German University. In the former, the Gothic buildings, the magnificent colleges, the noble libraries, the chapels, the retired walks, the scholastic grace of the costume, are all so many interesting indications of the antiquity, the munificence, and the dignity of the institution. The University of Heidelberg is one of the most distinguished in Germany—but the constitution of a German University has necessarily no monument of architecture, no appendage of dignity, scarcely any decent building connected with it. The *Universität Gebäude*, or public building, containing the library and the lecture rooms of the professors, barely comes under this last description. An Englishman might pass the town a dozen times without remarking any traces of its institutions, unless he happened to encounter a string of swaggering mustachioed youths, their hair flowing on their shoulders, without cravats, with pipes in their mouths, parading the streets with a rude impudence. These are the students—who resemble each other in all the Universities, in main points, both of costume and character. It is hardly necessary to say this is not an academical costume. A German student would disdain—as a pert young gentleman of this number told me—to wear a dress not of his own free choice; and his choice, under the influence of a luminous patriotism, takes the direction of reviving the *alt*

Deutsche kleidung, or the old costume of the worthy Germans three centuries ago. 'They were sturdy patriots and right good Germans, and stuck up for our liberties against the Emperor Charles and the princes. *We* want some of this spirit in our days—therefore we will begin by copying them in their dress, and thus we shall introduce it.' This is the reasoning of the independent philosophers, from fourteen to five and twenty, who attend lectures, if they please, when they please, and on what they please, in the professors' rooms at the Universities.

"The Universities are, with slight variations, constructed upon the same plan. They are not, as in England, composed of colleges where the students are obliged to reside, forming large households under the control of a head; and submitting to wholesome regulations, both as to conduct and study. A German University is little more than a place where there is a good library and a collection of professors who read lectures to those who choose to attend them. They afford bare opportunities for study—with few facilities, no compulsion, no discipline, no subordination. The professor reads his lecture, the student pays him for it—if he attends it, which he does or not as he likes, he walks off at the conclusion as independent of the professor as a man of his drawing-master at the end of the hour's lesson. There are, besides, private tutors who can be engaged for assistance, at leisure hours.

"At Heidelberg, the University
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is divided into four faculties—Divinity, Jurisprudence, Medicine, and Philosophy. Each department has several professors, and a pro-rector, chosen annually among them, is the actual head of the University. The grand duke of Baden, in whose territory Heidelberg is comprised, is the nominal head under the title of Rector. There are a smaller and greater senate chosen from the professors, the former of which meets every fourteen days for transacting the business of the University—and four *ephori*, who are said to superintend the industry and morals of the students, to correspond with their parents, &c. But these last have an office of little efficacy. Their admonition is without authority; for, short of the power of the police in criminal offences, the students are subject to no power whatever of punishment or control. They can, consequently, neglect all study and push their excesses to the verge of a breach of the law in defiance of rector, ephori, and professors. Offences which overstep this bound are liable to punishment by the University police; for the University is not subject to the ordinary police of the country—a University *amtman* (bailiff) and beadles, supplying the place to the University of the ordinary provincial bailiff and *gens d'arme*. The consequence is, the broken windows, riots, and disturbances, with which the students annoy the citizens, are visited very lightly by the University magistrates, who often observe them with a secret satisfaction, as symptoms of a spirit of independence which they hope may be one day turned to better purposes. With

such license it is not to be wondered that the students find the authorities of the law nearly as much employment as our students give to the gentler advice and correction of the heads of houses, proctors, &c. In some Universities the students are almost as much the terror and nuisance of the neighbourhood, as the worthy associates of Robin Hood or Rob Roy were to the inhabitants of the scenes of their exploits. In an inn where I slept at Mannheim, it was discovered, one morning, that one of these young gentlemen had decamped by his bedroom window, taking with him the sheets of his bed. At Heidelberg, where there are many of noble and respectable families, they are rather better behaved than usual—and a lady, of the town, told me she found them 'tolerably quiet considering.'

"The students live in lodgings, at the houses of the shopkeepers in the town; a system which, if their superiors possessed any control over their conduct, would almost entirely frustrate it. They dine at the tables d'hôte of the inns, to which they are good customers.—I dined with an acquaintance of their number, at a table filled with them. Their manners were, in general, as coarse and as rude as their appearance; they had all the air of low mechanics, or persons much less civilized. Some of them were young nobles—others had the ribands of orders in their button-holes; and they often wear the cockade of their country in their caps or hats, which is sometimes the symbol of a provincial patriotism, much of a-kin to the national one indicated by their clothes. Since the flame of

of national feeling has been kindled by late events, the distinctions of country are however *professedly* abandoned. The separate associations of the students from different states are done away; and they now loudly assert that they form but one body of *Germans*. But it is easier to assume the title than to suppress national prejudices or neutralize distinctions of character. The light subtle Prussian is little formed to harmonize with the fat phlegmatic Bavarian or Austrian; and if the students of different states mix in amusements pretty indiscriminately, a quarrel (an event of the commonest occurrence) draws out their provincial prepossessions, and ranges the parties accordingly.

“The number of students at Heidelberg, for the last spring *semestre*, or course of lectures, was above 400—Goettingen sometimes musters 1200. The professors at Heidelberg are now in high repute; and on their attraction depends the fulness of the University.—When a favourite professor departs, sometimes nearly half a University follow him. The students generally enter very young—many at sixteen or seventeen; for as every young man, intended for the civil service of any prince, must spend two years, by way of qualification, at a University, the object of parents is to qualify them for office as early as possible. Raw children from the gymnasium are consequently sent to the University, rather to get over these two years than for the purpose of study. Finding themselves here, all at once, their own masters, and exposed to every temptation,

they naturally follow the stream, assuming the vices and caricaturing the consequence of full-grown men. The necessary two years are often spent in drinking, gaming, rioting, and insulting others, more from the intoxication of liberty than from vicious inclination. The pride of premature manhood makes them jealous of their little dignities, and ape the punctilios of false honour. Perpetual duels are the consequence, which have all the ill effect of brutalizing the feelings, without the questionable advantage of exercising courage—for their execution is, in general, ludicrously devoid of danger. The breasts and faces of the doughty combatants are cased in pasteboard, in the security of which panoply, they chivalrously engage with small rapiers till incensed honour is satisfied; sometimes by the first sprinkling of blood; at others, by nothing less than a wound of a certain length and depth, to be ascertained by measurement of the seconds. New comers are beset, on their matriculation, with incitements to quarrel, till they put their valour beyond dispute, in one of these combats. Sometimes bodies of disputants (often of different countries) settle their differences by a combat *en masse*. These fights generally terminate in slight wounds—but more fatal consequences are by no means unfrequent. In spite, however, of constant disturbances, and now and then a death occasioned by them, they are still freely permitted, like all other excesses, from the fear of checking the exuberant fervour of youth.

“All titles and distinctions of rank are dropped among the students

dents for the common appellation of *bursch* (fellow); and when on giving some particulars of our universities to a student, I mentioned the distinction of costume, &c. given to noblemen, this spark of liberty exclaimed—‘That would not be suffered among us—we are all equal—we have no distinctions.’ I could not help smiling when I reflected that after his two years swing of lawlessness and equality this young man was destined for a pastor’s cure or some petty office under a despotic government, where he would find himself pinned down in the third rate circles, and encompassed by the barriers of rank on all sides.

‘Theatres are wisely prohibited at Heidelberg, and I believe generally in the German Universities; they would merely be rallying-places for the riotous dispositions of the students, which they often indulge freely when they meet at the theatres of other towns. Troops are now removed to avoid broils between them and the students, which were sometimes attended with serious consequences.

‘The spirit of patriotism and political follies of the students are the natural consequence of the same unbounded license, which often corrupts their morals. Most of them have been inoculated with this spirit by the patriotic games and songs of the gymnasium, where they already ape the dress and manners of the University. Or if they come fresh from their father’s abode in the residence, the transfer from a scene of cringing servility to power, to one of boundless independence, is equally likely to intoxicate young heads. Finding themselves here

distinguished by large privileges from their fellow-citizens in a despotic state, they become insolent, and set about reforming their country with well meant but childish extravagance. The professors seldom check, and often partake the spirit, though not all the follies of the students. In spite of their academical privileges the professors have a sense of belonging to the excluded classes; they are not received at court or in the circles of the noblesse—where the few who can appreciate talents would deem their presence a decided acquisition. It is a mistake to suppose that learned men despise these little distinctions—they often feel them more cuttingly than others; and the professors of Germany have the character of being at once discontented and haughty. Two of those of Heidelberg were sometime since arrested by the grand duke of Baden, for their bold language on the subject of the restoration of the states: but the students demanded their liberation so vehemently, that the grand duke, who is a weak man, did not long detain them.

‘The proceedings at the Wartburg in Saxony, of which you have perhaps read accounts in the journals, carried the academical patriotism into some more ambitious follies than usual. Six hundred students met, headed by several professors, at the invitation of the University of Jena. The meeting was to answer the three-fold purpose of commemoration of the battle of Leipsic; and of the Reformation, and as a sort of congress or deliberative conference among the plenipotentiaries of the different Universities. The youthful

youthful delegates were to frame general regulations for the Universities, to legislate on duelling, and to establish a student's gazette for extending their principles and asserting their rights. They drank the health of the grand duke of Weimar, as the only German prince worthy of reigning, and made a solemn *auto-da-fe* of the favourite military pig-tail of the elector of Hesse Cassel, the pad which stuffs the breast of a Prussian soldier, and the corporal's cane much in use in the Austrian ranks. The flames were enlivened by some foreign manufacturers, and some obnoxious works of Kotzebue, Ancillon, Dabelow, Schmaltz, &c. obsequious men who had opposed the Tugendbund and other patriotic societies, and had shown themselves not undeserving the contempt of independent Germans.

"The students had well chosen the scene of their solemnities; for any where but in the duchy of Weimar, the police would have unquestionably been principal actors in the drama. The grand duke after investigation, in which it appeared that the professors were not concerned in the riotous part of the proceedings, probably did wisely to let it drop. As a political affray it was rather calculated to give hints to princes than to inspire them with immediate fears; and jejune and ill-chosen as the means used by the young politicians of expressing their sentiments may be considered, every one admits that they objected to nothing but what was highly objectionable, and did nothing but what was well intended, and what might reasonably be expected from the systems of the

Universities. Looking at these systems in a political point of view, a wisher of constitutional freedom to Germany could perhaps hardly desire to see liberty extinguished or curtailed in the few isolated spots in which it flourishes in the nation. The extraordinary privileges which intoxicate young heads might, indeed, be diffused to great advantage among the more sober part of the community: but in the mean time it is impossible to blame the Germans for being jealously tenacious of them where they exist. The plant of freedom is too scarce in the country not to deserve fostering and protection, even though the prurient soil where it blooms may sometimes make it run to seed, and expend its vigour in fruitless exuberances. Preserve the seed, and it may disseminate into more congenial soils. But, viewed with reference to the talents and the morals of the rising generation, I fear the unbounded license of the University can only produce unqualified mischief. Two years in the most precious and susceptible period of life spent in a chaos of coarse riot and disorder must necessarily often unhinge the principles, corrupt the morals, and harden the feelings. Even the independent spirit which it is thought to impart is often too *outré* and extravagant to be stable; and, as extremes always meet, this spirit not unfrequently slides into the basest servility when transplanted into the atmosphere of a despotic court.

"Be the advantages or disadvantages of the system, however, what they may, any reform is, on several accounts, very improbable. The princes are too fond of the celebrity

celebrity and the profit which flourishing Universities bring, to their little states, not to be afraid of interfering with their regulations. If the interest of the princes had not been on their side, you may easily conceive the Universities would never have escaped unhurt in the late general wreck of constitutions and popular rights. Any reform which curtailed the license of the students would, in fact, instantly raise a cry of violation of the old privileges of the Universities. Half the students (except those who are obliged to pass two years at the University of their own state) would instantly desert, and flock to the University of the neighbouring state, where license still flourished. The little rival sovereign would rejoice at the opportunity of aggrandizing his own seminaries at the expense of those of his neighbour, and would consequently refrain from following the example of reform. In this as in other matters the clashing of interest among the princes prevent any movement that has for its object the general good.

"No place can be more delightfully situated as a retreat of study and science than Heidelberg, enclosed as it is between picturesque ranges of mountains; the majestic and placid Neckar in the valley; the castle ruins on the declivities above the town, which are covered with the luxuriant hanging gardens of the castle, whose terraces, thickets, and umbrageous walks, afford solemn and silent retreats for study, and prospects over the Rhine and the Neckar valley of the most ravishing and varied beauty. The castle is an immense mass of

rambling ruins, of architecture of different centuries and descriptions, whose mouldering remains rear their ragged masses with a most striking effect, overhanging the Neckar, and embosomed in the wild shrubberies and woods which cover the slope of the mountain. The town is old, dark, and irregular, and presents few traces of the consequence it enjoyed till the early part of the last century as the residence of the splendid court of the electors palatine. A few families of more consequence than wealth still reside here, some of whom we had the pleasure of meeting at the house of the hospitable Count —

"I know you have an idea of the German women as a race of fair blue-eyed dames: but these beauties, which in the north are predominant, share admiration in the south with hazel eyes, dark hair, and other charms of a soft, not a lively brunette. It is very rare to see a woman with deep black eyes or hair, or any thing sparkling, or strongly marked in her features. The complexion of the southern German women is far from beautiful. In the fairest women it has often a thick sallow sort of tinge, the reverse of that transparent lustre of our countrywomen, which Doctor Donne's beautiful lines suit:—

'The pure and eloquent blood
Spoke in her cheeks, and so distinctly
wrought,
That one might almost say her body
thought.'

"Striking beauty is, in fact, not the *forte* of the fair Germans near the Rhine—but they have often fine eyes, pleasing voices, and a sentimental grace, and tenderness

derness of manner, interesting because quite natural. All the charm of a German woman, peculiar to herself, centres in this.—Her deportment is often stiff and ungainly—but her soft voice and kind sympathizing manner give her a charm purely her own.—She seems moulded out of nature's softest materials—tenderness and sentiment appear to be her life. Unlike Pope's heroine, whom he would have only '*a softer man*,' a German woman is purely and exclusively *a woman*. Her looks, voice, manners, and conduct, place the soft, supple qualities of her sex in a sort of exaggerated contrast with those of ours. She appears more eager to captivate than to shine; to steal softly to the heart, than to take it by storm. It would be a mistake, however, to consider this a symptom of *depth* of sensibility. It is only the expression of that sort of indolent slowness, little excited by cultivation, which finds in sentiment the resource of an unoccupied mind. If this softness were merely one of the shifting weapons of a coquette, it would be intolerable—its *bond fide* sincerity in the German ladies makes it interesting, for a time. But the misfortune too often is, that this is not merely the graceful ornament, but the whole substance of character; it turns out that there is no solid base to support this pretty sentimental superstructure. When it is discovered that the unvarying languor is half want of tact and alacrity, and the perpetual coaxing often the resource of heavy intellect, these qualities lose half their first-sight graces. The poet, who has left us the finest picture of woman, gives her

'*lowliness majestic*,' and '*obsequious majesty*,'—but the German women are too apt to be lowly and obsequious *without* majesty. Their character wants more of the noun-substantive—they have too much suppleness even to be graceful.

"But the softest clay most depends upon the moulding; and education and corrupt manners must be charged with all the defects I have observed in the German women. Those of the upper, that is the noble classes, are brought up from the cradle under a sort of upper servant, dignified by the title of governess, and who generally couples with her higher functions those of nursery-maid, housekeeper, and assistant at the toilette of the noble mamma. They learn to waltz—a little music—to speak French enough for use by and bye at court—to make gowns, bonnets, and turbans. Their acquaintance with books rarely extends beyond sentimental romances and washy poems—and many a lady of no mean title writes neither French nor her own language with moderate correctness. Sixteen is the important æra when they emerge from this petty sphere to the full enjoyments of the court, to which they have looked forward from infancy. Mamma is often a heavy, uninformed, or still worse, a coquettish and unscrupulous person, who little constrains her favourite speculations on sentiment, intrigue, or dress, before her attentive daughters. An old baroness, with the reputation of *ci-devant* beauty and intrigues, entertained me on my first visit, and in the presence of two fair relations under twenty, with a sufficiently intelligible history of her intimacy with one of my compatriots at a German

German court—he was a handsome man—she had not seen him for many years—but she had his portrait—and for some time she was in regular correspondence with him. This was related with an unconscious *sangfroid*, and listened to, gravely, by the young ladies, as to a strain to which they were well accustomed.

“The example of almost all around them, their own mothers, or some of their mothers’ dear friends included, helps to finish the weak inflammable character which such an education has too frequently commenced. Sentiment, dress, coquetry, and frivolity reign sometimes by turns, but oftener with a sort of struggle for supremacy more thoroughly intoxicating to the head. The sentimental lady is nearly as fond of her toilette, as her lover; and the coquette who borrows the airs of sentiment is entrapped by her own weapons, and falls partly from soft-heartedness, and partly to secure a conquest. The German women have in fact *too much* feeling to play the coquette with entire security—and *not enough* to resist playing it at all.

“The education of the women of the bourgeoisie is much the same as that of the noble dames, with the exception of rarely speaking or understanding French.—Sometimes they are sent to boarding-schools—an advantage which their rivals rarely enjoy, because the above-mentioned compound of *gouvernante*, lady’s maid, and housekeeper, proves a useful personage to a gay mother. The fair *bourgeoises* have also the advantage of some rational, housekeeping occupations, which employ time and attention. With the

assistance of one slave of a servant, they perform all the culinary and other business of the *menage*—and the fair hands which join with the court beaux once a fortnight at the Casino ball, would be found in a true Griselda condition if their partners called the next morning to make inquiries. Domestic *dishabille* is not however entirely peculiar to the bourgeoisie. On paying a visit of form one morning to a dignified count, the grand master of a small court, I found his residence on a second floor in a bye street. A scullion hot from the kitchen showed me into a comfortless parlour, where the countess, in the absence of her spouse, met me in a half adjusted coloured gown, a half naked child squalling in her arms, and two or three more hanging about her, dirty and munching. To have seen the count bowing in full costume at court, you would have thought he could not breathe out of the tapestry walls of a palace.

“This sort of anti-romantic drudgery, and their exclusion from court gaieties, leave the city ladies open to fewer temptations than the noblesse. The men, too, are toiling in the public offices at the chancellery all the morning; and in the evening, instead of the intriguing tea drinkings of the nobles, a savoury supper must be prepared by their wives and daughters, the latter of whom often wait at table during the meal, and then take their seats with the company, or enliven them with a little music on the piano, such as would do credit to our most accomplished young ladies. Still, however, many moments remain to the young damsels

sels for romance reading, picking up at third hand and detailing court gossip, watching and imitating the *beau monde*, and rivaling in finery their fellow imitators. Their weak heads too are often turned by the unprincipled attentions of the young nobles, who dance with them at the balls and amuse themselves with their affections, by way of change to the elegant insipidity of the court ladies. When danger falls in their way they have not always more strength to oppose to it than others; but keep them out of harm's way, and they are kind wives and daughters, who mix up sentiment and drudgery with tolerable harmlessness.

"If the obligations of marriage (which, from the idleness and poverty of the nobles, is frequently a purely mercenary engagement) had more influence than they can have in such a state of morals, the facility of obtaining divorces affords an easy means of gratifying inclination without offence to conscience. In the Protestant states mere alleged incompatibility of disposition is a sufficient ground for procuring them; and the Catholics remedy the strict prohibition of their religion, as to all points except marrying again, by an arrangement called, a *separation de corps et de bien*.

"The history of the complex sentimental arrangements of a well-known prime minister of one of the greatest German powers and his second spouse, is an illustration of all that is bad in German systems of matrimony and morals. His excellency and this lady met at Hanover, both being then married and parents of families. A vehement and mu-

tual passion was the consequence, of course speedily followed by a divorce of both parties, and their marriage. Their attachment survived the union for some little time, when each party began to find their active hearts in want of new occupation. The minister had been smitten at Frankfurt by a fascinating actress, whom he engaged to follow him; while his lady consoled herself by taking lessons on the flageolet of a captivating musician of a regimental band. His wife's musical pursuits becoming such as to compromise the prince's dignity, he had recourse to a second divorce; and thus left at liberty he has lately married the actress, who lived with him as his mistress above fifteen years, and who is now received and recognised as the princess of ——. His spouse declared without shame the musician the father of one of her children, and did all in her power to engage the man to leave for her his own wife and family. He appears, however, to have possessed more principle than either the prince or his wife, and firmly refused. Marriage is thus too often made a farce of unmeaning forms—an empty name to sanction vice—and to console people with the idea, that while they are indulging licentious inclinations, they are transgressing no moral law, and consulting decorum in their conduct.

"In cases of divorce the children are frequently divided, according to their sexes—the husband taking charge of the sons, and the wife of the daughters. The common stock of property is shared, by each party taking their own—a regulation which has sometimes

sometimes the effect of keeping together a restless pair, who would otherwise unhesitatingly break their chains. A gallant officer of my acquaintance left behind him a pretty wife on following the army in the Spanish campaign.—On returning, after two years' absence, he found himself in possession of an increase of family, for which he had to thank a young student from the University. A divorce would have been the immediate remedy, but that his wife had brought him a considerable fortune, of which he would thus have lost the enjoyment. He therefore put a gay face on the matter, and consoled himself by the philosophical reflection—*Eh bien, si ma femme a eu un enfant, moi j'en ai eu deux*. This instance is in the class of the bourgeoisie. When I knew the lady, she was just ennobled and shining at court with her easy spouse.

"The perfect phlegm and indifference with which these arrangements are treated, and with which the parties concerned live together in society afterwards, are natural consequences of their frequency, and prove that the 'Double Arrangement' of the Anti-Jacobin wits is hardly a poetical exaggeration. A friend of mine received a note from a lady of her acquaintance inviting herself to pass the evening—but happening to expect, amongst others, the two former divorced husbands of the lady, out of regard for her feelings, she requested her to delay her visit. The hardy lady, however, immediately answered, that she suspected the cause of the excuse, that she was much obliged by my friend's considerateness, but it being quite un-

necessary, she begged permission to be of the party. She accordingly came, bringing her present husband to make up a friendly trio with her two former ones; and all parties spent the evening most sociably and happily. This extraordinary apathy will be, in some degree, accountable, when you reflect that these husbands were, in fact, to this lady nothing more than two discarded lovers; for marriage is thus literally a connexion as transitory as light, and in no respect more sacred or solemn. It is highly possible indeed that this easy fair one would not have encountered lovers to whom she had not been united by decorous forms with so unconscious a coolness. But here she had no occasion for reproaches of conscience—she had acted in compliance with the received regulations of society—and merely availed herself of the privilege they give of shifting husbands as easily as dresses or residences.

"No one can live in German society without being struck by the little consequence which the women appear to possess in it. This is, perhaps, at once the cause and consequence of the soft humility of manners which distinguishes them. From the peasant's wife who drudges in the fields and farm yard, without shoes or stockings, to the noble ladies who are treated with a cool unceremoniousness by the beaux in the saloons, they have all the air of submissive slavery. This will always be more or less the case in society where the women often want

'The awe

About her as a guard angelic placed,'

with which virtue alone can invest them.

them. But the respect which they thus lose is supplied by few of the little attentions of gallantry. The women are neither treated with the respect due to virtuous matrons, nor the incense paid to mistresses. The ceremony of standing hat in hand till the lady you are talking to tells you to be covered, and others of a similar description, are old-fashioned formalities which mean nothing; but they enjoy none of those flattering attentions—those little sacrifices to comfort—which proceed from gallantry of feeling. In society the men talk in clusters, sometimes for a whole evening; not, as in England, from an indolent *mauvaise honte*, which admits, in the most striking way, the respect inspired by the females, but with an air of indifferent superiority which disdains to submit to a *gene* for those whom it does not respect. Loose, and frequently gross conversations, and oaths, are indulged in their presence, which they often suffer in silence, for want of dignity and influence to check them. The want of gallantry goes the length of not entirely exempting the women from humble observances of rank in the other sex. I have seen a party of ladies uneasy, and hardly venturing to keep their seats, because a young prince was on his legs in the circle; and a fair friend of mine, educated in a different school, was considered rude, because she declined requesting a presentation to the young junior sons of royalty, to whom the German ladies thought it necessary to volunteer their formal obeisances. You will admit this is the height of anti-chivalrous spirit.

* “The men are naturally losers in the grace of their own manners for

their neglect of feminine influence. The rude manners, and savage hussar habits, which you still sometimes find in the best society, have, in more civilized countries, vanished before the mild influence of the ladies: but in Germany they are not likely to be for some time in condition to banish sordid habits of debauchery, or to laugh tobacco and mustachios out of countenance. The fair ladies lament these habits; and at Vienna they are beginning not to dance quite so readily with a partner who smokes: but in the smaller circles it is sometimes the sentimental occupation of the noble belle to furnish her lover with an elegant embroidered bag for the tobacco, fungus, and flint, with which his pocket must be stored.

“Do not suppose, however, that I have not met with many exceptions to the character of uninformed and unstable sentiment which is too often to be found in the German women. The same soft tempers, the same kindness of heart, which are now too often their ruin, in other instances produce models of domestic tenderness and pure affection. The German women are *all but* delightful domestic creatures. One laments that society has so much abused their qualities. In an improved state of morals they will be more than most women capable of solacing and sweetening private life. The fleeting triumphs of wit and the graces will always be monopolized by the more lively beauties of the south: but the fair Germans need by no means envy them; formed as they are by nature—it would be well if equally so by education and habit—for the quiet of the heart's affections, and the lap of domestic happiness.”

BELLES

BELLES LETTRES,

AND

Antiquities.

PART III.

THE establishment of various institutions for lectures on literature and science, may be regarded as one of the signs and consequences, as well as one of the causes of a more general prevalence of miscellaneous knowledge on almost every subject, than existed among our ancestors. Among the subjects of these lectures, none have been more engaging and popular than the belles lettres; and though it may well be doubted, as Dr. Johnson remarks, whether any subjects, except those which admit of and require experiment, ought to be taught in lectures, yet there can be no doubt that the belles lettres—admitting of such various illustrations from our best classical authors, and of displays of taste, eloquence, and feeling in the lecturers, are, in these points of view, entitled to be an exception to the remark we have just made.

The publications on the various topics which the belles lettres

present, that have been brought forth lately, are in several respects different from those which, even a few years back, were usually given to the world. In these, as in most of the other publications of the present day, which admit of it rather than require it, there is a constant hankering after something new both in thought and expression:—if we meet with an original thought in our older authors, it generally satisfies us not only of its originality but of its truth, and not unfrequently of its profoundness, the more it is investigated; but we think the case is very different with respect to similar works of the present day. We are, indeed, very often struck and stimulated by what seems very new and profound; but in many cases, on reflection and examination, we are convinced that we have been introduced to a thought long since familiar to us, and rendered unknown solely by the dress of words in which it is closed;—in other cases,

cases, where the thought, when stripped of its novelty and incumbrance of words, still retains an appearance of originality, a little more reflection convinces us it is not sound and true.

The belles lettres, understanding by that term works relating to taste and criticism, readily and easily admit of this subtlety of thought and novelty of language; especially as these subjects are discussed in the writings of the present day: for the philosophy of the feelings and passions of the human breast must be entered into, before we can develop the principles of taste, or point out from what causes we are agitated or pleased by any particular passages in writings that appeal to our imaginations and passions. It is the fashion at present to think lightly of the critical works of Dr. Johnson, chiefly because he was insensible to those beauties of poetry which speak strongly to our feelings; and so far as those feelings are capable of being excited in a powerful and almost tumultuous manner, he must be regarded, from his natural temperament, to have been very callous, and therefore incapable of relishing or judging of those parts of poetry which appeal to them: But he could well judge of those permanent powers of the human breast, which influence the conduct generally, rather than burst forth suddenly and powerfully on particular occasions; and if to this qualification for being a critic on the highest departments of poetry, we add his sound judgment and perspicuous penetration, which enabled him to see the triteness or the fallacy of opinions, which to most people would

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have appeared new and well founded;—and, above all, if we add his powers of language, which enabled him to present his most profound and original thoughts, with all their vividness and vigour, to the mind of the reader, we shall be disposed to think that such qualifications as he possessed for being a critic, are ill exchanged for thoughts so subtle, that they vanish into nothingness, if submitted to careful examination; and language so refined, or overloaded, that a thought really solid and good cannot be reached through it:—such, in our opinion, are the predominant faults of the critical writings of the present day.

With respect to antiquities, they have long been a term of derision, though we cannot help thinking that this derision has been applied to them solely on account of their abuse. If the antiquary confines himself to trifles (and this study supplies abundance), if he writes long and tiresome dissertations on a Roman fibula, a shield, a mile-stone, &c. ought he to be surprised, or chagrined, or angry, if men of sense and wit ridicule him, and the study to which he has attached himself? Unfortunately, the study of antiquities offers a rich harvest for men of dull imaginations, trifling minds, and plodding industry; and such men generally have followed it. But there can be no doubt that it offers to the philosopher rich and ample materials, such as ought to tempt him to attend to it more frequently than he does, and to esteem it more highly. The progress of the human mind, and what it has done, and the steps

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by

by which it has reached to its present state in this and other countries of Europe, all fall within the scope of the study of antiquities, taken in their largest and most liberal sense. Very lately a canoe, formed of the trunk of a tree, in the manner the most rude inhabitants of the latest discovered islands, was dug out of a moss in this country:—let us for a moment contrast the state of England and its inhabitants at the period when they made use of such a canoe, and at the present period. If the contrast is striking, and excites our interest, shall we not be anxious to learn by what steps, through what circumstances, and by the operations of what causes, the inhabitants of England gradually passed from the condition of savages, through all the states of civilization and knowledge, to that height, above which no nation ever stood before, or stands at present.

We know what our laws and institutions, our language and literature, our useful and ornamental language, our manners, and every thing that forms our character, are in the 19th century; and it is only through the study of antiquities, or, in other words, by tracing out, in the midst of much that is uninteresting, useless and trifling, memorials and vestiges of these things, that we can learn from what lowness we have risen, and by what means we have gained our present eminence.

The study of antiquities, taken in this high and comprehensive sense, we are sorry to say, has hitherto been little attended to:—we have, indeed, philosophical history, and philosophical inquiries into the origin of our institutions, &c.; but these, for the most part, are not founded on a sufficient number of facts;—they are speculations, supported only by a general knowledge of human nature: and though this knowledge ought undoubtedly to come in aid of the study of antiquities, it will only lead us astray if we attempt to go on without it. The Germans have accumulated more facts on these subjects than any other nation; but they are either dry facts, not connected and vivified by philosophy—or the philosophy applied to them is of that subtle character which renders the facts rather injurious than useful, by drawing inferences from them which they will not bear, and always supposing that what is true cannot be clear and simple, but must always be extremely refined and intricate. Notwithstanding the high praise which several German publications on these subjects have gained in this country, we cannot help thinking, that when the good and solid sense of Britain is fairly brought to bear upon them, the result will satisfy the mind much more, though it may not dazzle and astonish it nearly so much.

ARTICLE I.—*Memoirs of the Court of Queen ELIZABETH.*
By LUCY AIKIN.

PERHAPS there are few instances of a family that have been so long and generally literary as that of the Aikins. The grandfather of the lady who writes this book, though hardly known as an author, was a man of considerable taste and learning. His son and daughter, Dr. Aikin and Mrs. Barbauld, are well known to the literary world; and, at least, three sons and one daughter of Dr. Aikin have instructed the world by their writings. Through the works of all the members of this family there runs a vein of good sense, knowledge of the world, and, what is rarer, of their own powers and qualifications, and a correct and elegant taste, which are not often found combined, and which render their writings interesting as well as instructive.

In the *Memoirs of the Court of Queen Elizabeth*, Miss Aikin has followed, in a great measure, the plan and object of the French memoirs: and we are rather sorry she has done so, because if she had devoted a larger portion of her work to the state of the country and its inhabitants, their

condition, manners, and character, she would have in a great measure supplied, for one long and interesting period, that desideratum in our literature of which we have been just speaking; and there were ample materials for this already gathered to her hand, by Dr. Drake, in his *Illustrations of Shakespeare*.

But what Miss Aikin undertook to do, she has done excellently:—we are introduced to the court and courtiers and statesmen of queen Elizabeth in a most interesting manner. The characters she draws of the queen and the principal personages of the age are marked by great impartiality, and bring their features before us in a very distinct and impressive manner; and the dissertations interspersed on the literature of the age, are distinguished by all that good sense and pure taste for which her family are so distinguished. The style perhaps in some parts is rather heavy and laboured; but, in general, it is free from this imputation; and some passages are uncommonly well written.

PROGRESS OF THE DRAMA.

“THE progress of the drama is a subject which claims in this place some share of our attention, partly because it excited in

a variety of ways that of Elizabeth herself. By the appearance of Ferrex and Porrex in 1561, and that of Gammer Gurton's Needle

Needle five years later, a new impulse had been given to English genius; and both tragedies and comedies approaching the regular models, besides historical and pastoral dramas, allegorical pieces resembling the old moralities and translations from the ancients, were from this time produced in abundance; and received by all classes with avidity and delight.

"About twenty dramatic poets flourished between 1561 and 1590; and an inspection of the titles alone of their numerous productions would furnish evidence of an acquaintance with the stores of history, mythology, classical fiction, and romance, strikingly illustrative of the literary diligence and intellectual activity of the age.

"Richard Edwards produced a tragi-comedy on the affecting ancient story of Damon and Pythias, besides his comedy of Palamon and Arcite, formerly noticed as having been performed for the entertainment of her majesty at Oxford. In connexion with this latter piece it may be remarked; that of the chivalrous idea of Theseus in this celebrated tale, and in the *Midsummer Night's Dream*, as well as of all the other *gothicised* representations of ancient heroes; of which Shakespeare's *Troilus and Cressida*, his *Rape of Lucrece*, and some passages of Spenser's *Fairy Queen*, afford further examples; Guido Colonna's *Historia Trojana*, written in 1260, was the original: a work long and widely popular, which had been translated, paraphrased, and imitated in French and English; and which

the barbarism of its incongruities, however palpable, had not as yet consigned to oblivion or contempt.

"George Gascoigne, besides his tragedy from Euripides, translated also a comedy from Ariosto, performed by the students of Gray's-Inn under the title of *The Supposes*; which was the first specimen in our language of a drama in prose. Italian literature was at this period cultivated amongst us with an assiduity unequalled either before or since; and it possessed few authors of merit or celebrity whose works were not speedily familiarized to the English public through the medium of translations. The study of this enchanting language found, however, a vehement opponent in Roger Ascham; who exclaims against the 'enchancements of Circe, brought out of Italy to mar men's manners in England; much by examples of ill life; but more by precepts of fond books, of late translated out of Italian into English, and sold in every shop in London.' He afterwards declares that 'there be more of these ungracious books set out in print within these few months than have been seen in England many years before.' To these strictures on the moral tendencies of the popular writers of Italy some force must be allowed; but it is obvious to remark, that similar objections might be urged with at least equal cogency against the favourite classics of Ascham; and that the use of so valuable an instrument of intellectual advancement as the free introduction of the literature of a highly polished nation into one comparatively

ratively rude, is not to be denied to beings capable of moral discrimination, from the apprehension of such partial and incidental injury as may arise out of its abuse.

Italy, in fact, was at once the plenteous storehouse whence the English poets, dramatists, and romance writers of the latter half of the sixteenth century drew their most precious materials; the school where they acquired taste and skill to adapt them to their various purposes; and the Parnassian mount on which they caught the purest inspirations of the muse.

"Elizabeth was a zealous patroness of these studies; she spoke the Italian language with fluency and elegance; and used it frequently in her mottoes and devices: by her encouragement, as we shall see, Harrington was urged to complete his version of the *Orlando Furioso*; and she willingly accepted in the year 1600 the dedication of Fairfax's admirable translation of the great epic of Tasso.

"But to return to our dramatic writers:—Thomas Kyd was the author of a tragedy entitled *Jerónimo*, which, for the absurd horrors of its plot, and the mingled puerility and bombast of its language, was a source of perpetual ridicule to rival poets; while from a certain wild pathos, combined with its imposing grandiloquence, it was long a favourite with the people. The same person also translated a play by Garnier, on the story of *Cornelia* the wife of *Pompey*;—a solitary instance apparently of obligation to the French theatre on the part of these founders of our national drama.

"By Thomas Hughes the misfortunes of Arthur, son of Uther Pendragon, were made the subject of a tragedy performed before the queen.

"Preston, to whom when a youth her majesty had granted a pension of a shilling a day in consideration of his excellent acting in the play of *Palamon and Arcite*, composed on the story of *Cambyses* king of Persia, 'A lamentable tragedy mixed full of pleasant mirth;' which is now only remembered as having been an object of ridicule to Shakespeare.

"Lilly, the author of *Euphues*, composed six court comedies and other pieces principally on classical subjects, but disfigured by all the barbarous affectations of style which had marked his earlier production.

"Christopher Marlow, unquestionably a man of genius, however deficient in taste and judgment, astonished the world with his *Tamburlain the Great*, which became in a manner proverbial for its rant and extravagance: he also composed, but in a purer style and with a pathetic cast of sentiment, a drama on the subject of king Edward II.; and ministered fuel to the ferocious prejudices of the age by his fiend-like portraiture of *Barabas* in the rich Jew of Malta. Marlow was also the author of a tragedy, in which the sublime and the grotesque were extraordinarily mingled, on the noted story of *Dr. Faustus*; a tale of preternatural horrors, which, after the lapse of two centuries, was again to receive a similar distinction from the pen of one of the most celebrated of German dramatists:—not the only example which could be produced

duced of a coincidence of taste between the early tragedians of the two countries.

"Of the works of these and other contemporary poets, the fathers of the English theatre, some are extant in print; others have come down to us in manuscript; and of no inconsiderable portion the titles alone survive. A few have acquired an incidental value in the eyes of the curious, as having furnished the ground-work of some of the dramas of our great poet; but not one of the number can justly be said to make a part of the living literature of the country.

"It was reserved for the transcendent genius of Shakespeare alone,—in that infancy of our theatre when nothing proceeded from the crowd of rival dramatists but rude and abortive efforts, ridiculed by the learned and judicious of their own age, and forgotten by posterity,—to astonish and enchant the nation with those inimitable works which form the perpetual boast and immortal heritage of Englishmen.

"By a strange kind of fatality, which excites at once our surprise and our unavailing regrets, the domestic and the literary history of this great luminary of his age are almost equally enveloped in doubt and obscurity. Even of the few particulars of his origin and early adventures which have reached us through various channels, the greater number are either imperfectly attested, or exposed to objections of different kinds, which render them of little value; and respecting his theatrical life, the most important circumstances still remain matter of

conjecture, or at best of remote inference.

"When Shakespeare first became a writer for the stage;—what was his earliest production;—whether all the pieces usually ascribed to him be really his; and whether there be any others of which he was entirely or in part the author;—what degree of assistance he either received from other dramatic writers or lent to them;—in what chronological order his acknowledged pieces ought to be arranged; and what dates should be assigned to their first representations;—are all questions on which the ingenuity and indefatigable diligence of a crowd of editors, critics, and biographers, have long been exerted, without producing any considerable approximation to certainty or to general agreement.

"On a subject so intricate, it will suffice for the purposes of the present work to state a few of the leading facts, which appear to rest on the most satisfactory authorities. William Shakespeare, who was born at Stratford in 1564, settled in London about 1586 or 1587; and seems to have almost immediately adopted the profession of an actor. Yet his earliest effort in composition was not of the dramatic kind; for in 1593 he dedicated to his great patron the earl of Southampton, as 'the first heir of his invention,' his *Venus and Adonis*, a narrative poem of considerable length, in the six-line stanza, then popular. In the subsequent year he also inscribed to the same noble friend his *Rape of Lucrece*; a still longer poem of similar form in the stanza of seven lines; and containing passages of vivid description,

scription, of exquisite imagery and of sentimental excellence, which, had he written nothing more, would have entitled him to rank on a level with the author of the Faery Queen, and far above all other contemporary poets. He likewise employed his pen occasionally in the composition of sonnets, principally devoted to love and friendship, and written perhaps in emulation of these of Spenser; who, as one of those sonnets testifies, was at this period the object of his ardent admiration.

"Before the publication, however, of any one of these poems, he must already have attained considerable note as a dramatic author; since Robert Green, in a satirical piece printed in 1592, speaking of theatrical concerns, stigmatizes this 'player' as 'an absolute Joannes Factotum;' and one who was, 'in his own conceit, the only Shake-scene in a country.'

"The tragedy of Pericles, which was published in 1609, with the name of Shakespeare in the title page; and of which Dryden says in one of his prologues to a first play, 'Shakespeare's own muse his Pericles first bore;' was probably acted in 1590, and appears to have been long popular. Romeo and Juliet was certainly an early production of his muse; and one which excited much interest, as may well be imagined, amongst the younger portion of theatrical spectators.

"There is high satisfaction in observing, that the age showed itself worthy of the immortal genius whom it had produced and fostered. It is agreed on all hands that Shakespeare was be-

loved as a man, and admired and patronized as a poet. In the profession of an actor, indeed, his success does not appear to have been conspicuous; but the never-failing attraction of his pieces brought overflowing audiences to the Globe theatre in Southwark, of which he was enabled to become a joint proprietor. Lord Southampton is said to have once bestowed on him a munificent donation of a thousand pounds, to enable him to complete a purchase; and it is probable that this nobleman might also introduce him to the notice of his beloved friend the earl of Essex. Of any particular gratuities bestowed on him by her majesty, we are not informed; but there is every reason to suppose that he must have received from her, on various occasions, both praises and remuneration; for we are told that she caused several of his pieces to be represented before her; and that the Merry Wives of Windsor, in particular, owed its origin to her desire of seeing Falstaff exhibited as in love.

"It remains to notice the principal enactments of Elizabeth respecting the conduct of the theatre, some of which are remarkable. During the early part of her reign, Sunday being still regarded principally in the light of a holiday, her majesty not only selected that day, more frequently than any other, for the representation of plays at court for her own amusement; but by her license granted to Burbage in 1574, authorized the performance of them at the public theatre, *on Sundays only*, out of the hours of prayer. Five years after, however,

ever, Gosson, in his *School of Abuse*, complains that the players, 'because they are allowed to play every Sunday, make four or five Sundays at least every week.' To limit this abuse, an order was issued by the privy council in July 1591, purporting that no plays should be publicly exhibited on Thursdays; because on that day bear-baiting and similar pastimes had usually been practised; and in an injunction to the lord mayor four days after, the representation of plays on Sunday (or the Sabbath, as it now began to be called among the stricter sort of people) was utterly condemned; and it was further complained, that on 'all other days of the week, in divers places, the players do use to recite their plays, to the great hurt and destruction of the game of bear-baiting and like pastimes; which are maintained for her majesty's pleasure.'

"In the year 1589 her majesty thought proper to appoint commissioners to inspect all performances of writers for the stage, with full powers to reject and obliterate whatever they might esteem unmannerly, licentious, or irreverent:—a regulation which might seem to claim the applause of every friend to public decency, were not the state in which the dramas of this age have come down to posterity sufficient evidence, that to render these im-

pressive appeals to the passions of assembled multitudes, politically and not morally inoffensive, was the genuine or principal motive of this act of power.

"In illustration of this remark, the following passage may be quoted:—'At supper' the queen 'would divert herself with her friends and attendants; and if they made her no answer, she would put them upon mirth and pleasant discourse with great civility. She would then admit Tarleton, a famous comedian and pleasant talker, and other such men, to divert her with stories of the town, and the common jests and accidents. Tarleton, who was then the best comedian in England, had made a pleasant play; and when it was acting before the queen, he pointed at Raleigh, and said, 'See, the knave commands the queen!' for which he was corrected by a frown from the queen: yet he had the confidence to add, that he was of too much and too intolerable a power; and going on with the same liberty, he reflected on the too great power of the earl of Leicester; which was so universally applauded by all present, that she thought fit to bear these reflections with a seeming unconcernedness. But yet she was so offended, that she forbade Tarleton and all jesters from coming near her table.'

DOMESTIC ARCHITECTURE.

"DURING the period of English history included in our present survey, the nobility continued for the most part to inhabit their ancient castles; edifices which, originally adapted by strength of situation and construction merely to defence, were now in many instances, by the alteration of the original buildings and by the accession of additional ones, become splendid palaces. Among these it may be sufficient to mention Kennelworth, renowned for gorgeous festivities, where the earl of Leicester was reported to have expended 60,000 pounds in buildings.

"Some curious notices of the habitations of the time are preserved in Leland's Itinerary, written about 1535, as in the following description of Wreschill-castle, near Howden, in Yorkshire:—'Most part of the base court is of timber. The castle is moted about on three parts; the fourth part is dry, where the entry is into the castle. Five towers, one at each corner: the gateway is the fifth, having five lodgings in height; three of the other towers have four lodgings in height; the fourth containeth the buttery, pantry, pastry, lardery, and kitchen. In one of the towers a study called Paradise, where was a closet in the middle of eight squares latticed; about and at the top of every square was a desk lodged to set books on, &c. The garde robe in the castle was exceeding fair; and so were the gardens within the mote and the orchards without; and in the

orchards were mounts *opere topiario* writhen about with degrees like turnings of a cockle-shell, to come to top without pain.'

"These castles, though converted into dwellings of some convenience and magnificence, still retained formidable strength, which was proved in the following century, when so many of them sustained sieges for the king or parliament, and were finally dilapidated.

"Besides the regularly fortified castles, there were many mansion-houses of inferior importance, which, though not capable of resisting a regular siege, were strengthened against a tumultuous or hasty invasion. These houses generally formed a square of building enclosing a court, and surrounded by a moat. A drawbridge formed the only access, which was protected by an embattled gate-house. One side of the square was principally occupied by a great hall; and the offices and lodgings were distributed on the other sides. Oxburgh-hall, in Norfolk, and Layer Marney, in Essex, are fine examples of these houses. They were frequently of timber, as Moreton-hall, in Cheshire, Speke-hall, near Liverpool. Leland describes Morley-house, near Manchester, as 'builded, saving the foundation, of stone squared that riseth within a great mote a 6 foot above the water;—all of timber; after the common sort of building of the gentlemen for most of Lancashire.' Sometimes a strong tower was added at one corner

corner as a citadel, which might be maintained when the rest of the house was destroyed. This is the case with the curious house of Stoke Say, in Shropshire, where the situation near the Welsh border might render such an additional security desirable.

"Thus the forms of ancient fortification were continued awhile rather from habit or ostentation than from any more important motives; but in the new buildings, erected during the reign of Elizabeth and her successor, they were finally laid aside. In some stately houses, though the show of strength was discontinued, the general form remained however the same. The circuit of building was entire, and enclosed one or more courts; a gateway formed the entrance, and the great hall was placed at the opposite side of the first court. Such was Audley End, in its original state one of the largest and most sumptuous houses in the kingdom. In other instances the house assumes the half H shape, with the offices placed in the wings; and the circuit is only completed by terraces and low walls; the gatehouse remains as a detached lodge, or is entirely omitted: examples of this form are numerous; as Holland-house at Kensington, Oxnead and Blickling halls in Norfolk, Beaudesert and Wimbledon-house, built by Sir Thomas Cecil in 1588; remarkable for a great ascent of steps and terraces, disposed in a manner resembling some Italian villas. In others the offices are detached in separate masses, or concealed, or placed in a basement story; and only the body of the house remains, either as a solid mass or enclosing

small courts: this disposition does not differ from the most modern arrangements. Of these houses, Longleat, in Wiltshire, and Wollaton, near Nottingham, are fine examples.

"The distribution of domestic buildings is well illustrated in the Survey of Theobald's, taken by the parliament's commissioners in 1650. This mansion was built by lord Burleigh about 1560: it afterwards became a favourite residence of James I. who received it from lord Salisbury in exchange for the manor and palace of Hatfield. The Survey contains a very minute and accurate description of Theobald's palace, from which the following account is given partly in the words of the old surveyors:—It consisted of two principal quadrangles; besides the dial court, the buttery court, and the dove-house court, in which the offices were situated. The fountain court was a square of 86 feet, on the east side of which was a cloister of seven arches. On the ground-floor of this quadrangle was a spacious hall; the roof of which was arched with carved timber of curious workmanship. On the same floor were the lord Holland's, the marquis of Hamilton's, and lord Salisbury's apartments: the council-chamber and waiting-room. On the second floor was the presence-chamber, finished with carved oak wainscoting and a ceiling full of gilded pendants. Also the privy-chamber, the withdrawing-room, the king's bed-chamber, and a gallery 123 feet long: 'wainscoted with oak; and paintings over the same of divers cities, rarely painted and set forth; with a fret ceiling, with

with divers pendants, roses, and flower-de-luces; also divers large stags' heads, which were an excellent ornament to the same.' On the upper floor were the lord chamberlain's lodgings and several other apartments, with terrace walks on the leads. At each corner stood a high and fair tower, and over the hall in the middle 'a large and fair turret in the fashion of a lantern, curiously wrought with divers pinnacles at each corner, wherein hangeth 12 bells for chiming, and a clock with chimes and sundry work.' The middle court was a quadrangle of 110 feet square, on the south side of which were the queen's chapel, presence-chamber, and other apartments. The prince's lodgings were on the north side; on the east side was a cloister, over which was the green gallery, 109 feet by 12 feet, 'excellently well painted with the several shires in England and the arms of the noblemen and gentlemen in the same.' Over the gallery was a leaded walk, on which were two lofty arches of brick, 'of no small ornament to the house, and rendering it comely and pleasant to all that passed by.' On the west side of the quadrangle was another cloister on five arches; over which were the duke's lodgings, and over them the queen's gallery. On the south side of the house stood a large open cloister, built upon several large fair pillars, arched over 'with a fair rail and balustrades; well painted with the kings and queens of England, and the pedigree of the old lord Burleigh and divers other ancient families; with paintings of many castles and battles.' The gardens

at Theobald's were large; and ornamented with labyrinths, canals, and fountains. The great garden contained seven acres; besides which there were the pheasant garden, privy garden, and laundry garden. In the former were nine knots artificially and exquisitely made, one of which was set forth in likeness of the king's arms. This description, and Bacon's idea of a palace in his 45th Essay, with their numerous cloisters, galleries, and turrets, are well illustrated by the plan of Audley End, in its original state, given in Britton's *Architectural Antiquities*, vol. ii. It is such a mansion, also, that is described in the following lines of a contemporary poet:—

'High lifted up were many lofty towers,
And goodly galleries far overlaid,
Full of fair windows and delightful
bowers;
And on the top a dial told the timely
hours.'

Faery Queen, B. I. Canto IV.

"The houses erected during the sixteenth and the early part of the seventeenth century, were frequently of magnificent dimensions; picturesque from the varied lines and projections of the plan and elevation; and rich by the multiplicity of parts; but they had lost all beauty of detail. The builders, having abandoned the familiar and long-practised Gothic style, were now to serve their apprenticeship in Grecian architecture: 'stately Doricke and neat Ionicke work' were introduced as fashionable novelties; employed first in the porches and frontispieces, and gradually extended over the whole fronts of buildings. Among the architects employed at this period some foreign

foreign names occur. Holbein was much favoured by Henry VIII. and gave various designs for buildings at the old palaces of Whitehall and St. James's. John of Padua had a salary as deviser of his majesty's buildings; and was employed to build the palace of the protector Somerset. Jerome de Trevisi is also mentioned; and it is said that the designs for Longleat, and a model of Audley End, were obtained from Italy. The last circumstance is altogether extraordinary; this was the very best period of Italian architecture; and it seems highly improbable that semi-barbarous designs should proceed from the country of Palladio and Vignola. Thorpe, Smithson, and other Englishmen, were also eminent builders; and probably these persons might have travelled, and thus have gained the imperfect knowledge of Grecian architecture which appears in their works. They were immediately followed by Inigo Jones, who formed his style particularly on the works of Palladio, and became the founder of classic architecture in this country.

"There is a remarkable and beautiful analogy between the progress of Grecian and Gothic architecture; in both of which we find, that while the powers of decoration were extended, the process of construction was improved and simplified. Thus the Doric, the primitive order, is full of difficulties in its arrangement, which render it only applicable to simple plans, and to buildings where the internal distribution is of inferior consequence. The Ionic, though more ornamental, is by the suppression of the divisions in the

frieze so simplified as to be readily applicable to more complicated arrangements: still the capital presents difficulties from the dissimilarity of the front and sides; which objection is finally obviated by the introduction of that rich and exquisite composition, the Corinthian capital. Thus is obtained an order of the most elegant and ornamented character, but possessing a happy simplicity and regularity of composition, which render it more easy of application than any other. In like manner in the latter, which has been called the florid style of Gothic architecture, there are buildings astonishingly rich and elaborate; but we find this excess of ornament supported and rendered practicable by a principle of simplicity in design and construction. In the earlier and middle styles of Gothic there are various difficulties of execution, and some faults of composition: such as the slender detached shafts, the richly carved capitals, the flowing and varied tracery of windows; and that profuse variety in detail which frequently causes all the windows, capitals, buttresses, and pinnacles of the same buildings to differ from one another. But the later style has more uniformity in corresponding parts; the capitals are very generally composed of plain mouldings; and the divisions of the windows consist chiefly of horizontal and perpendicular lines, with few of the beautiful and difficult combinations of curves which are found in the preceding style. The general principle of decoration is to leave no plain surface, but to divide the whole into a series of panneling; by which is produced

produced an extraordinary richness of effect, though the parts, when examined separately, are generally of simple forms, and such as will admit of an easy and mechanical execution. The introduction of the four-centred arch enlarged the powers of design; enabled architects, in many instances, to proportion better the vault to the upright; and even to introduce vaults where they would have been inapplicable in the former style, on account of the want of elevation in rooms; as in the divinity school at Oxford. Without concurring in the ignorant wonder which has raised the vaulted ceilings of this style to the rank of mysteries; we may admire the ingenuity which has rendered real simplicity of construction the foundation of beautiful forms and of the most elaborate decoration. The most celebrated examples of this style are so highly finished, so exuberant in ornament, that the term *florid* has been applied as a characteristic epithet for the style; but there are many instances of very simple and unornamented buildings of the same period agreeing in all the essential principles of construction and design; and a late writer has with more propriety adopted the term *perpendicular* for this mode of architecture. This later Gothic; easy of construction, and possessing a variety of character applicable to every kind of building; is well adapted for modern imitation.

“ But the power of mutability was at work; and Gothic architecture was doomed to fall. The first step towards its decline was pursuing to excess the principle

of simplification, and retrenching the most essential ornaments. The large windows of houses were merely divided by horizontal and upright bars; and, deprived of tracery and feathering, were as void of beauty in the details as in the general proportions; buttresses and battlements were generally omitted. A great deterioration took place in the decorative part; the ornamental panels and friezes of the Gothic style, consisting of geometrical combinations of circles and straight lines, had always a distinct outline and a sharpness of effect which contrasted agreeably with the foliage so often intermixed; but these were succeeded by strange grotesque combinations; confused, and void of outline and regularity. The source of ornament was now sought in the orders and members of Grecian architecture: but the eyes which had been accustomed to the Gothic flutter of parts, were not prepared to relish the simplicity of line which is essential to the beauty of the Greek style. Columns of a small size, inaccurately and coarsely executed, with arcades and grotesque caryatids, formed the ornaments of porches and frontispieces,—as at Browsholme-house in Yorkshire, Wimbledon, and the schools-tower at Oxford,—or were spread over the whole front, and formed the cloisters and galleries in which those ancient mansions abounded; as at Holland-house, Longleat, Wollaton, Audley End, Long-ford castle, &c. The roofs were either faced with notched and curved gables, or screened by parapets of balustres or latticed work; and decorated

decorated with obelisks and columnar chimney shafts; while turrets and pavilions broke the line of elevation. The windows were very large, and frequently bowed: thus Bacon remarks, in the Essay before referred to, that 'you shall have sometimes fair houses so full of glass, that one cannot tell where to become to be out of the sun or cold.' In wooden houses; and particularly town houses, the upper stories generally projected beyond the lower, with windows extremely wide, so as to occupy almost the whole line of front. The timbers were frequently left bare, carved, and disposed in forms of panneling; while the various projections were supported by grotesque figures. Very curious houses of this character are still found in several old towns, as Chester, Shrewsbury, Coventry, and the obscure parts of London; though natural decay, fire, and modern improvements, are continually diminishing their number. Among interior decorations, chimney-pieces were very conspicuous: they were miniature frontispieces, consisting, like the porches of the houses, of a mass of columns, arches, niches, and caryatids, piled up to the ceiling. Of these there is one at the old Tabley-hall, in Cheshire, singularly rude and grotesque; though dated so late as 1619; containing a hunting-piece, and the figures of Lucrece and Cleopatra. Another in queen Elizabeth's gallery at Windsor castle is very rich; and comparatively pure and elegant in design. The sepulchral monuments of this age are very numerous, but only differ from those of an earlier date in

the substitution of the members of Grecian for those of Gothic architecture, or rather in the confused mixture of both.

"The unformed style of this period is well characterized in the following lines of Spenser, describing the access to the island containing the temple of Venus.

'It was a bridge ybuilt in goodly wise,
With curious corbs and pendants graven
fair;
And arched all with porches did arise
On stately pillars fram'd after the Doric
guise.'

Faery Queen, B. IV. Canto X.

"On the whole, this, though a glorious period for literature, was lost for the fine arts. The incongruous mixture of the conflicting principles of Grecian and Gothic architecture produced buildings more truly barbarous, more disgusting to a cultivated taste, than the rudest Norman work. Together with the architectural orders, our artists had received models and authorities for the grotesque style; which they were but too ready to follow. This extraordinary style of ornament had prevailed in ancient Rome early enough to be reprobated in the work of Vitruvius; and lay unobserved among obscure and subterraneous ruins till the discovery of the baths of Titus opened a rich magazine of gay and capricious ornament. Raffaele, struck with these remains of the antique art of painting, adopted the same style of ornament in the galleries of the Vatican; enriching and enlivening it with the stores of allegory and mythology furnished by his poetical fancy. The example of such a man could not want imitators; it influenced the whole architecture

architecture of France;—which very early possessed artists of great merit:—and appeared in this country with very inferior effect. It may well be imagined that this style, naturally licentious, and only rendered tolerable by grace of composition and brilliancy of execution, would become utterly contemptible, when presenting only coarsely executed and unmeaning extravagances.

“Such was the general character of art. We may however make discriminations, and admit comparative merit. Wimbledon-house, seated on the side of a hill, was remarkable for a magni-

ficent disposition of steps and terraces worthy an Italian villa. Wollaton-hall is admired by Mr. Price for the grandeur of its masses. Charlton-house has a very picturesque arrangement of heights in the elevation; Longleat, on the other hand, has much simplicity of form. In its square projections, and three orders of columns or pilasters, it bears no remote resemblance to the ancient part of the Louvre, built about thirty years previously; though without the purity and delicacy of the details of the architecture and sculpture which distinguish the French building.”

ARTICLE II.—*Antiquities.*

“At the meeting of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, Oct. 1, 1817, an interesting account of an extensive cavern, containing the remains of a colossal statue, recently discovered in the mountains in the vicinity of Shahpoor, in the modern province of Fars, the ancient Persis, was received from lieutenant R. Taylor, of the Bombay establishment, and presented by the secretary to the society. In September, 1816, Mr. Williams and captain Maude, of his majesty's ship *Favourite*, on visiting the site of the ancient city of Shahpoor, accompanied by Meer Shumsoodeen, a predatory chieftain—the cave, containing a prostrate colossal figure, was pointed out by the latter, who, from his plundering mode of life, was well acquainted with the hidden recesses of the mountains. The

cave is distant from Shahpoor three miles, on the opposite side of the river. From the base of the mountain, near the summit of which the excavation is made, no traces of a cavern are discernible. The ascent is difficult, chiefly from its perpendicular height. When the travellers had nearly reached the top, they found themselves at the foot of an abrupt rampart, about 30 feet high, the depth of which, from its upper edge to the entrance of the cave, to which it forms a level landing, was sixty feet. The entrance to the cavern was a plain, roughly-hewn arch, three feet high, and 35 feet wide, beyond which the height increases to 40 feet, and the width to 60 and 70. The figure, which is of stone, appears to have stood originally on a pedestal in the midst of this excavation, but was discovered.

covered lying on the ground, and the legs below the knees broken off. The costume appears to be similar to the sculptures at Shah-poor, Nukshi Roostum, and Persepolis, and with the same luxuriant flow of curled hair. Its arms rest upon the hips, and the costume is a robe, fastened by a small button at the neck, and falling loosely over the elbows, and in this respect differs from the sculptures just mentioned. The length of the face, from the forehead to the chin, is two feet three inches, and the length of the body four feet and a half. According to this measurement, the whole figure must have been about

fourteen feet high. From the statue, to the most retired parts of the cavern, the excavation increases in height and width. After passing down an inclined plane for about 20 feet, and up an ascent of about 50 feet more, the travellers reached a dry reservoir, seventeen feet by seven wide, and five feet deep. Farther on, they began to descend by torch light a low narrow passage in the rock, and reached another cavern, the roof of which was supported by a few huge shapeless pillars. No conjecture is offered respecting the use or object of this extraordinary excavation."

ARTS, SCIENCES,

AND

Natural History.

PART IV.

Observations on the Geology of the West India Islands, from Barbadoes to Santa Cruz, inclusive. By WILLIAM MACLURE.

[From the Journal of the Academy of Natural Sciences at Philadelphia.]

“THIS range of islands may, in a geological point of view, be divided into two distinct parts, one of which, occupying the eastern side, consists of a stratification of transition rocks, partially crowned by secondary, and embraces the islands of Barbadoes, Mariégallante, Grandterre in Guadaloupe, Deseada, Antigua, S. Bartholomew, St. Martin, Anguilla and Santa Cruz; the other part, consisting of volcanic formations, with a few partial coverings of secondary, occupies the western side of the range, including the Grenadines, St. Vincent, St. Lucie, Martinico, Dominica, Basseterre in Guadaloupe, Monserrat, Nevis, St. Christopher, St. Eustatia and Saba, where the volcanic formation appears to terminate.

“*Barbadoes.* The northern, 1818.

southern, and western sections of this island consist of rocks, formed of an aggregate of shells and madreporerocks, mixed with different kinds of corals, being partly consolidated into a mass by the attrition of the water, having the interstices filled by the particles that have been broken, and washed into them, sometimes even losing the marks of their original formation; and partly porous and full of cavities formed by the washing away of the shells and madreporerocks, and by the natural shelving of these rocks. This shell limestone is deposited in four or five horizontal strata, rising gradually to the height of eight hundred feet towards the centre of the island, and forming as many *plateaux* as there are strata, resembling, at a distant view, the steps of stairs. Thence to the eastward or windward is
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the district of Scotland, composed of strata of slate, alternating with limestone, and an aggregate cemented with lime, in grains of various sizes, and resembling much the different kinds of gray-wacke slate, dipping to the east, northerly, and running to the north, westerly; having every appearance of being the transition rock on which the madrepores and corals were formed.

"*Mariegalante, Grandterre* in Guadeloupe, and *Deseada*, are all formed of the madreporę rock, in horizontal strata, resembling the same formation in Barbadoes, the strata being elevated one above another, and forming a plateau or table of land, at the summit of each, but not rising so high as in Barbadoes. Grandterre in Guadeloupe has this formation, exhibiting more the appearance of undulations, with gentle ascents and declivities, containing some small streams and marshes, which would rather encourage the supposition that it rests on a volcanic basis, and is therefore more liable to have its rocks deranged from their present natural horizontal position.

"*Antigua*. This island not having been visited by the writer, he must take its description from the specimens brought from it, by which it may be concluded, that it is similar, in some of its geological traits, to the island of Barbadoes; having the same formation of madreporę rocks, some of which contain silex in the form of agates, &c.; which are valued, as beautiful specimens, by the curious. A part of the island consists of a stratified rock, in the form of a green schist, crossing the island from north to south, in

a zone of three or four miles width, affording the inhabitants a useful building stone. The southern side of the island is rugged and mountainous, and is described as being volcanic.

"*St. Bartholomew*. The formation throughout this island is evidently stratified, though in great confusion, (the word stratified is here used in contradistinction to volcanic) the strata running in a direction a little to the west of north, and dipping generally to the eastward, as far as could be ascertained from the disturbed and irregular position of the broken rocks. These rocks are found to consist of three or four species of limestone, two of them containing shells; some aggregates, which are cemented with limestone, and present much the appearance of transition formation; several species of hornblend rock, a little crystalline; amigdaloid, containing small nodules of *calcareous spar* and zeolite, which, when the stone is fresh broken, are undistinguishable from the mass, and discover their difference only when in a state of decomposition; a soft argillaceous mass, with spots of green, resembling the green earth of Verona; porphyry, with crystals of quartz and feldspar, imbedded in a red argillaceous base, &c. all of them alternating one with another occasionally, and assuming the appearance of a transition formation. But the various aspects which these rocks present, and the different stages of decomposition in which they are found, and in which they differ much from the rocks of a continent, or of northern climates, render it extremely difficult to determine which

which part may be secondary, and which transition.

" *St. Martin* and *Anguilla* are two small stratified islands, on a line with *St. Bartholomew*, and consisting of a similar formation.

" The island of *St. Thomas* may also be classed in this range. It is stratified, though in much confusion, and so deranged as to render it difficult to ascertain the general direction, which appears to be from north-west to south-east, dipping easterly. The rocks consist of a variety of aggregates, resembling the transition, some of which, when fresh, have the appearance of hornblend rocks, but when beginning to decompose, the aggregate appears, with a few plates of a black crystalline rock like hornblend. I found a yellowish brown quartz aggregate, resembling a rock, in the transition, at the Lehigh Falls in Pennsylvania.

" *Santa Cruz*. This island, though included in our first division, agrees rather with the direction of the volcanic islands; it appears however, that the volcanic formation ceases at *Saba*, and that *Santa Cruz* is composed of madrepora rocks at the west, and on the eastern side, of rocks similar to those of *St. Thomas* and *St. Bartholomew*. The west end and the middle of the island are low, and covered with a shell limestone and madrepora rock. The foundation on which this rock reposes is a stratum that retains water, and may be a compact limestone, as the bases of many of the little hills rest on solid limestone. The east end is composed of different kinds of limestone, alternating with amygdaloid, hornblend rock and por-

phyry, like the rocks of *St. Bartholomew*; it is likewise hilly and broken, being stratified in a direction nearly north and south.

" All the islands that have been described have a striking similarity both in their structure and the nature of their materials; those that are partly or wholly covered with the horizontal shell limestone, or madrepora rocks, are exactly the same; those partly or wholly formed of stratified rocks, consist of rocks more than half of which are limestone, or have considerable quantities of lime in them, and the remainder of the rocks differ very little, they have nearly the same dip and direction, have a strong characteristic mark of belonging to the transition class; though from their deranged state, and the peculiar mode of their decomposition, they differ a little in their appearance from the transition rocks of Europe, for the limestone is remarkably hard, dry, and brittle, breaking into sharp pieces, which sound like a bell when struck with a hammer: this may perhaps be the effect of the constant heat of the climate. The different appearance which these rocks assume, when in a state of decomposition, from those of northern latitudes, may in part be attributed to the climate, and partly to the same cause which produced the great confusion in which they are now found, particularly if that cause raised them from the bottom of the ocean, and exposed them to the influence of a perpetual sun. But this, like every cause which we cannot discover, must remain only problematical; for nature has so many modes of operating, and we are

as yet acquainted with so small a number of them, that our speculations beyond what we actually know, can at the best but reach to probable conjecture.

"*The Grenadines.* This group of islands is the commencement of the second or western range; we sailed through them without stopping, so that their geological character must be taken from their general appearance, which was completely volcanic, having rocks rising perpendicularly out of the ocean; one of which is called, from its form, the organ rock, being composed of columns of basalt. The rocks are in general rugged, and so deranged, that their volcanic character could not be mistaken.

"*St. Vincent*, like all the other volcanic islands, is composed of a mixture of lava and cinders, in all proportions. South of Kingston there appears to be more solid and porous lava, and less cinders than at the north. The Bay of Kingston has the appearance of being the remains of an ancient crater, the beds of lava inclining irregularly from the centre, at a considerable dip, as if they had been ejected from it. On every side, the rocks are aggregates of various kinds of roasted stones, cemented with cinders, and small atoms of scoria; and though many of the rolled rocks neither bear strong marks of fusion, nor resemble much recent lavas, yet they all have a family feature, and must be considered of volcanic origin. A substance like hornblend, with feldspar imbedded in it, forms the principal part of these rocks, which vary in colour, from nearly black to grey, the feldspar being

generally crystallized, and frequently diaphanous, passing through the porous or scorious rocks without indications of having undergone much change.

There are two principal modes by which the production of cinders or ashes may be accounted for; they may be thrown from the crater of a volcano during an eruption of lava, and in that case they consist of small pieces of scoria, pumice, &c. and are placed in strata of various thicknesses and colours, as if deposited by water; or they may be ejected from volcanoes nearly exhausted mixed with water and rocks, forming large beds or currents of an aggregate, which is in time cemented, and wears the appearance of a breccia. A third mode is, perhaps, the eruption of lava into the sea, at the commencement of submarine volcanoes, when by means of the sudden cooling, the melted lava might crumble into small angular sand, and form beds of cinders. From Kingston to the north end of the island, the same alternation of cinders and solid lava obtains, forming steep precipices and narrow vallies, the wearing and excavation of which, by the mountain torrents, is facilitated by the prevalence of the cinders, which increases as you approach the *soufriere*, a name given in the West Indies to spots which indicate the remains of a subsiding volcano, and whence hot sulphureous vapours are ejected through *fumerols*, depositing sulphur, and converting the surrounding aluminous rocks into alum-stone, as at Solfaterra near Naples.

"The fumerols of this *soufriere* are

are at present extinguished, perhaps by the last irruption of cinders in 1812, when the crater threw forth a mixture of water, rocks, and cinders in a state approaching to ignition, resembling a current of lava; burning the woods, and filling all the channels of the little rivers that descend the mountain, and rising sometimes to the height of three or four hundred feet.

"This irruption consisted of a great quantity of angular sand, the broken masses of roasted and vitrified rocks being mixed with loose angular pieces of all sizes, brittle, and crumbling under the hammer. These imbedded rocks are, 1st. A rock resembling a small and middling sized grained granite, roasted, with diaphanous feldspar. 2. A gray rock, in plates, like gneiss, but much altered by the fire. 3d. A feldspar and hornblend rock, the feldspar crystallized and diaphanous, with the appearance of having been roasted. 4th. A hornblend rock, crystalline, having a roasted appearance. 5th. A dark coloured rock, with a conchoidal, even, vitreous fracture, containing crystals of feldspar, some pieces so vitreous as to resemble pitch-stone, and porphyry running through all the gradations from a gray rock, scarcely vitrified, to a total vitrification, and thence to a porous scoria, not unlike pumice, with transparent crystals of feldspar, taking a deeper tinge of black in proportion to the degree of vitrification. 6th. A bluish rock with feldspar, and some black crystals, having all the appearance of compact lava. If one supposes that volcanic action tends to form large cavities under the places

whence the lava, &c. issues, and that one, or more, of these cavities, where the combustible materials are exhausted, becomes filled with water, while other cavities, where these materials still remain, are filled with lava, &c. it would appear only necessary to unite the contents of two such caverns to produce all the effects of an irruption of cinders.

"*St. Lucia* I passed, and only observed it from the sea. It has the appearance of being rugged and steep, with few vallies, and perhaps not the same proportion of cinders as the other islands. It has an extensive soufriere at the foot of two sharp conical hills.

"*Martinico*. On the south side of the Bay of Port Royal, at Lamentine and Point de Bourg, there is a compact rock, dividing like trap, and decomposing into balls, which fall into a strong red clay, making an excellent soil; it rests upon a bed of cinders, and assumes in some places the form of basaltic columns.

"About Port Royal, and the hill to the north of it, there is a current of solid lava, which has formed the north side of the bay, decomposing into balls, and forming a strong soil.

"From Point Negro to *St. Peter's* the coast consists principally of cinders, mixed with lava rocks. Under the fort at the south end of *St. Peter's*, and near the Botanic Garden on the north side, there appears a mass of the same rock as occurs at Port Royal, approaching the basaltic form, and is full of vitreous crystals of feldspar.

"The region lying across the island from *St. Peter's* to Bass-point,

point, is composed, wholly to the summit of the land, of cinders and pumice, with vegetable earth lying between the beds of cinders, alternating two or three times. Descending to the windward part of the island, the cinders are found mixed with detached pieces of compact lava, and other rocks, with large blocks of pumice, till you come to the flat country, which is covered with cinders. It is natural to suppose that the greatest part of the light substances, such as cinders, pumice stones, &c. should go to leeward; yet in the irruption of St. Vincent, in 1812, very fine cinders fell on the decks of vessels three or four hundred miles to windward, supposed to have been carried by a counter current of air, in the upper regions of the atmosphere.

"*Dominica* is in general composed of cinders, with rolled and detached pieces of lava, pumice, &c. disseminated so as to form a kind of pudding stone, containing five times more of the cement than of the detached pieces. Where compact lava appears, it is in masses, seldom in currents, and generally covering the cinders.

"The *soufriere* is in the bottom of a bay, at the south end of the island, and has all the appearance of being the remains of an ancient crater: it is extensive, and furnishes at times both sulphur and alum, the quantity of alum rocks being considerable. There are other fumerols in the interior of the island, which might furnish alum and sulphur.

"On the top of the mountain, as you cross the island, there is a lake, having all the appearance of being an old crater, about which

the quantity of loose stones is greater, and of cinders less, than on the coast.

"A bed of coral and madre-pore limestone, with shells, lies horizontally on a bed of cinders, about two or three hundred feet above the level of the sea, at Rousseau, and is covered with cinders to a considerable height.

"*Basseterre* in *Guadaloupe*. On landing at St. Rose, at the north end, the red clay occurs as at Lamentine in Martinico, and is the result of the decomposition of the same compact blue basaltic rock, which appears to prevail over all the low country, dividing Grandterre from Basseterre. This blue rock is placed on a bed of cinders, and takes the form of an irregular basalt.

"From St. Rose to Delahay, along the coast, the head lands appear of solid rocks, like currents of lava, separated by narrow sandy vallies, the sand being partly white and calcareous, formed by the trituration of shells; and partly black, ferruginous, and crystalline, from the decomposition of solid lava: this ferruginous sand is found in all volcanic countries, and frequently is a distinguishing characteristic of volcanic regions. At a head land, about one league north of Pigeon Island, called Malendure, there occurs a current of red cinders, filled with small prisms of red stilbite, and having loose pieces of lava mixed, containing also the red stilbite; this makes the third locality where I found the red stilbite, two of them, viz. Vesuvius and this, are undoubtedly volcanic; the other, the valley of Falsa, in the Tirol, has been supposed to be of Neptunian origin by

by the Wernerians. Along the coast of Basseterre is found a mixture of cinders and lava, but more solid lava in currents, than in the other islands.

"About six leagues to the top of the cone, where the crater had been, and where the *soufriere* is now, I found a chasm or crack, in the mountain, which seemed to have been a crater, but which had been closed by some convulsion, where, by the removal of the middle, the sides had been impelled together with such force, as to break up the walls, and leave the whole in the greatest confusion. The *fumerols* are on the side of this crack, without any accumulation of sulphur, or alum rock, for these substances fall into the crack as fast as they are formed. The scenery is exceedingly rugged and wild; the rocks broken in immensely large masses, and irregularly thrown about in every direction. At the northern extremity of this crack lies what is called the cave, whence there issued about fifteen or twenty years ago, a flood of water and stones, which ran down the valley, at present called the valley of Faujas, in the utmost disorder. I am inclined to think that water only came from the crack, and that it ran over the mountain, sweeping in its course all the small stones and cinders, leaving those that were too large to be moved. This irruption of water was cool, and without any apparent connexion with heat, though it was most probably ejected by the force of some elastic fluid.

"*Montserrat*. I passed close to the leeward side of the island of *Montserrat*, but did not land.

The south side had an appearance of being partly composed of solid rock, and the rest of the island might be supposed to be constituted of cinders mixed with loose rocks, as it consists of one mountain, the sides of which are furrowed by the rain, gently, and not in precipices, as would have been the case had there been many currents of solid lava, which circumstance, with the flatness of the coast, and the gradual ascent of the mountain, would seem to indicate a great proportion of cinders.

"*Nevis* consists of one mountain in the middle, a truncated cone, I suppose about 2000 feet high; and one small elevation to the south, called Saddle-Hill, and another to the north called Round-Hill; the rest of the island is a gradual descent from these three hills to the sea. It is composed of large masses of rocks, and beds of cinders, gray, red, and black, of various degrees of solidity, from the pumice to the compact lava; the black crystals I take to be *augite*, or perhaps what *Werner* calls the *basaltic hornblend* of the *Cape de Gate* in *Spain*, many of the rocks being like those found at that place. The white or glassy I take to be *feldspar*, which, with a black substance resembling *hornblend*, constitutes a great proportion of the rocks of the volcanic islands in the *West Indies*. The nodules which are found occur more frequently in the centre of other rocks; they are of a small compact grain like *greenstone*, and not unlike those rounded pieces found in *granite*.

"About one mile and a half S. E. of *Charleston*, there is a *soufriere*

fiere almost extinct, which occupies about two or three acres of a level spot. One mile below, there is a hot spring, the water of which rises to 110 degrees of Fahrenheit, and is used as a medical bath; and on the edge of the sea, about half a mile distant, the heat of the earth is sufficient to make the water boil. To the north of Charleston there are likewise soufrieres; and there can be little doubt that on all the islands there have been a number of soufrieres which are now extinct and wasted away.

"*St. Christopher.* This island, near Basseterre, consists of beds of black, red, and gray cinders, varying in thickness from two inches to many feet, containing black and white crystals, resembling those found in the last cinder eruption of St. Vincent. The sand on the bay of Basseterre is mostly of the black iron kind, with scarcely any of the broken shells or madrepore rock. Along the coast to Old-Road, the formation is of cinders, with few detached rocks, and the same from Old-Road to Brimstone-Hill.

"Brimstone-Hill is a stratification of madrepore limestone, containing shells, at an angle of upwards of 50 degrees from the horizon, reposing upon a bed of volcanic cinders, and partly covered by volcanic eruptions, making a fine specimen of the alternation of the Neptunian and volcanic formation, which, for aught we know, may be repeated twenty or thirty times in the foundation of these islands, as every current of lava that runs into the sea is liable to be covered with corals, madrepores, &c. and after-

wards recovered with lava, until it comes above the surface of the sea.

"On the south end, above Sandy Point, there is more pumice stone; and at a point a little north there appear to be solid masses of compact rock, which look like currents of lava. From Sandy Point to Deep Bay, the rocks which occur are those mixed with cinders of a black colour, and full of glassy or transparent crystals.

"*St. Eustatia* is formed of two hills that appear to have been both craters of volcanoes; the western one is more ancient, and is filled up with earth, &c.; the eastern one is higher, and appears to be more recent, the crater being only partially filled. The space between these two hills is filled with cinders, forming a plain with a bay on each side; the one to the leeward is the harbour, on the edge of which stands the town.

"On the south-east side of the large hill, towards St. Christopher, there is a stratification of madrepore limestone, alternating with beds of shells, similar to those found at present in the sea. The whole of this marine deposition dips to the south-west at an angle of upwards of 45 degrees from the horizon, resting upon a bed of cinders, full of pumice and other volcanic rocks, and is immediately covered by a bed of madrepore, sand and cinders, mixed together, with blocks of volcanic rocks so disseminated that there can be no doubt of the volcanic origin of the substance above and below the madrepore rock, which may be from five to six hundred yards thick. Part of this

this madreporo rock is changed into silex, having the part that surrounded the animal converted into chalcedony. A considerable quantity of gypsum is found near the same place, in a crystalline state.

"*Saba*. This little island seems to finish the volcanic formation, and consists of one mountain, rather rougher and more rugged than *St. Eustatia*, but apparently of nearly the same kind of rocks.

"The foregoing description of the volcanic islands may perhaps authorize the following general remarks.

"1st. That there is a great similarity in the substances ejected, which are marked by a family feature running through all the rocks, cinders, &c. of the different islands; and it is to be observed that the proportion of cinders, pumice, and other light substances, is much greater than of the solid lavas, which are but thinly scattered; also that the cinders are always the lowest stratum on a level with the sea; and the masses of solid lava, near that level, repose on a bed of cinders, in every place where I had access to them.

"2d. The madreporo and coral rocks, mixed with shells, partly similar to those found at present in the sea, are found in many places alternating with the cinders, and other volcanic rocks, presenting much the appearance of the whole having been ejected from the bottom of the ocean.

"3d. The direction of the islands, running from north to south, a little easterly, corresponds with the direction of the strata of those stratified islands,

lying to the eastward: such as Barbadoes, *St. Bartholomew*, &c. which should seem to support the supposition, that the seat of combustion occupies a stratified substance, running parallel to the general stratification of the surrounding rocks.

"4th. In all the islands there are one or more *soufrieres*, all of which form alum rocks, and deposit sulphur, proving that sulphur is one of the ingredients that support the combustion, and perhaps giving strength to the supposition, that whatever may have been the original cause of the combustion, that cause is uniform, and the same through all the islands.

"5th. In the late eruption of cinders, there was a great quantity of stones thrown out, exhibiting no appearance of having ever been in a state of fusion, but only roasted by a considerable heat; most of these rocks have every appearance of belonging to the primitive class, by their crystalline structure, and the position of their component parts: from which it would appear reasonable that the following conjectures may be hazarded.

"1st. That the islands were probably thrown up from the bottom of the ocean.

"2d. That the seat of combustion is more probably in a substance stratified, and that sulphur is one of the combustible ingredients.

"3d. That the substance so stratified is most probably primitive, and that consequently the combustion is in the primitive region covered by the transition, which forms the islands of the eastern group."

POETRY.

PART V.

MAN, in his most rude and uncultivated state, is the creature of feeling and passion: his thoughts and his actions flow almost exclusively from these sources: hence poetry, or that mode of thought and expression which arises from feeling and passion, and appeals to feeling and passion, is the most ancient species of composition in existence, as well as that which most prevails in rude and uncivilized nations. But the same state of man, which gives rise to powerful poetry, renders it, in a great measure, destitute of correctness and taste; as man advances in refinement and knowledge, feeling and passion give place to reflection and reasoning, poetry becomes less bold and glowing,—flows less exclusively from feeling and passion,—but, at the same time, becomes more correct, and more accordant to taste.

These stages of poetry may be traced among all nations, and perhaps as clearly among our own as among any other: the change took place rather gradually; but after the Restoration had produced a very artificial state of feeling, thought and society among us, our poetry assumed a similar character: a certain set of thoughts,

metaphors, epithets and phrases, were deemed essential to poetry: the poet was no longer a creator; he no longer had the power to place his reader, because he had no longer the power to place himself, in a new world; to warm his heart and feelings; or to inspire that delicious or that powerful pleasure, which is derived from the more ancient poets.

Within these few years, however, another change has taken place in our poetry:—it has, in some measure, reassumed its ancient and peculiar character; and to this it has superadded new features. As the state of man in society becomes more complicated, and he seeks his happiness more from a mode of conduct which requires reflection, judgment, and constant and cool looking before and after; of course his feelings and passions lose their power. But at the same time the very habit of reflecting and meditating, of turning his thoughts inward on the working of his own mind and heart, opens sources of poetry to which man was a stranger, when he was the mere creature of feeling and passion.

Of this new species of poetry, the most distinguished and striking instances are to be found in
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the writings of Southey, Coleridge, Wilson, and particularly Wordsworth. Lord Byron occasionally displays it; but we would rather characterize his poetry, as depicting the workings of the most powerful feeling and passion, such as the poets of rude ages would have chosen for their theme, but with a depth of reflection,—a profound and philosophical analysis, and a compression of thought and language, to which they were utter strangers. These poets (with the exception of Lord Byron) are not popular; and their want of popularity arises, in our

opinion, from two causes: in the first place, because they have pushed their species of poetry beyond its proper bounds, and thus rendered it puerile and offensive to good taste; and secondly, because in what is really excellent in their poetry, they have advanced before the age in which they live: the feelings, meditations, and associations, which they delight in indulging, and which they of course paint most frequently in their poetry, are far above the reach of most of their readers.

ARTICLE I.—*Childe Harold's Pilgrimage. Canto the IVth.*
By Lord BYRON.

WE have already in this volume, as well as in the volume for 1817, given our opinion respecting Lord Byron's poetry so fully, that it is unnecessary to dwell on this Canto of Childe Harold. It certainly may be characterized as exhibiting all the

peculiar features of his poetry as distinctly and powerfully as any of his former works: while its interest is increased by its placing beyond a doubt, what was before only a surmise,—that in Childe Harold, Lord Byron meant to describe himself.

VENICE.

I.

"I stood in Venice, on the Bridge of Sighs;
A palace and a prison on each hand:
I saw from out the wave her structures rise
As from the stroke of the enchanter's wand:
A thousand years their cloudy wings expand
Around me, and a dying glory smiles
O'er the far times, when many a subject land
Look'd to the winged lion's marble piles,
Where Venice sat in state, thron'd on her hundred isles!

"She

II.

“ She looks a sea Cybele, fresh from ocean,
 Rising with her tiara of proud towers
 At airy distance, with majestic motion,
 A ruler of the waters and their powers :
 And such she was ;—her daughters had their dowers
 From spoils of nations, and the exhaustless east
 Pour'd in her lap all gems in sparkling showers.
 In purple was she robed, and of her feast
 Monarchs partook, and deem'd their dignity increas'd.

III.

“ In Venice Tasso's echoes are no more,
 And silent rows the songless gondolier ;
 Her palaces are crumbling to the shore,
 And music meets not always now the ear :
 Those days are gone—but beauty still is here.
 States fall, arts fade—but nature doth not die,
 Nor yet forget how Venice once was dear,
 The pleasant place of all festivity,
 The revel of the earth, the masque of Italy !

IV.

“ But unto us she hath a spell beyond
 Her name in story, and her long array
 Of mighty shadows, whose dim forms despond
 Above the dogeless city's vanish'd sway ;
 Ours is a trophy which will not decay
 With the Rialto ; Shylock and the Moor,
 And Pierre, can not be swept or worn away—
 The keystones of the arch ! though all were o'er,
 For us repeopled were the solitary shore.

V.

“ The beings of the mind are not of clay ;
 Essentially immortal, they create
 And multiply in us a brighter ray
 And more beloved existence : that which Fate
 Prohibits to dull life, in this our state
 Of mortal bondage, by these spirits supplied,
 First exiles, then replaces what we hate ;
 Watering the heart whose early flowers have died,
 And with a fresher growth replenishing the void.

“ Such

VI.

“ Such is the refuge of our youth and age,
The first from hope, the last from vacancy;
And this worn feeling peoples many a page,
And, may be, that which grows beneath mine eye :
Yet there are things whose strong reality
Outshines our fairy-land ; in shape and hues
More beautiful than our fantastic sky,
And the strange constellations which the muse
O'er her wild universe is skilful to diffuse :

VII.

“ I saw or dreamed of such,—but let them go—
They came like truth, and disappeared like dreams ;
And whatsoe'er they were—are now but so :
I could replace them if I would, still teems
My mind with many a form which aptly seems
Such as I sought for, and at moments found ;
Let these too go—for waking Reason deems
Such over-weening phantasies unsound,
And other voices speak, and other sights surround.

VIII.

“ I've taught me other tongues—and in strange eyes
Have made me not a stranger ; to the mind
Which is itself, no changes bring surprise ;
Nor is it harsh to make, nor hard to find
A country with—ay, or without mankind ;
Yet was I born where men are proud to be,
Not without cause ; and should I leave behind
The inviolate island of the sage and free,
And seek me out a home by a remoter sea,

IX.

“ Perhaps I loved it well : and should I lay
My ashes in a soil which is not mine,
My spirit shall resume it—if we may
Unbodied choose a sanctuary. I twine
My hopes of being remembered in my line
With my land's language : if too fond and far
These aspirations in their scope incline,—
If my fame should be, as my fortunes are,
Of hasty growth and blight, and dull Oblivion bar

“ My

X.

“ My name from out the temple where the dead
 Are honoured by the nations—let it be—
 And light the laurels on a loftier head!
 And be the Spartan's epitaph on me—
 ‘Sparta hath many a worthier son than he.’
 Meantime I seek no sympathies, nor need;
 The thorns which I have reaped are of the tree
 I planted,—they have torn me,—and I bleed:
 I should have known what fruit would spring from such a seed.

XI.

“ The spouseless Adriatic mourns her lord;
 And, annual marriage now no more renewed,
 The Bucentaur lies rotting unrestored,
 Neglected garment of her widowhood!
 St. Mark yet sees his lion where he stood
 Stand, but in mockery of his withered power,
 Over the proud place where an emperor sued,
 And monarchs gazed and envied in the hour
 When Venice was a queen with an unequalled dower.

XII.

“ The Sarmatian sued, and now the Austrian reigns—
 An emperor tramples where an emperor knelt;
 Kingdoms are shrunk to provinces, and chains
 Clank over sceptred cities; nations melt
 From power's high pinnacle, when they have felt
 The sunshine for a while, and downward go
 Like lawine loosen'd from the mountain's belt;
 Oh for one hour of blind old Dandolo!
 Th' octogenarian chief, Byzantium's conquering foe.

XIII.

“ Before St. Mark still glow his steeds of brass,
 Their gilded collars glittering in the sun;
 But is not Doria's menace come to pass?
 Are they *not bridled*?—Venice, lost and won,
 Her thirteen hundred years of freedom done,
 Sinks, like a sea-weed, into whence she rose!
 Better be whelm'd beneath the waves, and shuns,
 Even in destruction's depth, her foreign foes,
 From whom submission wrings an infamous repose.

“ In

XIV.

“ In youth she was all glory,—a new Tyre,—
 Her very by-word sprung from victory,
 The ‘ Planter of the Lion,’ which through fire
 And blood she bore o’er subject earth and sea;
 Though making many slaves, herself still free,
 And Europe’s bulwark ’gainst the Ottomite;
 Witness Troy’s rival, Candia! Vouch it, ye
 Immortal waves that saw Lepanto’s fight!
 For ye are names no time nor tyranny can blight.

XV.

“ Statues of glass—all shiver’d—the long file
 Of her dead doges are declin’d to dust;
 But where they dwelt, the vast and sumptuous pile
 Bespeaks the pageant of their splendid trust;
 Their sceptre broken, and their sword in rust,
 Have yielded to the stranger: empty halls,
 Thin streets, and foreign aspects, such as must
 Too oft remind her who and what enthral,
 Have flung a desolate cloud o’er Venice’ lovely walls.

XVI.

“ When Athens’ armies fell at Syracuse,
 And fetter’d thousands bore the yoke of war,
 Redemption rose up in the Attic muse,
 Her voice their only ransom from afar:
 See! as they chant the tragic hymn, the car
 Of the o’ermaster’d victor stops, the reins
 Fall from his hands—his idle scimitar
 Starts from its belt—he rends his captive’s chains,
 And bids him thank the bard for freedom and his strains.

XVII.

“ Thus, Venice, if no stronger claims were thine,
 Were all thy proud historic deeds forgot,
 Thy choral memory of the bard divine,
 Thy love of Tasso, should have cut the knot
 Which ties thee to thy tyrants; and thy lot
 Is shameful to the nations,—most of all,
 Albion! to thee: the Ocean queen should not
 Abandon Ocean’s children; in the fall
 Of Venice think of thine, despite thy watery wall.

“ I lov’d

XVIII.

" I lov'd her from my boyhood—she to me
 Was as a fairy city of the heart,
 Rising like water-columns from the sea,
 Of joy the sojourn, and of wealth the mart;
 And Otway, Radcliffe, Schiller, Shakspeare's art,
 Had stamp'd her image in me, and even so,
 Although I found her thus, we did not part,
 Perchance even dearer in her day of woe,
 Than when she was a boast, a marvel, and a show.

XIX.

" I can repeople with the past—and of
 The present there is still for eye and thought,
 And meditation chasten'd down, enough;
 And more, it may be, than I hoped or sought;
 And of the happiest moments which were wrought
 Within the web of my existence, some
 From thee, fair Venice! have their colours caught:
 There are some feelings time can not benumb,
 Nor torture shake, or mine would now be cold and dumb.

XX.

" But from their nature will the tannen grow.
 Loftiest on loftiest and least shelter'd rocks,
 Rooted in barrenness, where nought below
 Of soil supports them 'gainst the Alpine shocks
 Of eddying storms; yet springs the trunk, and mocks
 The howling tempest, till its height and frame
 Are worthy of the mountains from whose blocks
 Of bleak, grey, granite, into life it came,
 And grew a giant tree;—the mind may grow the same.

XXI.

" Existence may be borne, and the deep root
 Of life and sufferance make its firm abode
 In bare and desolated bosoms: mute
 The camel labours with the heaviest load,
 And the wolf dies in silence,—not bestow'd
 In vain should such example be; if they,
 Things of ignoble or of savage mood,
 Endure and shrink not, we of nobler clay
 May temper it to bear,—it is but for a day.

" All

XXII.

“ All suffering doth destroy, or is destroy'd,
Even by the sufferer; and, in each event
Ends:—Some, with hope replenish'd and rebuoy'd;
Return to whence they came—with like intent,
And weave their web again; some, bow'd and bent,
Wax gray and ghastly, withering ere their time,
And perish with the reed on which they leant;
Some seek devotion, toil, war, good, or crime,
According as their souls were form'd to sink or climb:

XXIII.

“ But ever and anon of griefs subdued
There comes a token like a scorpion's sting,
Scarce seen, but with fresh bitterness imbued;
And slight withal may be the things which bring
Back on the heart the weight which it would fling
Aside for ever: it may be a sound—
A tone of music;—summer's eve—or spring,
A flower—the wind—the ocean—which shall wound,
Striking the electric chain wherewith we are darkly bound;

XXIV.

“ And how and why we know not, nor can trace
Home to its cloud this lightning of the mind,
But feel the Shock renew'd, nor can efface
The blight and blackening which it leaves behind,
Which out of things familiar, undesign'd,
When least we deem of such, calls up to view
The spectres whom no exorcism can bind,
The cold—the changed—perchance the dead—anew,
The mourn'd, the loved, the lost—too many!—yet how few!

XXV.

“ But my soul wanders; I demand it back
To meditate amongst decay, and stand
A ruin amidst ruins; there to track
Fall'n states and buried greatness, o'er a land
Which *was* the mightiest in its old command,
And *is* the loveliest, and must ever be
The master-mould of Nature's heavenly hand,
Wherein were cast the heroic and the free,
The beautiful, the brave—the lords of earth and sea,

XXVI.

“ The commonwealth of kings, the men of Rome !
 And even since, and now, fair Italy !
 Thou art the garden of the world, the home
 Of all Art yields, and Nature can decree ;
 Even in thy desert, what is like to thee ?
 Thy very weeds are beautiful, thy waste
 More rich than other climes' fertility ;
 Thy wreck a glory, and thy ruin graced
 With an immaculate charm which can not be defaced.

XXVII.

“ The moon is up, and yet it is not night—
 Sunset divides the sky with her—a sea
 Of glory streams along the Alpine height
 Of blue Friuli's mountains ; Heaven is free
 From clouds, but of all colours seems to be
 Melted to one vast Iris of the West,
 Where the Day joins the past Eternity ;
 While, on the other hand, meek Dian's crest
 Floats through the azure air—an island of the blest !

XXVIII.

“ A single star is at her side, and reigns.
 With her o'er half the lovely heaven ; but still
 Yon sunny sea heaves brightly, and remains
 Roll'd o'er the peak of the far Rætian hill,
 As Day and Night contending were, until
 Nature reclaim'd her order :—gently flows
 The deep-dyed Brenta, where their hues instil
 The odorous purple of a new-born rose,
 Which streams upon her stream, and glass'd within it glows,

XXIX.

“ Fill'd with the face of heaven, which, from afar,
 Comes down upon the waters ; all its hues,
 From the rich sunset to the rising star,
 Their magical variety diffuse :
 And now they change ; a paler shadow strews
 Its mantle o'er the mountains ; parting day
 Dies like the dolphin, whom each pang imbues
 With a new colour as it gasps away,
 The last still loveliest, till—'tis gone—and all is gray.”

“ DESCRIPTION

DESCRIPTION OF THE LAOCOON, AND APOLLO BELVIDERE;—AND
CONCLUSION OF THE POEM.

CLX.

“ OR, turning to the Vatican, go see
Laocoon's torture dignifying pain—
A father's love and mortal's agony
With an immortal's patience blending:—Vain
The struggle; vain, against the coiling strain
And gripe, and deepening of the dragon's grasp,
The old man's clench; the long envenomed chain
Rivets the living links,—the enormous asp
Enforces pang on pang, and stifles gasp on gasp.

CLXI.

“ Or view the Lord of the unerring bow,
The God of life, and poesy, and light—
The Sun in human limbs arrayed, and brow
All radiant from his triumph in the fight;
The shaft hath just been shot—the arrow bright
With an immortal's vengeance; in his eye
And nostril beautiful disdain, and might,
And majesty, flash their full lightnings by,
Developing in that one glance the Deity.

CLXII.

“ But in his delicate form—a dream of Love,
Shaped by some solitary nymph, whose breast
Long'd for a deathless lover from above,
And madden'd in that vision—are exprest
All that ideal beauty ever bless'd
The mind within its most unearthly mood,
When each conception was a heavenly guest—
A ray of immortality—and stood,
Star-like, around, until they gathered to a god!

CLXIII.

“ And if it be Prometheus stole from heaven
The fire which we endure, it was repaid
By him to whom the energy was given
Which this poetic marble hath array'd
With an eternal glory—which, if made
By human hands, is not of human thought;
And Time himself hath hallowed it, nor laid
One ringlet in the dust—nor hath it caught
A tinge of years, but breathes the flame with which 'twas wrought.

CLXIV.

“ But where is he, the Pilgrim of my song,
 The being who upheld it through the past?
 Methinks he cometh late and tarries long.
 He is no more—these breathings are his last;
 His wanderings done, his visions ebbing fast,
 And he himself as nothing:—if he was
 Aught but a phantasy, and could be class'd
 With forms which live and suffer—let that pass—
 His shadow fades away into Destruction's mass,

CLXV.

“ Which gathers shadow, substance, life, and all
 That we inherit in its mortal shroud,
 And spreads the dim and universal pall
 Through which all things grow phantoms; and the cloud
 Between us sinks and all which ever glow'd,
 Till Glory's self is twilight, and displays
 A melancholy halo scarce allowed
 To hover on the verge of darkness; rays
 Sadder than saddest night, for they distract the gaze,

CLXVI.

“ And send us prying into the abyss,
 To gather what we shall be when the frame
 Shall be resolv'd to something less than this
 Its wretched essence; and to dream of fame,
 And wipe the dust from off the idle name
 We never more; shall hear,—but never more,
 Oh, happier thought! can we be made the same:
 It is enough in sooth that *once* we bore
 These fardels of the heart—the heart whose sweat was gore.

CLXVII.

“ Hark! forth from the abyss a voice proceeds,
 A long low distant murmur of dread sound,
 Such as arises when a nation bleeds
 With some deep and immedicable wound;
 Through storm and darkness yawns the rending ground,
 The gulf is thick with phantoms, but the chief
 Seems royal still, though with her head discrown'd,
 And pale, but lovely, with maternal grief
 She clasps a babe, to whom her breast yields no relief.

“ Scion

CLXVIII.

“ Scion of chiefs and monarchs, where art thou?
 Fond hope of many nations, art thou dead?
 Could not the grave forget thee, and lay low
 Some less majestic, less beloved head?
 In the sad midnight, while thy heart still bled,
 The mother of a moment, o'er thy boy,
 Death hush'd that pang for ever: with thee fled
 The present happiness and promised joy
 Which fill'd the imperial isles so full it seem'd to cloy.

CLXIX.

“ Peasants bring forth in safety.—Can it be,
 Oh thou that wert so happy, so adored!
 Those who weep not for kings shall weep for thee,
 And Freedom's heart, grown heavy, cease to hoard
 Her many griefs for ONE; for she had pour'd
 Her orisons for thee, and o'er thy head
 Beheld her Iris.—Thou, too, lonely lord,
 And desolate consort—vainly wert thou wed!
 The husband of a year! the father of the dead!

CLXX.

“ Of sackcloth was thy wedding garment made;
 Thy bridal's fruit is ashes: in the dust
 The fair-haired Daughter of the Isles is laid,
 The love of millions! How we did entrust
 Futurity to her! and, though it must
 Darken above our bones, yet fondly deem'd
 Our children should obey her child, and bless'd
 Her and her hoped-for seed, whose promise seem'd
 Like stars to shepherds' eyes:—'twas but a meteor beam'd.

CLXXI.

“ Woe unto us, not her; for she sleeps well:
 The fickle reek of popular breath, the tongue
 Of hollow counsel, the false oracle,
 Which from the birth of monarchy hath rung
 Its knell in princely ears, till the o'erstung
 Nations have arm'd in madness, the strange fate
 Which tumbles mightiest sovereigns, and hath flung
 Against their blind omnipotence a weight
 Within the opposing scale, which crushes soon or late,

“ These

CLXXII.

“ These might have been her destiny ; but no,
 Our hearts deny it : and so young, so fair,
 Good without effort, great without a foe ;
 But now a bride and mother—and now *there* !
 How many ties did that stern moment tear !
 From thy Sire’s to his humblest subject’s breast
 Is linked the electric chain of that despair,
 Whose shock was as an earthquake’s, and oppress
 The land which loved thee so that none could love thee best.

CLXXIII.

“ Lo, Nemi ! navelled in the woody hills
 So far, that the uprooting wind which tears
 The oak from his foundation, and which spills
 The ocean o’er its boundary, and bears
 Its foam against the skies, reluctant spares
 The oval mirror of thy glassy lake ;
 And, calm as cherish’d hate, its surface wears
 A deep cold settled aspect nought can shake,
 All coiled into itself and round, as sleeps the snake.

CLXXIV.

“ And near Albano’s scarce divided waves
 Shine from a sister valley ;—and afar
 The Tiber winds, and the broad ocean laves
 The Latian coast where sprung the Epic war,
 ‘ Arms and the Man,’ whose re-ascending star
 Rose o’er an empire ;—but beneath thy sight
 Tully reposed from Rome ;—and where yon bar
 Of girdling mountains intercepts the sight
 The Sabine farm was till’d, the weary bard’s delight.

CLXXV.

“ But I forget.—My pilgrim’s shrine is won,
 And he and I must part,—so let it be,—
 His task and mine alike are nearly done ;
 Yet once more let us look upon the sea ;
 The midland ocean breaks on him and me,
 And from the Alban Mount we now behold
 Our friend of youth, that ocean, which when we
 Beheld it last by Calpe’s rock unfold
 Those waves, we followed on till the dark Euxine roll’d

“ Upon

CLXXVI.

“ Upon the blue Symplegades : long years—
 Long, though not very many, since have done
 Their work on both ; some suffering and some tears
 Have left us nearly where we had begun :
 Yet not in vain our mortal race hath run,
 We have had our reward—and it is here ;
 That we can yet feel gladden'd by the sun,
 And reap from earth, sea, joy almost as dear
 As if there were no man to trouble what is clear.

CLXXVII.

“ Oh ! that the Desert were my dwelling place,
 With one fair Spirit for my minister,
 That I might all forget the human race,
 And, hating no one, love but only her !
 Ye Elements !—in whose ennobling stir
 I feel myself exalted—Can ye not
 Accord me such a being ? Do I err
 In deeming such inhabit many a spot ?
 Though with them to converse can rarely be our lot.

CLXXVIII.

“ There is a pleasure in the pathless woods,
 There is a rapture on the lonely shore,
 There is society, where none intrudes,
 By the deep Sea, and music in its roar :
 I love not Man the less, but Nature more,
 From these our interviews ; in which I steal
 From all I may be, or have been before,
 To mingle with the Universe, and feel
 What I can ne'er express, yet can not all conceal,

CLXXIX.

“ Roll on, thou deep and dark blue ocean—roll !
 Ten thousand fleets sweep over thee in vain ;
 Man marks the earth with ruin—his control
 Stops with the shore ;—upon the watery plain
 The wrecks are all thy deed, nor doth remain
 A shadow of man's ravage, save his own,
 When, for a moment, like a drop of rain,
 He sinks into thy depths with bubbling groan,
 Without a grave, unbell'd, uncoffin'd, and unknown.

“ His

CLXXX.

“ His steps are not upon thy paths,—thy fields
 Are not a spoil for him,—thou dost arise
 And shake him from thee; the vile strength he wields
 For earth's destruction thou dost all despise,
 Spurning him from thy bosom to the skies,
 And send'st him, shivering in thy playful spray
 And howling, to his Gods, where haply lies
 His petty hope in some near port or bay,
 And dashest him again to earth:—there let him lay.

CLXXXI.

“ The armaments which thunderstrike the walls
 Of rock-built cities, bidding nations quake,
 And monarchs tremble in their capitals,
 The oak leviathans, whose huge ribs make
 Their clay creator the vain title take
 Of lord of thee, and arbiter of war;
 These are thy toys, and, as the snowy flake,
 They melt into thy yeast of waves, which mar
 Alike the Armada's pride, or spoils of Trafalgar.

CLXXXII.

“ Thy shores are empires, changed in all save thee—
 Assyria, Greece, Rome, Carthage, what are they?
 Thy waters wasted them while they were free,
 And many a tyrant since; their shores obey
 The stranger, slave, or savage; their decay
 Has dried up realms to deserts:—not so thou,
 Unchangeable save to thy wild waves' play—
 Time writes no wrinkle on thine azure brow—
 Such as creation's dawn beheld, thou rollest now.

CLXXXIII.

“ Thou glorious mirror, where the Almighty's form
 Glasses itself in tempests; in all time,
 Calm or convuls'd—in breeze, or gale, or storm,
 Icing the pole, or in the torrid clime
 Dark-heaving;—boundless, endless, and sublime—
 The image of eternity—the throne
 Of the Invisible; even from out thy slime
 The monsters of the deep are made; each zone
 Obeys thee; thou goest forth, dread, fathomless, alone.

“ And

CLXXXIV.

“ And I have loved thee, Ocean! and my joy
Of youthful sports was on thy breast to be
Borne, like thy bubbles, onward:—from a boy
I wantoned with thy breakers—they to me
Were a delight; and if the freshening sea
Made them a terror—’twas a pleasing fear,
For I was as it were a child of thee,
And trusted to thy billows far and near,
And laid my hand upon thy mane—as I do here.

CLXXXV.

“ My task is done—my song hath ceased—my theme
Has died into an echo; it is fit
The spell should break of this protracted dream.
The torch shall be extinguish’d which hath lit
My midnight lamp—and what is writ, is writ,—
Would it were worthier! but I am not now
That which I have been—and my visions flit
Less palpably before me—and the glow
Which in my spirit dwelt, is fluttering, faint, and low.

CLXXXVI.

“ Farewell! a word that must be, and hath been—
A sound which makes us linger;—yet—farewell!
Ye! who have traced the Pilgrim to the scene
Which is his last, if in your memories dwell
A thought which once was his, if on ye swell
A single recollection, not in vain
He wore his sandal-shoon, and scallop-shell;
Farewell! with *him* alone may rest the pain,
If such there were—with *you*, the moral of his strain!”

ARTICLE II.—*Samor, Lord of the Bright City: an Heroic Poem; by the Rev. H. H. MILMAN, M. A.*

MR. Milman, previously to the publication of this poem, was favourably known to the public, by his tragedy of Fazio. In this play he very successfully and pleasingly imitated the strong but somewhat quaint turn of thought and mode of expression, by which our earliest dramas are distinguished. Perhaps

haps the imitation was too close and regular to have proceeded from a writer of real poetic genius; but Fazio, on the whole, gave promise of excellencies, which we are afraid the public will not think realized in Samor. Indeed we think Mr. Milman has been unfortunate in his selection of a subject: an obscure and uninteresting portion of our Anglo-Saxon history would bear down and tame high poetical powers:

but this is the subject Mr. Milman has chosen. His mode of treating it is also injudicious: and his powers of description,—of painting nature and man,—as well as his language, are not such as compensate for a bad subject, and an injudicious mode of treating it. He would gain more fame—and do himself more justice, by another such play as Fazio, than he possibly can by the heroic poem of Samor.

THE CHARIOT OF THE ORACLE.

“AND now have Hengist and Caswallon climb’d
The chariot of the Oracle; no wheels
Bear that strange car; like wind along the sea,
It glides along the rapid rein-deer’s track.
Beauteous those gentle rein-deer arch’d their necks,
And cast their palmy antlers back, and spread
Their broad red nostrils to the wind; they hear
Old Hengist’s voice, like arrows down the gale,
Like shot-stars through the welkin start they forth.
The car slides light, the deer bound fleet: they pass
Dark leagues of pine and fir, the filmy light,
Shivering with every motion of the wind
On their brown path lies tremulous, o’er them sails,
Heard through the dismal foliage hissing shrill,
And hoarser groaning of the swaying boughs,
The funeral descant of the ominous birds.
Around them the prophetic milk white steeds,
Their necks yet virgin of the taming curb,
With all their loose long glories, arch, and pass
In solemn silence, and regardless paw
The unechoing earth. But that old German, set
Inflexible with bolder hand to draw
The veil of dusk futurity, disdains
These tamer omens. Still the car slides light,
The deer bound fleet, they pause not, save to quaff
The narrow cruise, to share their scanty store.
Like swallows o’er the glassy rivers smooth,

O’er

O'er the pellucid lake, with glittering breast
 Yet wrinkled with its rippling waves, they skim,
 The dead unstirring ocean bears them on,
 Amid the immortal ice-hills wind they now.

" In restless change, God's softer summer works
 Glitter and fade, are born and die, but these,
 Endiadem'd by undissolving snows,
 High Potentates of winter's drear domain,
 Accumulate their everlasting bulk,
 Eternal and imperishable, stand
 Amid Creation's swift inconstant round,
 In majesty of silence undisturb'd,
 Save when from their long-menacing brows they shake
 The ruining Avalanche; unvisited
 By motion, but of sailing clouds, when sleets
 From their unwasting granary barb their darts,
 And the grim North-wind loads his rimy wings.
 Nor trace of man, save many a fathom deep,
 Haply dark signs of some tall people strange,
 That walk'd the infant earth, may shroud profound
 Their legends inaccessible. They soar
 In headlong precipice, or pyramid
 Linking the earth and heaven, to which the piles
 Where those Egyptian despots rot sublime,
 Or even that frantic Babylonian tower,
 Were frivolous domes for laughter and for scorn.

" Nor wants soft interchange of vale, where smiles
 White mimicry of foliage and thin flower.
 Feathery and faalike spreads the leafy ice,
 With dropping cup, and roving tendril loose,
 As though the glassy dews o'er flower and herb
 Their silken moisture had congeal'd, and yet
 Within that slender veil their knots profuse
 Blossom'd and blush'd with tender life, the couch
 Less various where the fabled Zephyr fans
 With his mild wings his Flora's bloomy locks;
 But colourless and cold, these flowering vales
 Seem meeter for decrepit Winter's head
 To lie in numb repose. The car slides light,
 The deer bound fleet, the long gray wilderness
 Hath something of a roseate glimmering dim,
 And widens still its pale expanse: when lo,
 A light of azure, wavering to display
 No sights, no shapes of darkness and of fear.
 Tremblingly flash'd the inconstant meteor light,
 Showing thin forms, like virgins of this earth,
 Save that all signs of human joy or grief,

The flush of passion; smile or tear had seem'd
 On the fix'd brightness of each dazzling cheek,
 Strange and unnatural; statues not unlike
 By nature, in fantastic mood congeal'd
 From purest snow, the fair of earth to shame,
 Surpassing beauteous : breath of mortal life
 Heaved not their bosoms, and no rosy blood
 Tinged their full veins, yet mov'd they, and their steps
 Were harmony. But three of that bright troop,
 The loveliest and the wildest, stood aloof,
 Enwrap't by what in human form were like
 Impulse divine, of their fine nature seem'd
 The eternal instinct. Them no less survey'd
 Caswallon with the knitted brow of scorn,
 Bitter he spake—' No marvel Saxon souls
 Revel in war's delights, so stern, so fierce
 Their deities.' Severe with wrath supprest,
 As one ill-brooking that irreverent mirth
 Scoff'd the feign'd lore, himself ne'er dar'd to doubt,
 Answer'd the son of Woden. ' These, proud Chief,
 So snowy, soft, and airy gentle, these
 Are ministers of destiny and death,
 The viewless Riders of the battle field :
 When sounds the rushing of their sable steeds,
 Down sink the summon'd mighty, and expand
 Valhalla's cloudy portals; to their thrones
 They the triumphant strangers lead, and pour
 Lavish the eternal beverage of the Gods.
 Mark thou yon bright-hair'd three ? and would thy soul
 Grasp the famed deeds of ancient time, or know
 The master spirits of our present world.
 Lo Gudur, she whose deep mysterious soul
 Treasureth the past, and Rosta, who beholds
 All acts and agents of this living earth ;
 She too is there before whose apacious sight
 The years that have not been start up and live,
 Who reads within the soul of man unborn
 The unimagi'd purpose, of the sage
 Skulda the sagest. Ask and thou shalt know.'
 —' I am not King of Britain, have not been,
 Hateful the present and the past, my soul
 Thirsteth for what shall be.'—Then Hengist spake
 In tone of mix'd authority and prayer,
 ' Queen of the Future, Valkyr, hear and speak,
 Speak to the Son of Woden.'—All the troop
 Instant the thin bright air absorb'd, alone
 Stood Skulda with her white hair waving wide,

As trembling on the verge of palpable being,
Ready to languish too in light away.

“ ‘ O’er Britain’s isle doth Woden to his sons
Give empire ?’ She, but in no human tone,
E’er from the soul’s emotion harsh or soft,
One glittering rich unvarying tone’ replied,
‘ To thine, but not to thee.’—And, ‘ I am thine,’
Caswallon shouted loud, and sternly shook
His visionary sceptre. ‘ Whence the foe
Fatal to Hengist, and to Hengist’s sway ?’
‘ Not from the mountain, Saxon, from the Vale.’
Heard, heeded not the mountain chief that strain
Dire and ill-boding, or if heard, disdain’d
Adverse what prosperous seem’d a voice from Heaven.

“ ‘ By what rich rite,’ he cried, ‘ may Briton chief
Win favour from high Woden ?’—‘ Not the blood
Of steed or stag ; a flower of earth must fade.
Blest o’er all virgins of the earth, the chaste,
The beautiful, by Heaven ordain’d to lead
The souls of valiant men to the pale hall
Of the Immortal ; air her path, and Heaven
Her dwelling, with the fair and brave of earth
Her sole communion ?’—‘ By my future throne,
Proud office for the daughter of a King !
A royal damsel, mine own blood, shall join
Your cloudy mysteries.’—A hue like joy
Overspread all her face and form, while slow
Into the air she brighten’d, indistinct
Even now, and now invisible. Sad seem’d
In gloomy converse with his own dark mind
Old Hengist, nor despair’d that bold of soul,
In pride of human wisdom to revoke
The irrevocable, what himself deem’d fate
By force or fraud to master or elude.

“ O glorious eminence of virtuous fame,
Glorious from peril ! Warrior of the Valés,
Fate-signal’d Samor, vaunt not thou the love
Of a blind people, or weak prince : thy boast
The sworn unerring hate of Britain’s foe.

“ So pass’d they forth, one in wild joy elate,
Already in his high disdainful thought
Wielding supremacy ; each of fix’d fate
Nought heeding, but what fed his fierce desires.

“ The car slides light, the deer bound fleet, nor sun
Nor star in all the hazy heavens. Snow, snow,
Above, around, beneath. Unblinded yet,
Drive on the kingly charioteers, and shake

The showery plumage from their locks ; fast fades
 The long pale plain, the giant ice-hills sink,
 Lakes, rivers, seas are patient of their speed,
 Huge, dim, and dusk the forest pines rush back,
 Now pant the brown deer by that ocean bay.

“ How desolate are now thy unplough'd waves,
 Dark Baltic ! wandering Elbe, thy icy breast
 How silent of thy hunters. Sleep thou calm
 Amid thy wanton vineyards, Gaul ! no more
 The blue-eyed Plunderers, bridging thy broad Rhine,
 Waste thy inebriate harvests clustering pride,
 Sing songs of joy, soft Italy ! o'er thee
 But Alaric and Attila drive on
 Their chariot wheels of conquest, this their peer
 In majesty of havoc, in renown
 Of devastation, this, the fiercer third
 Of human furies, scap'st thou, therefore sing,
 Soft Italy ; for lo, at Hengist's call,
 Vast Germany dispeoples her wide realm,
 Deserts to silence and the beasts of game
 Her long and soundless forests. Seems the North
 The forge of Nations, in one fleet t' exhaust
 Her iron wealth of warriors ; helmed high
 The Suevian with his towery knotted locks,
 Frisian and Scandinavian, Cimbrian rich
 In ancient vauntage of his sires, who clomb
 The Alpine snows, and shook free Rome with dread.
 And other nameless, numberless, sweep forth
 Their bands ; but three almost in nations came :
 The Jute, the Anglian, and the Saxon, each
 Leaving earth bare for many a lonesome league,
 His wives, his children, and his Gods embarks,
 On the fierce quest of peril and of power.

“ Then forth arose each Chieftain to salute
 The polestar of their baleful galaxy,
 Prime Architect of ruin : him who sway'd
 Their hot marauding, desultory strife
 To cool and steady warfare, of their limbs
 The domineering soul. As each past on
 Shook up the Scald his harsh-strung shell, and cast
 The war tones of each nation to the winds ;
 And Hengist with imperious flattery met
 Each tall and titled Leader. ‘ Art thou here,
 Bold Frisian Hermangard ! a broader isle
 And fairer than thy azure Rhine laves round,
 Spreads for thee her green vallies. How brook'st thou,
 Strong Scandinavian Lodbrog, thou the Chief

Of the renown'd Viking, while the waves
 So nobly riot with the wintry storms,
 The tame and steadfast land? Now freely leap,
 Arngrim, along thy Suevian forests brown
 The bear and foam-tusk'd wild boar; let them leap,
 A braver game is up on Britain's shore.
 O Cerdic, gray in glory, young in power,
 The Drave ran purple with thy boyish deads,
 A darker, redder dye, o'er silver Thames
 Shall spread before thy ancient battle axe.
 Ho, Offa, the rich-flowing mead hath worn
 Your Jutland cups, beneath the British helms
 Capacious goblets smooth and fair await
 Offa's carousals. Heir of Cimbric fame,
 Frotho, how these, of late the Roman's slaves,
 Will the race daunt, who set our Thor affront
 The Roman's Capitolian Jove. And thou,
 My gold-hair'd brother, are the British maids,
 Or British warriors, Abisa the first
 In the fierce yearnings of thy boyish soul?
 And lo the mighty Anglian; oh, unfold
 Ocean more wide, more wealthy realms, too brief,
 Too narrow for Argantyr's fame, the round
 Of this the choice, the Sovereign of thine isles.

"Thereat a sound of clattering shields arose,
 As all the rocks around with one harsh rift
 Had rent asunder: 'Fair must be the land,
 And brave the conquest, plenteous the renown,
 Where Hengist leads strong Woden's sceptred sons!'

"But inly laugh'd Caswallon, as he long'd
 With each or all to match his Briton strength;
 On the prophetic Valkyr thought, and glanced
 Proud pity on the legends of their praise.

"Advanced Argantyr, his bold grasp apart,
 As peer his peer, led Hengist. 'Thou and I,
 Saxon, must have our compact; dark I know
 Thy paths of strife, while my frank valour loves
 The broad bright sunshine; thou by sleight and art
 Min'st thy slow conquest; I with naked sword
 Affront my peril, till its menacing height
 Bow to the dust before me; for bold war,
 For noonday battling, tender I mine arm,
 But no allegiance own to subtle craft;
 To peace Argantyr doth revolt when thou
 Array'st stern war in the smooth garb of guile.'
 'The weak, Argantyr, and the friendless, need
 Such politic skill; I take thee at thy word.

- Who

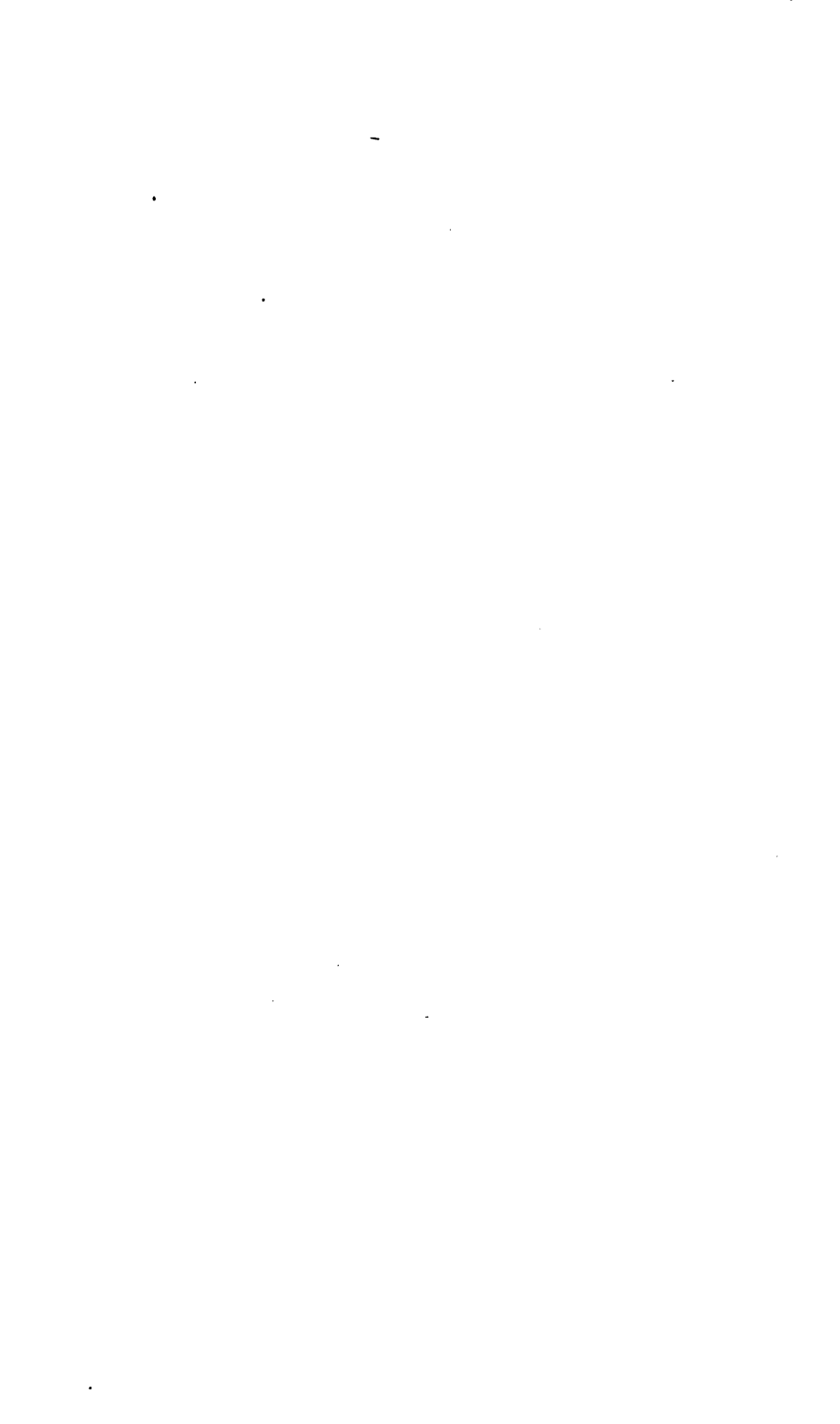
Who skulks a fox when he dare prowl a wolf?
 Power charters force, where strong Argantyr stands
 Is power.—And now aboard, brave Chiefs, aboard,
 Or the soft spring o'ertakes our tardy keels,
 And with her slothful breezes smooths the skies.'

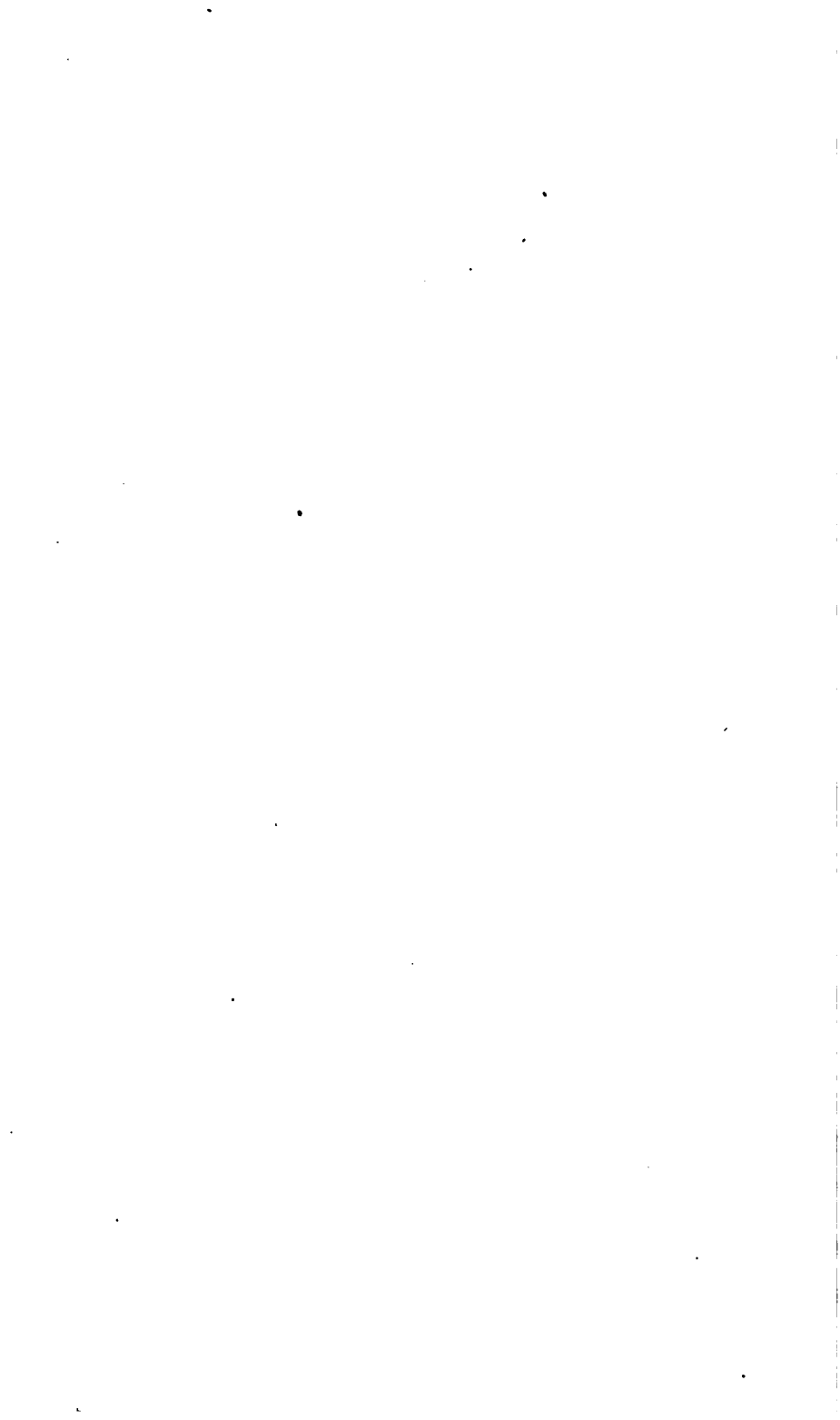
"Wonderous that ocean armament; in shoals
 Ride boat and bark, innumerable as the waves
 That show white slender streaks of foam between.
 Their tawny sides, save here and there towers up
 Some statelier admiral in lordly height
 O'er the frail comm'nalty, whose limber ribs
 Are the light wicker, cased with sturdy hides
 Their level bottoms smooth. Oh, that frail man,
 Loose-woven frame of dissoluble stuff,
 Uncharter'd from the boisterous license rude
 Of pitiless winds and fierce unfetter'd waves,
 To that unshackled libertine, wild Chance,
 Amenable, unguaranteed from burst
 And inroad of invading surge, that he,
 With such thin barrier between life and death,
 Should sit and skim along the ocean waste,
 Careless as maiden in a flowery field;
 Valour or phrenzy is it! They their toil
 Ply nimbly, and with gallant oar chastise
 The insurgent billows, their despotic sails
 Lords o'er the wild democracy of air.

"Less vast, and mann'd with tamer, feeblér spirits,
 In later days, against our Virgin Queen,
 The Spaniard's mad Armada; but the flag
 Of Howard, and the Almighty's stormy hand,
 Belied their braggard baptism, so they won
 Brave conquest! graves in ocean's barren caves,
 Or on the whirlpool-girded Orcades.

"But onward rides that Pagan fleet; young Spring
 Hath scarcely tipt the leafless woods with green;
 Tyne's jetty tide is blanch'd with German oars.

"Now whither with that dark-brow'd priest set forth
 Old Hengist and the Briton Mountain Lord?
 Is it, fell Hengist, that Caswallon's name
 Paragon thine in British hate, close link'd
 By fellowship in nameless rites accurst,
 Be hence more deeply, execrably thine?
 Or, from weak credence in such-impious Gods,
 Urgest thou that fell sacrifice? Oh, where
 The spotless virgin doom'd (so wild the creed)
 The Valkyr's airy troop to join, and glide
 Immortal through Valhalla's cloudy halls?







1



